

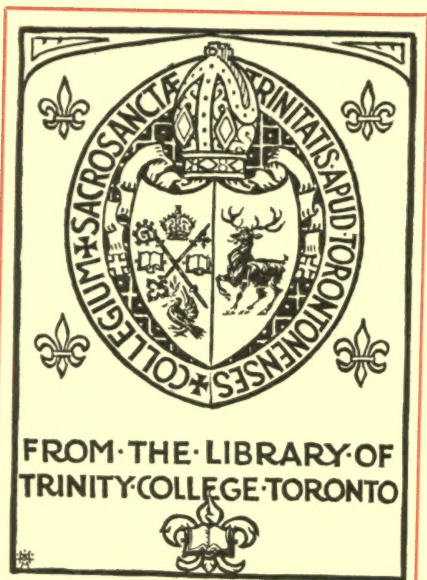
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ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME I

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ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

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

EDITED BY

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CANON OF ROCHESTER

AND

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FORMERLY ASSISTANT EDITOR OF THE 'ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA'

VOLUME I

A to D

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TO THE
MEMORY
OF
WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH

P R E F A C E

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T. K. CHEYNE.

J. SUTHERLAND BLACK.

20th September 1899.

PRACTICAL HINTS TO THE READER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The method of reference employed is as follows:—

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

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

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

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

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

3. **Typographical Devices.** i. *Size of Type.*—(a) *Letters.*—Two sizes of type are used, and considerable care has been devoted to the distribution of the small-type passages. Usually the general meaning of an article can be caught by reading simply the large-type parts. The small-type passages generally contain such things as proofs of statements, objections, more technical details. In these passages, and in footnotes and parenthesis, abbreviations (see below, 8), which are avoided as much as possible elsewhere, are purposely used. (b) *Numbers.*—Two sizes of Arabic numerals are used. (Note that the smallest 6 and 8 are a different shape from the next larger 6 and 8). In giving references, when only the volume is given, it is usually cited by a Roman number. Pages are cited by Arabic numbers except where (as is often the case) pages of a preface are marked with Roman numbers. When numbers of two ranks are required, two sizes of Arabic numbers (5₅) are used irrespectively of whether the reference be to book and chapter, volume and page, or section and line. If three ranks are needed, Roman numbers are prefixed (v. 5₅).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(f) *Other devices.*—199 means 1899. 1 Ch. 6₈₁ [66] means that verse 81 in the English version is the translation of that numbered 66 in Hebrew texts. √ is used to indicate the ‘root’ of a word.

v. *Punctuation.*—No commas are used between citations, thus: 2 K. 6_{21 25} Is. 21₇. Commas are omitted and semicolons or colons inserted whenever ambiguity seems thus to be avoided—*e.g.*, the father Achbor [1] is called ‘Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom,’ and the son Baal-hanan [1] is called ‘ben Achbor [1]; one of the kings of Edom.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some typographical details require to be explained:—

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

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

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

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

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

- * = original scribe.
- 1 = his own corrections.
- a, b, c = other correctors.
- ab = first corrector confirmed by second.
- a⁷ b⁷ = a or b.
- a⁷ b = b, perhaps also a.
- a(vi)d = prob. a.
- a vid = a, if it be a *bona fide* correction at all.

- D = testimony of the Grabe-Owen collation of D before D was partly destroyed (see Swete, I p. xxiv).
- D⁰¹ = readings inferred from the collation (*D⁰e silentio*).
- κ^a = a corrector of κ belonging to the 7th cent. (Sw., 2 p. viii; cp I, p. xxi).
- Bedt = *e.g.*, on Sirach 46I, p. 47I.
- κ^b = see Sw., 2 p. viii.
- κ^c = *e.g.*, Sir. 107, p. 663.

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

- | | | | |
|---|--|------|---|
| κ | Sinaiticus (see Swete, I p. xx). | F | Cod. Ambrosianus (Swete, I p. xxvi). |
| A | Alexandrinus (Swete, p. xxii). | 87 | Cod. Chisianus (Swete, 3 xii). |
| B | Vaticanus (Swete, I p. xvii). | Syr. | Cod. Syro. Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (3 xiii). |
| C | Cod. Ephraemi (Swete, 2 p. xiii). | V | Cod. Venetus (= 23, Parsons; Swete, 3 p. xiv). |
| D | Cod. Cottonianus Geneseos (Swete, I p. xxiii). | Q. | Cod. Marchalianus (Swete, 3 p. vii). |
| E | Cod. Bodleianus Geneseos (Swete, I p. xxvi). | Γ | Cod. rescriptus Cryptoferratisis (Swete, 3 p. ix f.). |

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

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

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

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

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Dēr, deir,</i> 'monastery.' | <i>Khīrbet-(Kē),</i> 'ruins of —.' |
| <i>Haj(j),</i> 'pilgrimage to Mecca.' | <i>Nahr (N.),</i> 'river.' |
| <i>ʿġebel (J.),</i> 'mountain.' | <i>Tell,</i> 'mound' (often containing ruins). |
| <i>Kefr, Kufr,</i> 'village.' | <i>Wādī (W.),</i> 'valley,' 'torrent-course.' |
| <i>Khān,</i> 'caravanserai.' | <i>Welī, wely,</i> 'Mohammedan saint,' 'saint's tomb.' |

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

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

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

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

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

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW (AND ARABIC) CONSONANTS

ʾ	א	ע	z	ז	ז	l	ל	ל	s	ס	ש
b	ב	ב	ḥ	ח	ח	m	מ	מ	k (q)	ק	ק
bh (b)	בּ	בּ									
g	ג	ג	j. ḡ	ג	ג	n	נ	נ	r	ר	ר
gh (g)	גּ	גּ				s	ס	ס	s	שׂ	שׂ
d	ד	ד	t	ד	ד	.	.	.	sh, ṣ	שׁ	שׁ
dh (d)	דּ	דּ	y	י	י	p	פ	פ	t	ת	ת
h	ה	ה	k	כ	כ	phi	פּ	פּ	th (t)	תּ	תּ
w, v	ו	ו	kh (k)	כּ	כּ				g	גּ	גּ
									f	פּ	פּ

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

VOWELS.

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

8. Abbreviations, Symbols, and Biographical Notes.—The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above 31. (a)) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and for the most part it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will be not unwelcome to the student.

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

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

It is suggested that the *Encyclopædia Biblica* itself be cited as *E Bi*. It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections; or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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

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

An explanation of some of the symbols (A, 8, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. xvi. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached: thus OTJC⁽²⁾ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions KP⁽²⁾, AOF⁽²⁾; see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D₂, E₃, J₃, P₃.

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

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

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

- Kön.* . . . *Könige in KHC*, '99.
- Bertholet, *Stellung* . . . A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.
- Bi. Gustav Bickell: *Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik*, '69 f.; ET, '77. *Carmina VI metris etc.*, '82. *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, '82 f. *Kritische Bearbeitung der Prov.*, '90.
- Biblioth. Sac.* . . . *Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 ff.
- BJ* *De Bello Judaico*. See Josephus.
- BL* Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*: Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder, 5 vols., '69-'75.
- Boch. S. Bochart (1599-1667): *Geographia Sacra*, 1646; *Hierozoicon, sive de Animalibus Scripturae Sacrae*, 1003.
- Boeckh Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.*, 4 vols., '28-'77.
- BOR* *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 ff.
- Böttch. Friedrich Böttcher, *Wörterbuch des Hebräischen u. der hebräischen Sprache*, '66-'68.
- Böttg. *Lex.* Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, '79.
- BR* *Biblical Researches*. See Robinson.
- Bu. Karl Budde: *Urgesch.* *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1-12), '83. *Ri.Sa.* *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90. *Sam.* *Samuel in SBOT* (Heb.), '94. *Das Buch Hiob in HK*, '96. *Klagelieder und Hohelied in KHC*, '98.
- Buhl See *Pal.*
- Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.
- Buxt. *Lex.* Johann Buxtorf, son (1599-1644). *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, 1639, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.
- c.*, *cir.* *circa*.
- Calver Bib. Lex.* *Calver Kirchelexikon, Theologisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89-'93.
- c. Ap.* *contra Apionem*. See Josephus.
- CH* *Composition des Hexateuchs*. See Wellhausen.
- Chald. Gen.* *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.
- Che. T. K. Cheyne: *Proph. Is.* *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80-'81; revised, (3), '89). *Job and Sol.* *Job and Solomon, or The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87). *Ps.* *The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming). *OPs.* *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures, '89), '91. *Aids* *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92. *Founders* *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94. *Intr. Is.* *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).
- Is. SBOT.* *Isaiah in SBOT* [Eng.] ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
- Jeremiah, his Life and Times in 'Men of the Bible'* ('88).
- Jew. Rel. Life* *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98.
- CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. Dittenberger), '82 ff. See also Boeckh.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '63, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.
- CIS* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 ff. Pt. i., Phoenician and Punic inscriptions; pt. ii., Aramaic inscriptions; pt. iv., S. Arabian inscriptions.
- Class. Rev.* *The Classical Review*, '87 ff.
- Cl.-Gan.* Clermont-Ganneau: *Recueil d'Archéologie*, '85 ff.
- Co.* Cornill: *Ezek.* *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '86. *Einkl.* *Einkleitung in das Alte Testament*, '61; '70. *IIist.* *History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.
- COT* *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. See Schrader.
- Crit. Mon.* A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, '94.
- Cr. Rev.* *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* [ed. Salmond], '91 ff.
- D* Author of Deuteronomy; also used Deuteronomistic passages.
- D₂* Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.
- Dalm. Gram.* Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94. *Worte Jesu Aram. Lex.* *Die Worte Jesu in Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches* *Wörterbuch zu Jesus, Talmud und Midrasch*. Teil i., '97.
- Dav.* A. B. Davidson: *J^h* *Book of Job* in *Cambr. Bible*, '84. *Ezek.* *Book of Ezekiel in Cambridge Bible*, '92.
- DB* W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '63; *DB*⁽²⁾, 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93. or, J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology*, vol. i., '98; vol. ii., '99. or, F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, '95 ff.
- de C. Orig.* Alph. de Canabille, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (4), '96. ET in the *International Scientific Series*.
- De Gent.* *De Gentibus*. See Wellhausen.
- Del.* Delitzsch, Franz (1813-90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc. or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of: *Par.* *Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81). *Heb. Lang.* *The Hebrew Language viewed*

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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An explanation of some of the symbols (A, N, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. xvi. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached: thus OTJC⁽²⁾ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions R^{P(2)}, AOF⁽²⁾; see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D₃, E₃, J₂, P₂.

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Abulw.	Abulwalid, the Jewish grammarian (b. circa 990), author of <i>Book of Roots</i> , etc.	AT, ATliche	<i>Das Alte Testament, Alttestamentliche</i> . Old Testament.
Acad.	<i>The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art</i> . London, '69 ff.	AT Unters.	<i>Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen</i> . See Winckler.
AF.	See AOF.	AV.	Authorised Version.
AHT.	<i>Ancient Hebrew Tradition</i> . See Hommel.	h.	<i>ben, b'ne</i> (son, sons, Hebrew).
All[est]. Unt.	See Winckler.	Hä.	Baer and Delitzsch's critical edition of the Massoretic Text, Leipsic, '69, and following years.
Amer. Journ. of Phil.	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> , '80 ff.	Bab.	Babylonian.
A[<i>rev.</i>]/[<i>ourn.</i>]	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (continuing <i>Hebraica</i> ['84-'95]), '95 ff.	Baed, or	Baedeker, <i>Palestine</i> (ed. Socin), '02, '94; (3), '98 (Benzinger) based on 4th German ed.
A[<i>em.</i>]/[<i>ang.</i>]	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (continuing <i>Hebraica</i> ['84-'95]), '95 ff.	Baed. Pal.	Baethgen, or Baethgen, <i>Beitr.</i>
Am. Tab.	The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (= K ¹ B ⁵)	BAG	C. P. Tiele, <i>Babylonische-assyrische Geschichte</i> , pt. i., '86; pt. ii., '88.
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> .	Ba. VB.	Barth, <i>Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen</i> , i., '89; ii., '91; (2) '94.
AOF	<i>Allorientalische Forschungen</i> . See Winckler.	Baraitha	See LAW LITERATURE.
Apocr. Anecd.	<i>Apocrypha Anecdota</i> , 1st and 2nd series, published under the general title 'Texts and Studies' at the Cambridge University Press.	BDB Lex.	[Brown, Driver, Briggs, <i>Lexicon</i>] <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , based on the <i>Lexicon</i> of Gesenius, by F. Brown, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, '92, and following years.
Aq.	Aquila, Jewish proselyte (temp. revolt against Hadrian), author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament. See TEXT.	Be.	E. Bertheau (1812-88). In <i>K¹U¹: Richter u. Ruth</i> , '45; (2) '83; <i>Chronik</i> , '54; (2), '73; <i>Ezra, Nehemia u. Ester</i> , '62; (2), by Ryssel, '87.
Ar.	Arabic.	Beitr.	<i>Beiträge</i> , especially Baethgen (as above).
Aram.	Aramaic. See ARAMAIC.	Beitr. z. Ass.	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft</i> ; ed. Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, i., '90; ii., '94; iii., '98; iv. i., '99.
Arch.	<i>Archæology</i> or <i>Archæologie</i> . See Benzinger, Nowack.	Benz. HA.	I. Benzinger, <i>Hebräische Archæologie</i> , '94.
Ar. Des.	Doughty, <i>Arabia Deserta</i> , '88.		
Ar. Heid., or Heid.	<i>Reste arabischen Heidentums</i> . See Wellhausen.		
Arm.	Armenian.		
Ass.	Assyrian.		
Ass. HWB	<i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> . See Delitzsch.		
As. u. Eur.	W. M. Müller, <i>Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern</i> , '93.		

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES xix

- Kön.* . . . *Könige in KHC*, '90.
- Bertholet, *Stellung* . . . A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.
- Bi. . . . Gustav Bickel: *Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik*, '69 ff.; ET, '77. *Carmina VT metrica etc.*, '82. *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, '82 ff. *Kritische Bearbeitung der Prov.*, '90.
- Biblioth. Sac.* . . . *Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 ff.
- BJ* *De Bello Judaico*. See Josephus.
- BL* Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexikon*; Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder, 5 vols., '69-'75.
- Boch. . . . S. Bochart (1599-1667): *Geographia Sacra*, 1646; *Hierozoicon, sive de Animalibus Scripturae Sacrae*, 1603.
- Boeckh Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.*, 4 vols., '28-'77.
- BOR* *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 ff.
- Böttch. . . . Friedrich Bötcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '66-'68.
- Böttg. *Lex.* . . . Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, '79.
- BR* *Biblical Researches*. See Robinson.
- Bu. Karl Budde:
- Urgesch.* . . . *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1-124), '83.
- Ri.Sa.* . . . *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90.
- Sam.* . . . *Samuel in SBOT* (Heb.), '94.
- Das Buch Hiob in HK*, '96.
- Klagelieder und Hohelied in KHC*, '98.
- Buhl See Pal.
- Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* . . . Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.
- Buxt. *Lex.* . . . Johann Buxtorf, son (1599-1644), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Kabbalisticum*, 1659, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.
- c. cir.* . . . *circa*.
- Calwer Bib. Lex.* . . . *Calwer Kirchelexikon, Theologisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89-'93.
- c. Ap.* . . . *contra Apionem*. See Josephus.
- CH* *Composition des Hexateuchs*. See Wellhausen.
- Chald. Gen.* . . . *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.
- Che. . . . T. K. Cheyne:
- Proph. Is.* . . . *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80-'81; revised, (3), '89).
- Job and Sol.* . . . *Job and Solomon, or The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87).
- Ps.* *The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming).
- OPs.* . . . *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures, '89), '91.
- Aids* . . . *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92.
- Founders* . . . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94.
- Intr. Is.* . . . *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).
- L. SBOT.* . . . *Isaiah in SBOT* [Eng.], ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
- Jeremiah, his Life and Times in 'Men of the Bible'* ('88).
- Jew. Rel. Life* . . . *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98.
- CIG* . . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. Intenberger), '82 ff. See also Boeckh.
- CIL* . . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '63, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.
- CIS* . . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 ff. Pt. i., Phoenician and Punic inscriptions; pt. ii., Aramaic inscriptions; pt. iv., S. Arabian inscriptions.
- Class. Rev.* . . . *The Classical Review*, '87 ff.
- Cl.-Gan.* . . . Clermont-Ganneau:
- Rec.* . . . *Revue d'Assyriologie*, '85 ff.
- Co.* Cornill:
- Ezek.* . . . *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '86.
- Einkl.* . . . *Einklingung in das Alte Testament*, '01, '01, '06.
- Hist.* . . . *History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.
- COT* . . . *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. See Schrader.
- Crit. Mon.* . . . A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, '94.
- Cr. Rev.* . . . *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* [ed. Salmon], '91 ff.
- D Author of Deuteronomy; also used Deuteronomistic passages.
- D₂* Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.
- Dalm. Gram.* . . . Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94.
- Worte Jesu Aram. Lex.* . . . *Die Worte Jesu*, i, '98. *Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Vergang., Talmud. und Midrasch*. Teil i., '97.
- Dav.* . . . A. B. Davidson:
- Job* . . . *Book of Job in Camb. Bible*, '84.
- Ezek.* . . . *Book of Ezekiel in Cambridge Bible*, '92.
- DB* W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '03; 1897. 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93.
- or, J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology*, vol. i., '98; vol. ii., '99.
- or, F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, '95 ff.
- de C. Orig.* . . . Alph. de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (4), '96. ET in the *International Scientific Series*.
- De Gent.* . . . *De Gentibus*. See Wellhausen.
- Del.* . . . Delitzsch, Franz (1813-90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc.
- or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of:
- Par.* . . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81).
- Heb. Lang.* . . . *The Hebrew Language treated*

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	<i>in the light of Assyrian Research</i> , '83.	<i>HE</i> <i>Historia Ecclesiastica.</i>
<i>Prol.</i>	<i>Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs</i> zum <i>A T</i> , '86.	<i>P[re]p[aratio] E[van]g[elii]</i> . . . <i>Preparatio Evangelica.</i>
<i>Ass. HWB</i>	<i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> , '96.	<i>Chron.</i> <i>Chronicon.</i>
<i>DHM Ep. Denk.</i> D. H. Müller, <i>Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien</i> , '89.		<i>EV</i> English version (where authorised and revised agree).
	<i>Die Propheten in ihren ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der aramäischen Poesie</i> , 2 Bde., '96.	<i>Ew.</i> Heinrich Ewald (1803-75):
<i>Di.</i> Dillmann, August (1823-94), in <i>KGH: Genesis</i> , 3rd ed. of Knobel, '75; ⁽¹⁾ '82; ⁽²⁾ '02 (ET by Stevenson, '97); <i>Exodus und Leviticus</i> , 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80; 3rd ed. by Ryssel, '97; <i>Numb., Deut., Josh.</i> , 2nd ed. of Knobel, '86; <i>Isaiah</i> , ⁽³⁾ '90; (edd. 1-3 by Knobel; 4th ed. by Diestel; 6th ed. by Kittel, '98).		<i>Lehrb.</i> <i>Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache</i> , '44; ⁽¹⁾ '70.
<i>Did.</i> <i>Didaohē</i> . See ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΑ, § 31, 1.		<i>Gesch.</i> <i>Geschichte des Volkes Israel</i> ; ⁽³⁾ i.-vii., '64-'68; ET ⁽²⁾ 5 vols. (pre-Christian period), '69-'80.
<i>Doxy, Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes</i> , '79 ff.	<i>Dichter</i> <i>Die Dichter des Alten Bundes</i> ⁽³⁾ , '66 f.
<i>Dr.</i> Driver, S. R.:		<i>Prop.</i> <i>Die Propheten</i> , '40 f.; ⁽²⁾ , '67 f.; ET '76 f.
<i>HT.</i> <i>A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew</i> , '74; ⁽²⁾ , '81; ⁽³⁾ , '92.		<i>Expos.</i> <i>Expositor</i> , 5th ser., '95 ff.
<i>TBS</i> <i>Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel</i> , '90.		<i>Exp[os] [as]. T[imes]</i> <i>Expository Times</i> , '89-'90 ff.
<i>Introd.</i> <i>An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament</i> , ⁽¹⁾ , '11; ⁽²⁾ , '97.		<i>f. and ff.</i> following (verse, or verses, etc.).
<i>Par. Ps.</i> <i>Parallel Psalter</i> , '98.		<i>FFP</i> <i>Fauna and Flora of Palestine.</i> See Tristram.
<i>Deut.</i> <i>Deuteronomy in The International Critical Commentary</i> , '95.		<i>Field, Hex.</i> F. Field, <i>Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta</i> ('75).
<i>Joel and Amos</i>	<i>in the Cambridge Bible</i> , '97.	<i>F[r.]HG</i> <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. Müller, 5 vols., '41-'72.
<i>Lev. SBOT</i> <i>SBOT</i> (Eng.), <i>Leviticus</i> , assisted by H. A. White, '98.		<i>Fl. and Hanb.</i> F. A. Flückiger and D. Hanbury, <i>Pharm.</i> <i>Pharmacographia.</i>
'Hebrew Authority' in <i>Authority and Archeology, Sacred and Profane</i> , ed. David G. Hogarth, London, '99.		<i>Floigl, GA</i> Floigl, <i>Geschichte des semitischen Altertums in Tabellen</i> , '82.
<i>Is.</i> <i>Isaiah, His Life and Times</i> , in 'Men of the Bible', ⁽²⁾ , '93.		<i>Founders</i> <i>Founders of Old Testament Criticism.</i> See Cheyne.
<i>Drus.</i> Drusus (1550-1616) in <i>Critici Sacri</i> .		<i>Fr.</i> O. F. Fritzsche (1812-96), commentaries on books of the Apocrypha in <i>KHG</i> .
<i>Du.</i> Bernhard Duhm:		<i>Frä.</i> Sigismund Fränkel, <i>Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen</i> , '86.
<i>Proph.</i> <i>Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion</i> , '75.		<i>Frankenb.</i> W. Frankenberg, <i>Die Sprüche in KII</i> , '98.
<i>Is.</i> <i>Das Buch Jesaja in HK</i> , '92.		<i>Frazer</i> J. G. Frazer:
<i>Ps.</i> <i>Die Psalmen erklärt, in KHC</i> , '99.		<i>Totenism</i> ('87).
<i>E</i> Old Hebrew historical document.		<i>Golden Bough</i> ('90); ⁽²⁾ in prep.
<i>E₂</i> Later additions to E. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.		<i>Pausanias's Description of Greece</i> (translation and notes, 6 vols., '98).
<i>EB</i> ⁽²⁾ <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> , 9th ed., '75-'88.		<i>Fund.</i> J. Marquart, <i>Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte</i> , '96.
<i>Ebers, Aeg. BM</i>	Georg Ebers ('37-'98), <i>Aegypten u. die Bücher Moses</i> , i., '68.	<i>Ḫ</i> Greek Version, see above, p. xv. f. and TEXT and VERSIONS.
<i>Einl.</i> <i>Einleitung</i> (Introduction). See Cornill, etc.		<i>GA</i> <i>Geschichte d. Alterthums</i> (see Meyer, Floigl).
<i>Eng. Hist. Rev.</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i> , '86 ff.	<i>GÄ</i> <i>Geschichte Aegyptens</i> (see Meyer).
<i>Ent[st]</i> <i>Die Entstehung des Judenthums.</i> See Ed. Meyer.		<i>GBA</i> <i>Gesch. Babeloniens u. Assyriens</i> (see Winckler, Hommel).
<i>ET</i> English translation.		<i>GASm.</i> George Adam Smith. See Smith.
<i>Eth.</i> Ethiopic.		<i>GAT</i> Reuss, <i>Geschichte des Alten Testaments</i> , '81; ⁽²⁾ , '90.
<i>Eus.</i> Eusebius of Caesarea (2nd half of 3rd to 1st half of 4th cent. A.D.): <i>Onomasticon</i> ; 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'		<i>Gei. Urschr.</i> A. Geiger, <i>Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums</i> , '57.
<i>Onom. or OS</i>		<i>Ges.</i> F. H. W. Gesenius (1786-1842):
		<i>Thes.</i> <i>Thesaurus Philologici Critici Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti</i> , '35-'42.
		<i>Gramm.</i> <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i> , '13; ⁽²⁾ , by E. Kautzsch, '96; ET '98.
		<i>Lex.</i> <i>Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch</i> , '12; ⁽¹⁾ (Mühlau u. Volck), '90; ⁽²⁾ (Buhl, with Socin and Zimmermann), '95; ⁽³⁾ (Buhl), '99.
		<i>Ges.-Bu.</i> Gesenius Buhl. See above, Ges.

- Gesch.* . . . *Geschichte* (History).
GGA . . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*,
 24 ff.
GGN . . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*,
 48 ff.
GI . . . *Geschichte Israels*. See Winckler.
Gi[nsb.] . . . Ginsburg, *Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, '94, Introduction, '97.
GJV . . . *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. See Schürer.
Glaser . . . Eduard Glaser:
Skizze . . . *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, '90.
Gr. . . . K. Grimm (1807-91). *Maccabees* ('53) and *Wisdom* ('60) in *KGH*.
Grä. . . . Heinrich Grätz:
Gesch. . . . *Geschichte der Juden*, i.-x., '74 ff.; ET i.-v., '91-92.
Ps. . . . *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, '82 f.
Gr. Ven. . . . *Versio Veneta*. See TEXT.
GVI . . . *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*. See Ewald, Stade, etc.

H . . . 'The Law of Holiness' (Lev. 17-26). See LEVITICUS.
HA or Hebr. Arch. . . . *Hebräische Archäologie*. See Ben-zinger, Nowack.
Hal. . . . Joseph Halévy. The inscriptions in *Rapport sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Yémen* ('72) are cited: Hal. 535, etc.
Mél. . . . *Mélanges d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, '74.
Hamburger [K.E.] . . . Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, i. '70, (2) '92; ii. '83, suppl. '86, '91 f., '97.
Harper, ABL . . . R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K[Kuyunjik] collection of the British Museum*, '93 ff.
HC . . . *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, '89-'91.
Heb. . . . Hebrew.
Hebraica . . . Continued as *AJSI* (*q.v.*).
Heid. . . . *Reste arabischen Heidentums*. See Wellhausen.
Herst. . . . Kusters, *Het Herstel van Israël in het Perzische Tijdvak*, '93; Germ. transl. *Die Wiederherstellung Israels*, '95.
Herzog, RE . . . See *PKE*.
Het Herstel . . . See *Herst.*
Hex. . . . *Hexateuch* (see Kuenen, Holzinger, etc.).
Hexap. . . . See Field.
HG . . . *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. See Smith, G. A.
Hierob. . . . See Bochart.
Hilgf. . . . A. Hilgenfeld, NT scholar (*Einl.*, etc.), and ed. since '58 of *ZWT*.
Hist. . . . See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.
Hist. Proph. Mon. . . . J. F. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*: i. To the Downfall of Samaria ('94); ii. To the Fall of Nineveh ('96).
Hi[itz] . . . F. Hitzig (1807-75), in *KGH*: *Pre-diger* ('47), *Hohelied* ('55), *Die kleinen Propheten* ('38; (3) '63), *Jeremias* ('41; (2) '66). Also *Die Psalmen* ('35-'36; (3) '63-'65).
HK . . . *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Nowack, '92 ff.

Holz. Einl. . . . H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ('93), *Genesis in den KHC* ('98).
Hommel . . . Fritz Hommel:
AHT . . . *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung; ET, Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, '97.
GBA . . . *Geschichte Babylonien u. Assyriens*, '85 ff.
Hor. Hebr. . . . Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, 1684.
HP . . . Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis lectionibus*, 1798-1827.
HPN . . . G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, '96.
HPSm. . . . Henry Preserved Smith. *Samuel* in *International Critical Commentary*.
HIS . . . *Die Heilige Schrift*. See Kautzsch.
HWB . . . Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*, 2 vols., '84; (2) '93-'94. See also Deitzsch (Friedr.).

IJG . . . *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*. See Wellhausen.
Intr[od]. . . . Introduction.
Intr. Is. . . . *Introduction to Isaiah*. See Cheyne.

It. . . . Itala. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.
It. Anton. . . . *Itinerarium Antonini*, Fortia d'Urban, '45.

J . . . Old Hebrew historical document.
J₂ . . . Later additions to J.
[Journ.] A[m.] . . . *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, '54 ff.
[Journ.] S[oc.] . . .
Jastrow, Dict. . . . M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babil., etc., and Midrashim*, '86 ff.

[Journ.] As. . . . *Journal Asiatique*, '53 ff.; 7th ser., '73; 8th ser., '83; 9th ser., '93.
JBL . . . *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, '90 ff.; formerly ('82-'88) called *Journal of the Society of Biblical Lit. and Exeg.*
JBW . . . *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft* ('49-'65).
JDT . . . *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, '56-'78.
JE . . . The 'Prophetical' narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E.
Jensen, Kosm. . . . P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, '90.

Jer. . . . Jerome, or Jeremiah.
Jon. . . . Jonathan. See Targum.
Jos. . . . Flavius Josephus (b. 37 A.D.), *Antiquitates Judaicæ, De Bello Judaico, Vita, contra Apionem* (ed. Niese, 3 vols., '87-'94).

[Journ.] Phil. . . . *Journal of Philology*, i. (Nos. 1 and 2, '68), ii. (Nos. 3 and 4, '69), etc.
JPT . . . *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 75-'92.
JQR . . . *Jewish Quarterly Review*, '88-'80 ff.
JRAS . . . *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (vols. 1-20, '34 ff.; new ser., vols. 1-24, '65-'92; current series, '93 ff.).
JSBL . . . See *JBl.*
KAT . . . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*. See Schrader.

Kau. . . . E. Kautzsch:
Gram. . . . *Grammatik des Biblischen-Aramäischen*, '84.
HS . . . *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, '94.

xxii ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Apokr.* . . . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, '98 f.
- KB.* . . . *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten in Umschrift u. Uebersetzung*, 5 vols. (1, 2, 3 a, b, 4, 5), '89-'96. Edited by Schrader, in collaboration with L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, and H. Winckler.
- Ke.* . . . K. F. Keil (d. '88).
- Kenn.* . . . B. Kennicott (1718-83), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vols., 1776-80.
- KG.* . . . *Kirchengeschichte.*
- KGF.* . . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.* See Schrader.
- KGH.* . . . *Kuragefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.* See Di., Hitz., Knob., Ol.
- KGK.* . . . *Kuragefasser Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten u. Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen*, ed. H. Strack and O. Zöckler, '87 ff.
- KHC.* . . . *Kürzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Marti, '97 ff.
- Ki.* . . . Rudolf Kittel:
- Gesch.* . . . *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 2 vols., '88, '92; Eng. transl., *History of the Hebrews*, '95-'96.
- Ch. SBOT* . . . *The Book of Chronicles, Critical Edition of the Hebrew text*, '95 (translated by Bacon).
- Kim.* . . . R. David Kimhi, circa 1200 A.D., the famous Jewish scholar and lexicographer, by whose exegesis the AV is mainly guided.
- Kin[s].* . . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.* See W. R. Smith.
- Kl. Proph.* . . . *Kleine Propheten* (Minor Prophets). See Wellhausen, Nowack, etc.
- Klo[st].* . . . Aug. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* ('87) in *KGK.*
- GVI.* . . . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia*, '96.
- Kn[ob].* . . . Aug. Knobel (1807-63) in *KGH: Exodus und Leviticus*, (2) by Dillmann, '80; *Der Prophet Jesaja*, '43, (3), '61. See Dillmann.
- Kö.* . . . F. E. König, *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 3 vols., '81-'97.
- Köh.* . . . Aug. Köhler.
- Kr.* . . . Krē (lit. 'to be read'), a marginal reading which the Massoretes intended to supplant that in the text (Kēthib); see below.
- Kt.* . . . Kēthib (lit. 'written'), a reading in the MT; see above.
- Kue.* . . . Abr. Kuenen (1828-91):
- Ond.* . . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, 3 vols., '61-'65; (2), '85-'89; Germ. transl., *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, '87-'92; vol. i., *The Hexateuch*, translated by Philip Wicksteed, '86.
- Godsd.* . . . *De Godsdienst van Israel*, '69-'70; Eng. transl., 3 vols., '73-'75.
- De Profeten en der Profete onder Israel*, '75; ET, '77.
- Ges. Abh.* . . . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur bibl. Wissenschaft*, German by Budde, '94.
- L.* . . . de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniconum, Pars Prior Grace*, '83.
- Lag.* . . . Paul de Lagarde (27-'91):
- Hag.* . . . *Hagiographa Chaldaica*, '73.
- Syr.* . . . *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, '61.
- Ges. Abh.* . . . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, '66.
- Mitt.* . . . *Mitteilungen*, i-iv., '84-'89.
- Sym.* . . . *Symmicta*, ii., '80.
- Prov.* . . . *Proverbien*, '63.
- Übers.* . . . *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen, und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, '89.
- Beitr.* . . . *Beiträge z. baktischen Lexikographie*, '68.
- Proph.* . . . *Propheta Chaldaica*, '72.
- Sem.* . . . *Semitica*, '78 f.
- Arm. St.* . . . *Armenische Studien.*
- Or.* . . . *Orientalia*, i., '79.
- Lane* . . . E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, '63 ff.
- L [and] B* . . . W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, '59; new ed. '94.
- LBR* . . . *Later Biblical Researches.* See Robinson.
- Levy, NHWB* . . . J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, '76-'89.
- Chald. Lex.* . . . *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, '67 ff.
- Lehrgeb.* . . . See König.
- Leps. Denkm.* . . . R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, '49-'60.
- Lightf.* . . . John Lightfoot (1602-75), *Horae Hebraicae* (1684).
- Joseph B. Lightfoot ('28-'89); commentaries on *Galatians* (4), '74; *Philippians* (3), '73; *Colossians and Philemon* ('75).
- Lips. I f.* . . . Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, '83-'90.
- Löw.* . . . J. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, '81.
- Luc.* . . . See L.
- LXX or Ⓞ* . . . Septuagint. See above, p. xv f., and TEXT AND VERSIONS.
- Maimonides* . . . Moses Maimonides (1131-1204). Exegete, author of *Mishneh Torah, Mōrē Nebōkchim*, etc.
- Mand.* . . . Mandaean. See ARAMAIC, § 10.
- Marq. Fund.* . . . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.
- Marti* . . . K. Marti:
- Gram.* . . . *Kuragefasstes Grammatik d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, '96.
- Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*(8), '97 (a revision of A. Kayser, *Die Theol. des AT*).
- Jes.* . . . *Das Buch Jesaja*, in *KHC*, '99.
- Masp.* . . . G. Maspero:
- Dawn of Civilization, Egypt and Chaldea* (2), '96).
- Les premières Mâles des Peuples*; ET by McClure.

- The Struggle of the Nations*
—Egypt, Syria, and Assyria.
Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient ('99 ff.).
- MBBA** . . . *Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.*
- MDPV** . . . *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, '95 ff.*
- Merx** . . . **A. Merx**, *Archiv f. wissenschaftliche Erforschung d. AT* ('69).
- Mey** . . . **Ed. Meyer**:
GA . . . *Geschichte des Alterthums; i., Gesch. d. Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs ('84); ii., Gesch. des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege ('93).*
Entsch[eh] . . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums, '96.*
- Meyer** . . . **H. A. W. Meyer** (1800-73), founder of the series *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*.
- MGWJ** . . . *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums, '51 ff.*
- MH** . . . Mishnic Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, Tosephta, Midrashim, and considerable parts of the Talmud.
- MI** . . . Mesha Inscription, commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone.' See MESHÄ.
- Midr.** . . . Midrash. See CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).
- Mish.** . . . Mishna, the standard collection (completed, according to tradition, by R. Judah the Holy, about 200 A.D.) of sixty-three treatises (representing the Jewish traditional or unwritten law as developed by the second century A.D.), arranged in six groups or *Sedarim* thus:—i. *Zivv'im* (11 tractates), ii. *M'ed* (12), iii. *Nashim* (7), iv. *Nesikin* (10), v. *Kodashim* (11), vi. *Tohoroth* (12).
Äbödä zará, iv. 8 Mikvä'oth, vi. 6
Äböth, iv. 9 M'ed Kätan, ii. 11
'Ärakhin, v. 5
Bäbä Bathrä, iv. 3
Bäbä Kamma, iv. 1
Bäbä Mešä'a, iv. 2
Belhöroth, v. 4
Beräkhöth, i. 1
Be ä, ii. 7
Bikkürim, i. 11
Chägigä, ii. 12
Challä, i. 9
Chullin, v. 3
Demäi, i. 3
'Ediyöth, iv. 7
'Erubin, ii. 2
Gittin, iii. 6
Höräyöth, iv. 10
Kelim, vi. 1
Kerithöth, v. 7
Kethüböth, iii. 2
Kiddushin, iii. 7
Kil'äyim, i. 4
Kinnin, v. 11
Ma'aser Shemi, i. 8
Ma'aseröth, i. 7
Makhsbirin, vi. 8
Makköth, iv. 5
Megilla, ii. 10
Me'llä, v. 8
Ménächöth, v. 2
Middöth, v. 10
- MT** . . . Massoretic text, the Hebrew text of the OT substantially as it was in the early part of the second century A.D. (temp. Mishna). It remained unvocalised until
- about the end of the seventh century A.D. See TEXT.
- Murray** . . . *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, '88 ff.; also H. Bradley, '97 ff.
- Muss-Arn.** . . . **W. Muss-Arnolt**, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language, '94-'99 (A-MAG)*.
- MVG** . . . *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, '97 ff.*
- n.** . . . note.
- Nab.** . . . Nabataean. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
- NB** . . . *Nominalbildung*, Barth; see Ba.
- Nestle, Eig.** . . . *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung, '76.*
- Marg.** . . . *Marginalien u. Materialien, '93.*
- Neub. Geogr.** . . . **A. Neubauer**, *Geographie du Pal-mud, '68.*
- NIIB** . . . *Natural History of the Bible*. See Tristram.
- NHWB** . . . *Neu-hebr. u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*. See Levy.
- no.** . . . number.
- Nö[ld]** . . . **Th. Nöldeke**:
Unters. . . . *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments, '69.*
Alltestamentliche Litteratur, '68.
- Now.** . . . **W. Nowack**:
H[ebr.] A[rch.] *Lehrbuch d. Hebräischen Archäologie, '94.*
Kl. Proph. *Die Kleinen Propheten (in HKC), '97.*
- NT** . . . New Testament, Neues Testament.
- Oi[sh]** . . . **Justus Olshausen**:
Ps. . . . *Die Psalmen, '53.*
Lehrb. . . . *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache, '61 [incomplete].*
- OLZ (or Or. LZ)** *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, ed. Peiser, '98 f.
- Ond.** . . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*. See Kuenen.
- Onk., Onq.** . . . **Onkelos**, **Onqelos**. See Targ.
- Onom.** . . . See OS.
- Opf.** . . . *Origin of the Psalter*. See Cheyne.
- OS** . . . *Onomastica Sacra*, containing the 'name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde, (2), '87; the pagination of (1) printed on the margin of (2) is followed).
- OT** . . . Old Testament.
- OTJC** . . . *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*. See W. R. Smith.
- P** . . . Priestly Writer. See HIST. LIT.
- P₂** . . . Secondary Priestly Writers.
- Pal.** . . . **F. Buhl**, *Geographie des alten Palästina, '96*. See also Baedeker and Reland.
- Palm.** . . . Palmyrene. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
- Pal. Syr.** . . . Palestinian Syriac or Christian Palestinian. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
- PAOS** . . . *Proceedings of American Oriental Society, '51 ff.* (printed annually at end of AOS).
- Par.** . . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* See Delitzsch.
- Pat. Pal.** . . . **Sayce**, *Patriarchal Palestine, '95.*
- PE** . . . *Præparatio Evangelica*. See Eusebius.
- PEFQ[u. St.]** . . . *Palestine Exploration Fund [founded '65] Quarterly Statement, '69 ff.*
- PEFM[em.]** . . . *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs, 3 vols., '81-'83.*

xxiv ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Per-Chip. . . Perrot and Chipiez:
Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité. Égypte — Assyrie — Perse — Asie Mineure — Grèce — Étrurie — Rome; '81 ff.
 ET: *Ancient Egypt, '83; Chaldea and Assyria, '84; Phœnicia and Cyprus, '85; Sardinia, Judæa, etc., '90; Primitive Greece, '94.*
- Pers. Persian.
- Pesh. Peshitta, the Syriac vulgate (2nd-3rd cent.). *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, ed. S. Lee, '23, OT and NT, '24.
 W. E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version*, '97.
- Ph., Phœn. Phœnician.
- PRE *Real-Encyclopædie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*, ed. J. J. Herzog, 22 vols., '54-'68; (2), ed. J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, Alb. Hauck, 18 vols., '77-'88; (3), ed. Alb. Hauck, vol. i.-vii. [A-Hau], '96-'99.
- Preuss. Jahrb. *Preussische Jahrbücher*, '72 ff.
- Prim. Cult. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, '71; (3), '91.
- Proph. Is. *The Prophecies of Isaiah*. See Cheyne.
- Prot. *Prolegomena*. See Wellhausen.
- Prot. KZ *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das Evangelische Deutschland* (vols. i.-xlili., '54-'96); continued as *Prot. Monatshefte* ('97 ff.).
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, '78 ff.
- PS Thes. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*.
- Pun. Punic.
- R Redactor or Editor.
- RJE Redactor(s) of JE.
- Rd Deuteronomistic Editor(s).
- Rp Priestly Redactor(s).
- i-5R H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, i.-v. ('61-'84; iv. (2), '91).
- Rab. Rabbinical.
- Rashi i.e. Rabbenu Shelomoh Yishaki (1040-1105), the celebrated Jewish commentator.
- Rec. Trav. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'Archéol. égypt. et assyr.* '70 ff.
- REJ *Revue des Études juives*, i., '80; ii. and iii., '81; and so on.
- Rel. Pal. Reland, *Palestina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata*, 2 vols., 1714.
- Rev. *Revue*.
- Rev. Sém. *Revue sémitique*, '93 ff.
- Ri. Sa. *Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel*. See Budde.
- Rob. Edward Robinson:
 BR *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petraea, a journal of travels in the year 1838* (i.-iii., '41 = BK⁽²⁾, i.-ii., '56).
- LBR or BR iv. *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions, a journal of travels in the year 1852* ('56).
- or BR⁽²⁾ iii. *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, '65.
- Roscher *Ausführliches Lexikon d. Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie* ('84 ff.).
- RP *Records of the Past, being English translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia*, ed. S. Birch, vols. i.-xii. ('73-'81). New series [RP⁽²⁾] ed. A. H. Sayce, vols. i.-vi., '88-'92. See ASSYRIA, § 35.
- RS or Rel. Sem. *Religion of the Semites*. See W. K. Smith.
- RV Revised Version (NT, '80; OT, '84; Apocrypha, '95).
- RWB G. B. Winer (1789-1858), *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, '20; (3), 2 vols., '47 f.
- Rys. Ryssel; cp. Dillmann, Bertheau.
- Saad. R. Sa'adya (Sē'adya; Ar. Sa'id), the tenth century Jewish grammarian and lexicographer (b. 892); Explanations of the *hapaxlegomena* in the OT, etc.
- Sab. Sabæan, less fittingly called Himyaritic; the name given to a class of S. Arabian inscriptions.
- Sab. Denkm. *Sabäische Denkmäler*, edd. Müller and Mordtmann.
- Sam. Samaritan.
- SBAW *Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- SBE *The Sacred Books of the East*, translated by various scholars and edited by the Rt. Hon. F. Max Müller, 50 vols. 1879 ff.
- SBOT (Eng.) [Otherwise known as the *Polychrome Bible*] *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, a new Eng. transl., with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations; prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and of America, and edited, with the assistance of Horace Howard Furness, by Paul Haupt*, '97 ff.
- SBOT (Heb.) Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament; a critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colours, with notes, prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and America, under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt*, '93 ff.
- Schöpfung. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit*, '95.
- Schr. E. Schrader; editor of *KB* [q.v.]:
- KGF *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung*, '78.
- KAT *D. Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, '72; (2), '83.
- COT Eng. transl. of *KAT*⁽³⁾ by O. C. Whitehouse, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2 vols., '85, '88 (the pagination of the German is retained in the margin of the Eng. ed.).
- Schür. E. Schürer:
- GJV *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*; i. Einleitung u. Politische Geschichte, '90; ii. Die Inneren Zustände Palästinas u. des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter

- Jesu Christi, '86; new ed. vol. ii. *Die Inneren Zustände*, '98, vol. iii. *Das Judentum in der Zerstreung u. die jüdische Literatur*, '98.
- Hist.* . . . ET of above ('90 ff.). Vols. 1 f. (*i.e.*, Div. 1. vols. 1 f.) = vol. 1 of German; vols. 3-5 (*i.e.*, Div. ii. vols. 1-3) = vol. 2 of German [= vols. ii., iii of (3)].
- Selden . . . J. Selden, *de Jure naturali et gentium juxta disciplinam Ebraeorum*, 7 bks., 1665. *de Dis Syria*, 1617.
- Sem. . . . Semitic.
- Sin. . . . Sinaitic; see ARAMAIC, § 4.
- Smend, *Listen* . . . Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra u. Nehemiah*, '81.
- Smith
GASm. . . . George Adam Smith:
HG . . . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*, '94 (additions to (4), '90).
- WRS. . . . William Robertson Smith ('46-'94: *OTJC* . . . *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, '81; (2), revised and much enlarged, '92; (Germ. transl. by Rothstein, '94).
- Proph.* . . . *The Prophets of Israel and their place in History, to the close of the eighth century B.C.*, '82; (2), with introduction and additional notes by T. K. Cheyne, '95.
- Kin.* . . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, '85.
- R[el.]-S[em.] . . . *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: 1st ser., The Fundamental Institutions*, '89; new and revised edition (RS(2)), '94; Germ. transl. by Stube, '99.
[The MS notes of the later Burnett Lectures—on Priesthood, Divination and Prophecy, and Semitic Polytheism and Cosmogony—remain unpublished, but are occasionally cited by the editors in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* as 'Burnett Lects. MS'].]
- SP A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history*, '56, last ed. '96.
- Spencer . . . *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (2 vols. 1727).
- SS Siegfried and Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente*, '93.
- St., Sta. . . . B. Stade:
GVI . . . *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, '81-'88.
- Abb.* . . . *Ausgewählte Akademische Reden u. Abhandlungen*, '99.
- St. Kr. . . . *Studien und Kritiken*, '28 ff.
- Stad. m. m. . . *Stadiasmus magni maris* (Marcianus).
- Stud. Bibl.* . . *Studia Biblica, Essays in Biblical Archaeology and Criticism and kindred subjects*, 4 vols., '85-'91.
- Sw. H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint: (1), '87-'94; (2), '95-'99.*
- SIVAW . . . *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.*
- Sym[m] Symmachus, author of a Greek version of the Old Testament (*circa* 200 A.D.). See TEXT.
- Syr. Syriae. See ARAMAIC, § 11 f.
- Tab. Pent.* . . *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Desjardins, '68.
- Talm. Bab. Jer. . Talmud, Babylonian or Jerusalem, consisting of the text of the Mishna broken up into small sections, each followed by the discursive comment called Gemära. See LAW LITERATURE.
- T[ar]g. . . . Targum. See TEXT.
- Jer.* The (fragmentary) Targum Jerushalmi.
- Jon.* Targum Jonathan, the name borne by the Babylonian Targum to the Prophets.
- Onk.* Targum Onkelos, the Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch (towards end of second century A.D.).
- ps.-Jon.* . . . The Targ. to the Pentateuch, known by the name of Jonathan.
- TBS *Der Text der Bücher Samuëlis: see Wellhausen; or Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel: see Driver.*
- temp. tempore (in the time [of]).
- T[extus] R[ec-] . . The 'received text' of the NT.
ceptus] See TEXT.
- Th[e]. Thenius, *die Bücher Samuëlis in KGH*, '42; (2), '64; (3), Lühr, '98.
- Theod. . . . Theodotion (end of second century), author of a Greek version of the Old Testament ('rather a revision of the LXX than a new translation'). See TEXT.
- Theol. Studien.* . *Studien*, published in connection with *Th. T* (see DEUTERONOMY, § 337).
- Thes.* See Gesenius.
R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, '68 ff.
- Th. T* *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, '67 ff.
- Ti. or Tisch. . . . Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, editio octava critica major, '00-'72.
- TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, '70 ff.
- Tosephta See LAW LITERATURE.
- Treg. S. P. Tregelles, *The Greek New Testament: edited from ancient authorities*, '57-'72.
- Tristram H. B. Tristram:
FFP *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, '89.
NHB *The Natural History of the Bible*, (8), '89.
- TSBA *Transactions of Soc. Bib. Archaeol.*, vols. i.-ix., '72 ff.
- Tüb. Z. f. Theol. . *Tübingen Zeitschrift f. Theologie*, '34 ff.
- Untersuch.* . . *Untersuchungen.* See Nöldeke, Winckler.
- Urgesch.* *Die biblische Urgeschichte.* See Budde.
- v. verse.
- Var. Apoc.* . . . *The Apocrypha (AV) edited with various renderings, etc.*, by C. J. Ball.
- Var. Bib.* *The Old and New Testaments (AV) edited with various renderings, etc.*, by T. K. Cheyne, S. R.

xxvi ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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

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MAPS IN VOLUME I

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

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A

AALAR (אלאאר [B]). 1 Esd. 5:36† AV = Ezra 2:59. IMMER, i.; cp also CHERUB, 2.

AARON (אָרֹן; § 73 see also below, § 4, end; אַרְוֹן [BAL], אַר, [A]; AARON). In the post-exilic parts of the OT (including Ezra, Neh., Ch., and for our present purpose some of the Psalms) Aaron is the ancestor of all lawful priests,¹ and himself the first and typical high-

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

that of Joshua. The 'priestly' writer mentions only one blot in the character of Aaron: viz., that in some way, which cannot be clearly ascertained in the present state of the text, he rebelled against Yahwè in the wilderness of Zin, when told to 'speak to the rock' and bring forth water (Nu. 20:12). In penalty he dies, outside Canaan, at Mount Hor, on the borders of Edom (v. 22 f.).

As we ascend to the exilic and pre-exilic literature, Aaron is still a prominent figure; but he is no longer either the high-priest or the ancestor of all legitimate priests. Ezekiel traces the origin of the priests at Jerusalem no farther back than to ZADOK (q.v. 1, § 3), in Solomon's time. Dt. 10:6 (which mentions Aaron's death, not at Hor but at Moserah, and the fact that Eleazar succeeded him in the priesthood) is generally and rightly regarded as an interpolation. In Mic. 6:4 (time of Manasseh?) Aaron is mentioned between Moses and Miriam as instrumental in the redemption of Israel. In the Elohistic document of the Hexateuch (E) he is mentioned as the brother of Miriam the prophetess (Ex. 15:20; for other references to him see Ex. 17:12 24:9, 10, 14, Nu. 12:1); but it is Joshua, not Aaron, who is the minister of Moses in sacred things, and keeps guard over the tent of meeting (Ex. 33:11), and 'young men of the children of Israel' offer sacrifice, while the solemn act of sprinkling the blood of the covenant is reserved for Moses (Ex. 24:5, 6). Aaron, however, seems to have counted in the mind of E as the ancestor of the priests at 'the hill of Phinehas' (Josh. 24:33) and perhaps of those at Bethel. At all events, the author of a section added in a later edition of E speaks of Aaron as yielding to the people while Moses is absent on Mount Horeb, and taking the lead in the worship of Yahwè under the form of a golden calf. The narrator, influenced by prophetic teaching, really means to attack the worship carried on at the great sanctuary of Bethel, and looks back to the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians in 721 as Yahwè's 'visitation' of the idolatrous worship maintained in N. Israel (Ex. 32; see especially v. 34).

It is extremely probable that Aaron's name was absent altogether from the earliest document of the Hexateuch (J) in its original form. In it Aaron appears only to disappear. For example, according to our present text, Pharaoh sends for Moses and Aaron that they may entreat Yahwè to remove the plague of frogs; but in the course of the narrative Aaron is ignored, and the plague is withdrawn simply at 'the word of Moses' (Ex. 8:8-15 a [4-11 a]). Apparently, therefore, the name of Aaron has been introduced here and there into J by the editor who united it to E (cp EXODUS, § 3 n. 1). If that is so we may perhaps agree with Oort that the legend of Aaron belonged originally

2. In earlier writers.

3. In E. historic document of the Hexateuch (E) he is mentioned as the brother of Miriam the prophetess (Ex. 15:20; for other references to him see Ex. 17:12 24:9, 10, 14, Nu. 12:1); but it is Joshua, not Aaron, who is the minister of Moses in sacred things, and keeps guard over the tent of meeting (Ex. 33:11), and 'young men of the children of Israel' offer sacrifice, while the solemn act of sprinkling the blood of the covenant is reserved for Moses (Ex. 24:5, 6). Aaron, however, seems to have counted in the mind of E as the ancestor of the priests at 'the hill of Phinehas' (Josh. 24:33) and perhaps of those at Bethel. At all events, the author of a section added in a later edition of E speaks of Aaron as yielding to the people while Moses is absent on Mount Horeb, and taking the lead in the worship of Yahwè under the form of a golden calf. The narrator, influenced by prophetic teaching, really means to attack the worship carried on at the great sanctuary of Bethel, and looks back to the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians in 721 as Yahwè's 'visitation' of the idolatrous worship maintained in N. Israel (Ex. 32; see especially v. 34).

4. In J. appears only to disappear. For example, according to our present text, Pharaoh sends for Moses and Aaron that they may entreat Yahwè to remove the plague of frogs; but in the course of the narrative Aaron is ignored, and the plague is withdrawn simply at 'the word of Moses' (Ex. 8:8-15 a [4-11 a]). Apparently, therefore, the name of Aaron has been introduced here and there into J by the editor who united it to E (cp EXODUS, § 3 n. 1). If that is so we may perhaps agree with Oort that the legend of Aaron belonged originally

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

² On passages in P which seem to conflict with this, see the circumspect and conclusive note of Dt. on Lev. 8:12.

same root). There is no instance of the name earlier than Jeremiah. Targ. Nu. 27 vs 10, 32⁴⁹ gives אבא עבדו.

As seen from W. Palestine this range forms a continuous mountain-wall, at a pretty constant level, which is broken only by the valley-mouths of the Yarmük, Zeräk or Jabbok, and Arnon. Across the gulf of the Jordan valley it rises with great impressiveness, and constitutes the eastern horizon (cp Stanley, *SP*; GASM, *HG* 53, 519, 548). The hardly varying edge masks a considerable difference of level behind. On the whole the level is maintained from the foot of Hermon to the S. end of the Dead Sea at a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet above the ocean. The basis throughout is limestone. N. of the Yarmük this is deeply covered by volcanic deposits, and there are extinct craters N.E. of the Lake of Galilee. Between the Yarmük and the Wädü Hesbän, at the N. end of the Dead Sea, run transverse ridges, cut by deep wädies, and well wooded as far S. as the Zeräk. S. of Wädü Hesbän rolls the breezy treeless plateau of Moab, indented in its western edge by short wädies rising quickly to the plateau level, with the headlands that are more properly the Mts. of Abärim between them; and cut right through to the desert by the great trenches of the wädies, Zeräk, Mä'in, and Möjtöb or Arnon. For details see ASIDOTH-PISGAH, BÄMOTH-BAAL, BETH-PEOR, MOAB, NEBO, PISGAH, ZOPHIM, etc., with authorities quoted there. On Nu. 33⁴⁷ see WANDERINGS, § 11. G. A. S.

ABBA (אבא [Ti. WH], *i.e.* אבא, Ab, 'father,' in the 'emphatic state'), an Aram. title of God used by Jesus and his contemporaries, and retained by Greek-speaking Christian Jews. See Mk. 14³⁶ Rom. 8¹⁵ Gal. 4^{6f}; where in each case δ πατήρ is substituted.

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

1. Father of Adoniram (1 K. 17; אבוא [A]; אברא [B]; אברא [L]).
2. Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5f, § 15 [1] 24; Neh. 11; אבואים [אבואים 390]; אבואים [אבואים 15]; אבוא [L]; אבואים [L]; 1 Ch. 9¹⁷; אבואים [אבואים 79-81]).

ABDEEL (עבדאל, § 21, 'servant of God'), father of Shelemiah, Jer. 36^{26f}. (Not in \mathfrak{C} .)

ABDI (עבדי, § 52, abbr. for 'servant of Yahwé'?) cp Palm. **עבדי**, and see OBADIAH; אבדיא [L].

1. Father of Kish, a Levite under Hezekiah, mentioned in the genealogy of ETHAN (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 6⁴⁴ [29] 2 Ch. 20²²; אבדי [L]; [BAL].
2. One of the b'ne ELAM (*q.v.* ii. [1]), in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10²⁶ (אבדי [אבא [BN.]], -[L.]) = 1 Est. 9²⁷ (RV QABDI S. AV om.; אבדי [אבא [L]]).

ABDIAS (אבדיאס), 4 Est. 1^{39f}. See OBADIAH, 1.

ABDIEL (עבדיאל, §§ 21, 37, 'servant of God'; אבדיאל [B]; -ΔΙΗΛ [A.]), in genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5^{15f}.

ABDON (עבדון; אבδων [AL], see also below), one of the four Levitical cities within the tribe of Asher; Josh. 21³⁰ 1 Ch. 6⁷⁴ [59f]. The site has not been identified, but Güfün has suggested that of 'Abdeh, 10 m. N. from 'Akka (Acre). The same city is referred to in Josh. 19²⁸, where עבדון (AV HEBRON; RV EBRON) is a graphical error for עבדון, Abdon, which, in fact, some MSS. read [Josh. 21³⁰, אבδων [B]; 1 Ch. 6⁷⁴ [59], אבδων [B], om. [L.]; Josh. 19²⁸, אבδων [B], אבδων [AL]].

ABDON (עבדון, § 77; dim. of EBED; אבδων [BAL.]), 1. G. Hillel, of the six minor judges (see JUDGES, §). After judging Israel eight years, he was buried at Pirathon in Ephraim, his native

place. He had forty sons and thirty grandsons, 'that rode on three-score and ten ass colts'—*i.e.*, was head of a large and wealthy family (cp Judg. 5¹⁰), Judg. 12¹³ 15^f (אבδון [AL.], = 15 50 [A]); on Lev. 3's conjecture that his name should be restored in 1 S. 12¹¹, see BEDAN, 1. 2. b. Shushan, a Benjaminite (1 Ch. 7¹⁷, אבדון [B]). 3. b. Joad, the father of Othniel (1 Ch. 3¹⁰, אבדון [B]). 4. b. Mada, a cousin of King Josiah (1 Ch. 33²⁰, אבדון [B], elsewhere called אבדון *q.v.*). See BETH-AN, 2.

ABEDNEGO (עבד נבז, § 86; אבדנעגו [A], a corruption of עבד נבו, 'servant of Nebo,' which occurs in an Assyrio-Aramaic inscription, *CPA* 2¹⁰; אβδενεγω [B] [A 87]; عابد نبو; אבדנעגו) the court name given to Azariah [10], the friend of Daniel (Dan. 1⁷, etc.). On EBED-NEBO-NERGAL.

ABEL (אבל, § 6; אβελ [ABD.]; אβελ, Gen. 4²

f. There are three phases in Jewish beliefs respecting Abel. The second and the third may be mentioned first. The catastrophe of the Exile shifted the mental horizon, and made a right view of the story of Abel impossible. Abel was therefore at first (as it would seem from P) neglected. Afterwards, however, he was restored to more than his old position by devout though uncritical students of Scripture, who saw in him the type of the highest saintliness, that sealed by a martyr's death (cp Kohler, *JQR* v. 413 [93]). The same view appears in parts of the NT (Mt. 23³⁵ = Lk. 11⁵¹; Heb. 11⁴ 12²⁴ 1 John 3¹²). God bore witness, we are told (Heb. 11⁴), that Abel was righteous—*i.e.*, a possessor of true faith, —and it was by faith that Abel offered π είσινα (Cobet conjectures η λόνα) θυσίας. Hence Magee assumes that Abel had received a revelation of the Atonement (*Atonement and Sacrifice*, i. 50-53). The original narrator (J), however, would certainly wish us to regard Abraham as the first believer; the story of Cain and Abel is an early Israelitish legend retained by J as having a profitable tenor. On this earliest phase of belief, see CAIN, § 4f. *Meaning of the name.* The Massoretic attribution of Abel (Heb. 4) to mean 'a breath,' 'vanity' (cp Ps. 39⁶ [7]); but the true meaning, both of Abel and of the collateral form Jahal, must be something concrete, and a right view of the story favours the meaning 'shepherd,' or, more generally, 'herdman.' This is supported by the existence of a group of Semitic names, some of which denote domesticated animals, while others are the corresponding words for their herdmen. Cp, e.g., Ass. *ablu*, 'ram, camel, ass' (but some explain 'wild sheep'; see *Mass.-Ass.* 122); *abnu*, 'herdman,' 'herdsman' (Ass. *abnu*, see *FT*, s.v.); Ar. *ihil*, 'camels,' *ahbil*, 'camel-herd.' The attempt of Lenormant (*Les origines*, i. 177) and others to derive *abnu* (*Hubert Lects.* 186, 236, 249), to find in the name a trace of a nature-myth, Abel (= Bab. *ablu*, 'son') being originally 'the only son of Lamma, who was a shepherd like Lamma and Abé' (Sayce), and whom Lenormant regards as, like Abel in early theology, a kind of type of Christ, is adventurous. The name 'son' is insufficient as a title of Lamma (*abnu*, *abnu*), and there is nothing said of a mourning for Abel's death. The title of 'shepherd' applied to Lamma in 4 K. 17¹¹ is explained by the following word 'lord' (see Jeremiah, *Isaiabur Nimrod*, 50). In the *Targum of Abraham* (ed. James) Abel plays the part of Judge of the nether world, like the Jama (Yima) of the Aryans. G. A. S.

ABEL (אבל, §§ 89-100) occurs, apparently in the sense of 'meadow,' in the place-names dealt with in the following six articles. As a place-name it may be struck out of 1 S. 6^{18b}, where for MT אבן הנדולה it is read (so also Pesh.) אביל reads εως (ε. γ. τ. [L.]) λίθου του μεγάλου, with which the Targ. Jon. agrees (so also RV). Ew., W.e., and others further change the points so as to read: 'and a witness is the great stone.' Dr. suggests as an alternative: 'and still the great stone, whereon'—*etc.* On Abel in 2 S. 20¹⁸, see ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH. G. A. S.

ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH, RV, Abel-Beth-Maacah (2 S. 20¹⁴; אביל בית מעכה, to Abel and Beth-maacah, RV 'unto Abel and to Beth-maac[h]ah' [many strike out the conjunction, but the places may have been different; cp 2 S. 20¹⁵ L,

2 K. 15.20 BAL], ΕΙΣ ΔΒΕΛ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΒΑΙΘΜΑΧΑ [B]. . . . ΒΗΘΜΑΧΑ [A], κ. ΔΒΗΛΑ κ. ΒΑΙΘΜΑΚΚΩ [L].
 Cp 2 S. 20.15, בְּתֵיבַת בֵּית מִצְרַיִם, EV 'in Abel of Bethmaachah], ΕΙΣ ΔΒΕΛ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΙΘΜΑΧΑ [B], ΕΙΣ Δ. ΕΙΣ ΒΗΘΜΑΧΑ [A], ΕΙΣ ΤΗ Α. κ. ΒΑΙΘΜΑΚΚΩ [L]; 1 K. 15.20, בְּתֵיבַת בְּתֵיבַת אֲבֵל מַעֲיִן (Sic) ΜΑΧΑ [A], ΔΒΕΛΜΑΧΑ [L]; 2 K. 15.20, בְּתֵיבַת אֲבֵל κ. ΤΗ ΒΗΘΜΑΧΑ [B], ΚΑΒΕΛ κ. τ. ΒΕΡΜΑΧΑ [A], ΔΒΕΛ κ. τ. ΒΑΙΘΜΑΧΑ [L]; 2 S. 20.18 (on which see ARAM, § 5), בְּתֵיבַת, EV ABEL, (77) ABEL [Sic BAL].

This place, mentioned, although in now mutilated form [A]-bi-il, by Tiglath-pileser III. (cp Schr. *COT* on 2 K. 15.20), is the present *Abil*—called also *Abil el-Kamh* ('of the wheat') to distinguish it from *Abil es-Suk* (see ABILENE)—a small village inhabited by Christians on the *Nahr Bareighti*, on a hill 1074 ft. above the sea, overlooking the Jordan valley, almost directly opposite to *Bāniās*, and on the main road thence to Sidon and the coast. It is a strong site, with a spring and a (probably artificial) mound; below is a broad level of good soil, whence the modern name. See Yāqūt 156; Rob. *LBK* 372 f. (who argues against *Abel el-Hawā*, a site 8 m. farther north); *PEP Mem.* i. 85 107; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 309, 315. In 2 Ch. 16.4, we have, instead of the Abel-beth-maachah of the parallel passage (1 K. 15.20), ABEL-MAIM (בְּתֵיבַת אֲבֵל מַיִן [A]), -מַיִן [B], -מַעֲיִן [L]; cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 124, Αβελμαϊν], or 'Abel of Waters', a name suitable for so well-watered a neighbourhood. On Judith 44.73 where Pesh. reads Abelmeholah, and N apparently Abelmaim, see BELMEN (cp also BEBAI). On the ancient history of the place see ARAM, § 5. G. A. S.

ABEL-CHERAMIM (אֲבֵל כְּרָמִים), 'meadow of vineyards', § 103; εβελχαρμειν [B]; ΔΒΕΛ ΑΜΠΕΛΩΝΩΝ [AL]; Judg. 11.33† RV), the limit of Jephthah's pursuit and slaughter of the Ammonites. Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 225 § 96.1, "Αβελ χαρμειν, Αβελι χαρμειν") identify it with a village of their day, named 'Αβελ, 7 R. m. from Philadelphia. This Abel may be any of the many fertile levels among the rolling hills around 'Ammān, on which the remains of vineyards and of terraces are not infrequent. G. A. S.

ABEL-MAIM (אֲבֵל מַיִן), 2 Ch. 16.4†], see ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH.

ABEL-MEHOLAH (אֲבֵל מְחֹלָה), i.e., 'dancing meadow'; εβελμαωλα, Δβωμεωγλα, εβελμαω [B]; ΔΒΕΛ ΜΑΧΟΥΛΙΑ, ΒΑΕΛΜΕΟ, [A]; ΔΒΕΛΜΕΟΥΛΙΑ, -ΜΑΧΩΛΑ [L]; ΑΒΕΛΜΑΧΟΥΛΙΑ; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 137, ΔΒΕΛΑ), the home of Elisha the prophet (1 K. 19.16), and probably also of Adriel b. Barzillai 'the Meholahite' (1 S. 18.19; 2 S. 21.8), is mentioned in conjunction with Bethshan as defining the province of one of Solomon's officers (1 K. 4.12). Gideon pursued the Midianites 'as far as Beth-shittah towards Zererah as far as the border'—lit. 'lip,' probably the high bank which marks the edge of the Jordan valley proper—'of Abel-meholah, by Tabbath' (Judg. 7.22). According to Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 97.11 227.35), Abelmala (or 'Αβελμαελά) lay in the *Ghōr*, 10 R. m. to the south of Scythopolis (Bethshan), and was still an inhabited village in their time, with the name Bethaula, Βηθμαελά (though they mention also an *Abelmea*, 'Αβελμαεά). This points to a locality at or near the place where the *W. Málīh*, coming down from 'Ain Málīh, joins the Jordan valley.

ABEL-MIZRAIM (אֲבֵל מִצְרַיִם) [see below], ΠΕΝΘΟΣ ΔΙΥΠΤΙΟΥ [BAL]; so Pesh. Vg.), Gen. 50.11† (†), otherwise (*v.* 10 f.) called GOREN HA-ATAD (הַגֹּרֵן הָאֵתָד); ΑΛΩΝΙ ΑΤΑΔ [B²AL]. Α. ΤΑΔ [B²AL]. Δ. ΑΤΑΤ [D] or 'the threshing-floor of the thorn-shrub' (EV 'of ATAD,' see BRAMBLE, 1), and said to be situated 'beyond Jordan' (cp *v.* 10 J). It was there that Joseph made a second mourning for his father, whence the

etymological play on the name (*v.* 11). After this, Joseph and his brethren carried the embalmed body of Jacob to Machpelah for burial, and then returned to Egypt (*v.* 13 f. J and P). The words 'which is beyond Jordan' (*v.* 10 f.), however, cannot be accurate: the original text of J must, it would seem, have been altered, owing to a misreading or an editorial misunderstanding. The circuitous route round the north end of the Dead Sea has no obvious motive: had it really been meant, something more would have been said about it (cp Nu. 14.25). For הַיַּרְדֵּן, 'the Jordan,' J must have written either הַיַּרְדֵּן (less probably הַיַּרְדֵּן)—i.e., the most easterly arm of the Nile (a frontier of Canaan, according to Josh. 13.3)—or הַנָּהָר, 'the stream'—i.e., the *Wādī el-'Arīsh*, the usual SW. boundary of Canaan (cp Gen. 15.18, where J calls this *Wādī*, not the *נָהָר* but the *נָהָר* of Egypt—i.e., 'the stream on the border of Egypt' (Kautsch-Socin), on which see EGYPT, RIVER OF).

The meaning of the narrative is this. At the first Canaanite village (the first after the border had been crossed) the 'great company' (*v.* 9) halted, while Joseph and his fellow-Hebrews mourned in their own way (cp *v.* 3b) in the very place where wedding and funeral ceremonies are still performed in the Syrian villages (Wetz.). The repetition of 'which is beyond Jordan' must be due to the editor.

It is remarkable that Jer. (*OS* 85.15), though he does not question the reading 'beyond Jordan,' identifies *Area Atath* with *Bethgala*—i.e., BETH-HUGLAH (*q.v.*), which is certainly on the *west* bank of the Jordan. Dillm. is more consistently conservative, and, followed by Sayce (*Crit. and Mon.* 27 f.), finds in the trans-Jordanic Abel-Mizraim a testimony to the Egyptian empire in Palestine in the pre-Mosaic age, proved by the Amarna tablets. The exegetical difficulties of this view, however, are insuperable.

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

ABEL-SHITTIM (אֲבֵל שִׁטִּים), § 100, i.e., 'the meadow of the acacias'; Samar. omits the article; ΔΒΕΛ-CAITTEIM [L], Β. . . ΤΤΙΜ [A], -ΤΤΕΙΝ [F], ΒΕΛΑΚΑ [B]; *ABEL-SATIIM*, Num. 33.49), or, more briefly, *Shittim* (שִׁטִּים), 'the acacias, CAITTEIM [BA], -M [L]; but Nu. 25.1 CAITTEIM [F], -N [L]; Josh. 21. EK ATTEIM [A], ΕΖΑΤΤΕΙΝ [F], 31 EKATTEIM [F]; Mic. 6.4† ΤΩΝ ΟΥΝΩΝ [BAQ] (for CYINGON? cp *S.* 54), in the Arabah or Jordan basin at the foot of Mount Peor and opposite Jericho. In the time of Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 8.1, v. 1.2) a town named Abila ('Αβίλα), rich in palm trees, occupied such a site at a distance of 60 stadia (7½ R. m.) from the river. Cp *BJ* iv. 7.6, where it is described as near the Dead Sea, and Jer. (Comm. on Joel), who locates it 6 R. m. from Livias. This seems to point to the neighbourhood of *Khirbet el-Kefrein*, where the *Wādī Kefrein* enters the Jordan valley, and there are ruins, including those of a fortress. It was at Abila, according to Jos., that Moses delivered the exhortations of Dt. The palm trees have disappeared, but there is an acacia grove at no great distance (Tristram, Conder). According to *RP* v. 50, this is the Aupal or 'Abel' mentioned among the places conquered by Thotmes III.

In Joel 3 [4] 18 שִׁטִּים should perhaps be treated as a common noun and translated 'acacias' (so KV mg., and Marti in *HS*; cp τῶν στυλίων [B²NAQ]). At all events the reference is not to Abel-shittim across the Jordan. Some (We., Now.) think the name has been preserved in the *Wādī es-Sanā* (see ELAH, VALLEY OF), but the latter does not require the watering of which Joel speaks; and he intends, rather, some dry gorge nearer Jerusalem, perhaps (like Ez. 47.1-12) some part of the Kedron valley, *Wādī en-Nār* (cp *Dr. ad loc.*; GASM. *HG* 511; also, for acacias on W. of Dead Sea, Tristram, *Land of Isr.* 280, 298).

ABEZ, RV Ebez (אֶבֶז; pēBec [B], ḏmce [A], -MIC [L]; *ABES*; Josh. 19.24f),¹ one of the sixteen cities of Issachar. The site is unknown, but the name is evidently connected with that of the judge IBZAN (*q.v.*) of Bethlehem—*i.e.*, the northern Bethlehem. This Bethlehem, it is true, is Zebulunite, while Ebez is assigned to Issachar; but the places must have been very close to each other, and the frontiers doubtless varied. Conder's identification with *El Beidā*, 2 m. from Beit Lahm, might suit as to position, but 'the white village' can have nothing to do with the old name.

W. R. S.

ABI (אֲבִי, so Targ. Jon.; abbrev. of *ABITAH*; אָבוֹי [BA], -[I]. [L]; Jos. אֲבִיָּא [ap]), daughter of Zedebah, wife of King Abaz, and mother of King Hezekiah (2 K. 18.2f). In the parallel passage (2 Ch. 29.1) the name is given as *ABIJAH* (אֲבִיָּה [B; see Swete], אֲבִיָּהוּ [A], אֲבִיָּה [L]; אֲבִי [i]; *Abiā*), but the probability is perhaps in favour of the contracted form in K. (So Gray, *HPV* 24.)

ABI. Names with. There has been much discussion as to the interpretation of the names compounded with *abi*, *ahi*, and some other words denoting relationship¹ (cp *AMMI*-, *HAMU*-, *DOD*-). Without assuming that this discussion is in all points closed (cp *NAMES*, § 44), the writer thinks it best to state the theory which he has himself long held, adopting certain points (with acknowledgment) from Gray's very lucid and thorough exposition, and then to consider the religious and archaeological aspects of the subject.

The question whether these names are sentences has long been answered by some critics in the affirmative, and the arguments of Gray (*HPV* 75-86) put the student in possession of all the points to be urged. He also ably criticises the alternative view (*viz.*, that the two

1. Are the names sentences? elements in Abimelech, Ammiel, etc., are related as construct and genitive). It is usual to refer on this side to such Phœnician names as אֲבִי־חֵן, in which the term of relation is always fem. in names of women and masc. in those of men. But this is decisive only for Phœnician names, and even in their case only for names in אֲבִי and אֲחֵי ('brother' and 'sister'). Compounds with *ab* ('father') are used indifferently of men and women in Phœnician, just as they are in Hebrew. In the latter case, therefore, at least, the term of relation cannot refer to the bearer of the name—*i.e.*, as Melchizedek in the construct state. No doubt in Ps. 110.4 Melchizedek (which suffers, along with other compound names containing a connective *ī* [see below, § 3], from the same ambiguity as names containing a term of kinship) is understood as a construct relation, 'king of righteousness,' and the phrase אֲבִי־יְהוָה—as we should certainly read in Is. 9.5 [6] אֲבִי־יְהוָה²—obviously means for the writer 'glorious father' (*i.e.*, glorious ruler of the family of Israel; cp Is. 22.21). It would seem, therefore, that in the post-exilic age some names of this type were so understood. But we must remember that in later times the original sense of a formation may be forgotten. Gray's main objections to taking *abi* etc. as originally constructs are as follows: (1) The theory will not account for names like Eliab, Joah, etc. Eliab clearly stands to Abiel as Elijah to Joel; in the latter case the

¹ On some possible but by no means clear instances of *im*, 'mother,' in compound names, see Gray, *HPV* 64 n. 2.

² The interpretation of אֲבִי־יְהוָה as 'everlasting one' stands or falls with the interpretation of, *e.g.*, Abinoam as 'father of graciousness,' and of Abitub as 'father of goodness.' Though defended by reference to such names by Guthe (*Zukunftsbild des Jes.* 41 [85]), it is now generally rejected in favour of 'perpetual father (of his people),' or 'father (i.e. producer) of booty.' But neither of these explanations gives a satisfactory parallel to 'prince of peace.' We must read אֲבִי־יְהוָה. 'Prince of peace' suggests a reminiscence of Abisalom, which the writer probably interpreted 'father of peace,' *i.e.*, peaceful (or prosperous) ruler.

genitive relation is excluded; inferentially it is equally so in the former. (2) The use of *ab* with a noun denoting a quality is a pure Arabism,¹ which should not be lightly admitted, while such an interpretation as 'father of Yah' for Abijah is unlikely. (3) A woman's name like 'brother of graciousness' (Abinoam) is inconceivable.² In favour of taking the names compounded with a term of relationship as sentences Gray urges that, though *ab*, *ah*, *am*, etc., all denote a male relative, the proper names compounded with them are used indifferently of men and women; while, on the other hand, nouns with *ben* (son) prefixed are used exclusively of men, the corresponding names of women having *bath* (daughter) for *ben*. He infers, therefore, that, while in the case of names in *ben* and *bath* the element denoting kindred refers to the bearer of the name, in the case of *ab* etc. it does not.

Assuming that these compound names are sentences, are there grounds for determining which of the

2. Which part two elements is subject and which is predicate? (1) In cases like Abijah,

is predicate? Abijah, only the first part can be regarded as indefinite³ and therefore as predicate. We must, therefore, render 'Yahwē is father,' etc. The same principle would apply to Joab, Joah (if these are really compounds). Quite generally, therefore, whenever one element is a proper name it must be subject.⁴ But (2) a divine proper name may give place to אֱלֹהִים (ēl) or some divine title—*e.g.*, Lord. Hence Abiel, Abimelech, will be best explained on the analogy of Abijah—*i.e.*, 'God is father,' 'the divine king is father.' Lastly (3) the divine name or title may give place to an epithet, such as *ram*, 'lofty.' Here the syntax is at first sight open to doubt. The usages of the terms of relationship in the cases just considered would suggest that *-ram* in *Abi-ram* is subject; but the fact that *ram* nowhere occurs by itself designating Yahwē seems to the writer to show that it must be predicate. Abram, therefore, means, not 'the exalted one is father,' but 'the (divine) father is exalted.' Cp *ADONIRAM*, *JERURAM*.

The question whether the connective *ī*, which occurs in most of the forms, is the suffix of the first pers. sing.,

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

It is not easy at first to appreciate, or even to understand, the conception which underlies compound names

4 Religious of this class. The representation of a

conception. god as the father of a tribe or clan may be less repulsive to us than the representation of him as a brother or as some other kinsman. Even a prophet does not object to the expression 'sons of the living (god)' (Hos. 1.10 [21]; see the commentators); but any one can see that to substitute some other relation

¹ Rare in ancient Arabic (see *NAMES*, § 45).

² Even if in modern Ar. *abū* is so used of a woman (see *NAMES*, § 45, third note).

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

⁴ The same principle will apply to other compounds containing, instead of a term of kinship, a title, *e.g.*, as in מַלְאֲכֵי־יְהוָה (*q.v.*), *ADONIJAH*, etc., or a concrete noun, as in *URIAM*.

for sonship would in such a context be impossible. Names in Abi-, Ammi-, etc., are, in fact, of primitive origin, and must be explained in connection with primitive ideas of the kinship of gods and men (see WRS *R5*² Lect. 2). Names like Ahijah, Ahinoam, etc., imply a time when the god was regarded as brother. The question then arises, May we take 'brother' in a wide sense as kinsman? or did such formations descend from a remote age when society was polyandrous? Strabo (164) wrote of a polyandrous society in Arabia Felix that 'all are brothers of all,' and Robertson Smith (*Kin.* 167 f.) was of opinion that far back in the social development of Hebrew life lay a form of fraternal polyandry. Now, supposing that the Hebrews when in this stage conceived themselves to be related to a male deity, it is difficult to see under what other form than brotherhood such relationship could be conceived. Of course, if names expressing this conception were retained in later ages, they would receive a vaguer and more satisfactory meaning, such as 'Yahwè is a kinsman,' or 'protector.'¹

Lastly, to supplement the Hebraistic arguments in § 3, we must briefly consider the argument in favour of the explanation 'My father is peace' for

5. Relationship individual or tribal?

Abshalom, 'My father is graciousness' for Abinoam, etc., based on early Babylonian and S. Arabian names. Boscawen (*Migration of Abraham*, Victoria Institute, Jan. 1886) long ago pointed out a series of primitive Babylonian names such as Ilušu-abišu, 'his god is his father,' Ilušu-ibnišu, 'his god made him,' which, in complete correspondence with the Babylonian penitential psalms, indicate a sense of the relation of a protective god not merely to a clan but to a person; and Hommel, in the interest of a too fascinating historical theory, has more recently given similar lists (*AHT* 71 ff.), to which he has added a catalogue of S. Arabian names (*ib.* 83, 85 f.) compounded with *ibi*, *abi*, where these elements appear to mean 'my God,' 'my father,' etc. The present writer, however, must confess that, though aware of the names collected by Boscawen, he has long been of opinion that the course of the development of Israelitish thought and society is entirely adverse to the view that the relation of the deity described by *abi*, *ahi*, etc., was primarily to the individual. This is a question of historical method—on which no compromise is possible—and not of Assyriology. We cannot argue that because the Babylonians, even in remote ages, bore names which imply a tendency to individualistic religion, the Israelites also—who, as far as our evidence goes, were much less advanced in all kinds of culture than the early Babylonians—had a similar tendency, and gave expression to it in their names. It is, therefore, wise to use these Babylonian and S. Arabian names, not as suggesting a theory to be followed in interpreting Israelitish names, but as monuments of early attainments of Semitic races which foreshadow those of the choicest part of the Jewish people at a much more recent period. The value of these names for explaining the formation of Hebrew proper names may be comparatively slight; but they suggest the idea that it was only the want of the higher spiritual prophecy (as known in Israel), as a teaching and purifying agent, and of somewhat different historical circumstances, which prevented the Babylonians from rivaling the attainments in spiritual religion of the later Jewish church.

T. K. C.

ABIA (אַבִּיָּה), RV *Abijah*. For 1 Ch. 3 to Mt. 17 see *ABIAH*, I; for Lk. 15†, *ibid.*, 6.

ABIAH, an English variant of *ABIAH* (§ 7. v.) in AV of 1 Sam. 8.2 1 Ch. 2.24 6.28[13] 7.8, corrected in RV to the more usual form, except in 1 Ch. 2.24 6.28[13].

ABIALBON, the Arbathite (אַבְיָלְבֹן הָעֲרַבְיִתִּי), § 4.

¹ Cp Barton, 'Kinship of gods and men among the ancient Semites,' *JBL* xv. 168 ff., especially 179 ff. (96).

[ΓΑΔ]ΑΒΙΑ Η ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΑΒΩΘΕΙΟΥ [B], ΔΕΙΛΕΒΩΝ Ο ΑΡΑΒΩΘΕΙΑΣ [A], [ΤΑΛΚ]ΑΒΙΗΣ Ο ΣΑΡΑΒΙΔΩ [L], 2 S. 23.31, the name of one of David's 'thirty,' should in all probability be 'Abibaal a man of Beth-arabah' (so Bu., and partly Klo. and Ki.), the *al* (על) in *Abi-albon* being a relic of *Baal* (בַּעַל), and the final syllable *don* a corruption of *Beth* (בֵּית). עַבְיָלְבֹן, it is true, agrees with 1 Ch. 11.32 (עַבְיָלְבֹן הָעֲרַבְיִתִּי; אֶבְיָלֹן הַגַּרְצַיִתִּי [B], α. δ. ἀραβωθίτης [A], α. δ. ἀραβίτης [L]) in supporting the name *ABIEL* (see Dr. *TBS* 283); but we know that early names of persons contained the name *baal* as a title of Yahwè where later writers would have preferred to see *el* (see *BEEILIADA*).

T. K. C.

ABIASAPH (אַבְיָסָפִי, § 44; 'the (divine) father gathers' or 'removes' or [if the *N* be not original, see below] 'adds' [cp the popular etymologies of *JOSEPH*], unless it be supposed that P and the Chronicler adopted an ancient name indeed [Gray, *HPN* 244], but understood it in the sense 'father of Asaph' [*OT/C* 204 n.]; **ΑΒΙΑΣΑΡ** [B], -αφ [FL], Ex. 6.24 [P], one of the three sons of Korah, i.e. eponym of one of the three divisions of the Korahite guild of Levites, see *ASAPH*,

3. In 1 Ch. 6.23 [8] (אַבְיָסָפִי [B], -ασαφ [AL], אֶבְיָסָפִי [B], *Abiasaphi*, 6.37 [22] (אַבְיָסָפִי [BA], -ασαφ [L], 1.], אֶבְיָסָפִי; *Abiasaph*, 9.19 (אַבְיָסָפִי [BAL], אֶבְיָסָפִי) the name occurs also, without consonantal *n* as *EBIASAPH*, אֶבְיָסָפִי (Samar. text omits *n* in Ex. 6.24), which name ought to be read for that of *ASAPH* also in 1 Ch. 26: (אֶבְיָסָפִי; אֶבְיָסָפִי [B], אֶבְיָסָפִי [AL], אֶבְיָסָפִי. *Asaph*).

ABIATHAR (אַבְיָאֲתָר, § 44, i.e., 'the (divine) father is pre-eminent'; cp *ITHREAM*; אֲבִיָּאֲתָר [BNAAL]; in 1 Ch. 18.19, אֲבִיָּאֲתָר [N*]; אֲבִיָּאֲתָרֹס. Jos. [*Ant.* vi. 146]), the son of Ahimelech and descendant of Eli; the priestly guild or clan to which he belonged seems to have claimed to trace back its origin through Phinehas and Eliezer to Moses, who, in the early tradition (Ex. 33.7, E), guards the sanctuary of Yahwè and delivers his oracles. It was Abiathar's father, Ahimelech, who officiated as chief priest in the sanctuary of Nob when David came thither, fleeing from the jealous fury of Saul. Having no other bread at hand, Ahimelech gave the fugitives the holy loaves from the sanctuary. One of the royal couriers, however (see 1 S. 21.7 [8], with Dr.'s note), saw the act, and betrayed Ahimelech to Saul, who forthwith put the priests to death. No less than eighty-five (according to MT)¹ fell by Doeg's hands, and of the whole number Abiathar alone escaped.

It may be inferred from 1 S. 22.15 that David had before this contracted friendship and alliance with the house of Eli, and we can readily believe that, just as Samuel marked out Saul as the destined leader of Israel, so the priests at Nob, noting the tendency of the king to melancholy madness, and his inability to cope with the difficulties of his position, selected David as the future king and gave a religious sanction to his prospective claims (cp *DAVID*, § 3). Certain it is that the massacre of the priests at Nob told strongly in David's favour. The odium of sacrilegious slaughter clung to Saul, while David won the prestige of close friendship with a great priestly house. Henceforth David was the patron of Abiathar, and Abiathar was bound fast to the interests of David—'Abide thou with me,' said the warrior to the priest, 'for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life' (1 S. 22.23). Moreover, Abiathar carried the ephod or sacred image into the camp of David: it was in the presence of this image that the lot was cast and answers were obtained from Yahwè: nor does it need much imagination to understand the strength infused into David's band by the confidence that they enjoyed supernatural direction in

¹ See *DAVID*, § 3 n.

their perplexities. Abiathar was faithful to David through every change of fortune. It was with the sanction of the sacred oracle that David settled at Hebron and became king of Judah (2 S. 2:1-3), and it was Abiathar who carried the ark, that palladium of Israel, which David used to consecrate Jerusalem, the capital of his united kingdom (1 K. 2:26). Abiathar maintained his sacerdotal dignity amidst the splendour of the new court, though later (we do not know when) others were added to the list of the royal chaplains—viz., Zadok, of whose origin we have no certain information, and Ira, from the Manassite clan of Jair,¹ while David's sons also officiated as priests (2 S. 8:17 f. 20:26). Zadok and Abiathar both continued faithful to their master during Absalom's revolt, and by means of their sons conveyed secret intelligence to the king after he had left the city.

When David was near his end, Abiathar along with Joab supported the claim of Adonijah to the throne, and consequently incurred the enmity of Solomon, the younger but successful aspirant. Solomon spared Abiathar's life, remembering how long and how faithfully he had served David. But he was banished from the court to Anathoth, his native place, and Zadok, who had chosen the winning side, became chief priest in his stead. To the men of the time, or even long after the time at which it happened, such a proceeding needed no explanation. It was quite in order that the king should place or displace the priests at the royal sanctuary. But in a later age the writer of 1 S. 2:27-36,² who lived after the publication of D, did not think it so light a matter that the house of Eli should be deprived, at a monarch's arbitrary bidding, of the priesthood which they had held by immemorial right. Therefore, he attributes the forfeiture to the guilt of Eli's sons. A 'man of God,' he says, had told Eli himself of the punishment waiting for his descendants, and had announced Yahwe's purpose to substitute another priestly line which was to officiate before God's 'anointed'—i.e., in the royal presence. A late gloss inserted in 1 K. 2:27 calls attention to the fulfilment of this prediction.

A special point which has occasioned some difficulty remains to be noticed. In 2 S. 8:17 [MT **ABIBAL** and Vg.] and 1 Ch. 18:16 [*ib.* and Pesh.; MT, however, reading AHIMELECH], instead of Abiathar b. Ahimelech it is Ahimelech b. Abiathar that is mentioned as priest along with Zadok. In 1 Ch. 24:63 as well, MT has this reading, in v. 6 also **ABIBAL** Pesh.—except that **GA*** reads *uol*; in v. 3 these versions all read 'Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar,' while in v. 31 MT **ABIBAL** Vg. omit the phrase 'b. Abiathar, and Pesh. the whole passage. It is reasonable to suppose that this confusion is due to an early corruption of the text, and that in 2 S. 8:17 we should read with the Pesh. 'Abiathar b. Ahimelech' (so The. *ad loc.*; Baudissin, *AT Priesterthum*, 195; Dr. *ad loc.*). The Chronicler, however, must have had 2 S. 8:17 before him in its present corrupt form. In Mk. 2:26, by a similar confusion, David is said to have gone into the house of God and received the shewbread 'when Abiathar was high-priest.' In reporting our Lord's words the evangelist has confused Abiathar with Ahimelech, a mistake into which he was led by the constant association of David's name with that of Abiathar. Suggestions made to evade the difficulty—e.g., that father and son each bore the same double name, or that Abiathar officiated during his father's lifetime and in his father's stead—are interesting when we remember the great names which have supported them, but are manifestly baseless (see ZADOK, 1). See Bu. *Ki.Sa* 195f. W. E. A.

ABIB (אַבִּיב), *i.e.*, '[month of] young ears of barley'. See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

¹ See, however, IBA, 3, where a Judahite origin is suggested.
² The section in its present form is from the school of the Deuteronomist. But the expression 'walk before my anointed' proves conclusively that there is an older substratum.

ABIDA, and (AV in Gen) Abidah (אַבִּידָה, § 44. 'the (divine) father knoweth'? cp Eliada, Beeliada, Jehouada; אַבִּי(ה)אָדָה [BAL], אַבִּי(ה)אָדָה [AV], אַבִּי(ה)אָדָה [L]; **ABIDA**), one of the five 'sons' of Midian, and grandson of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25:4 1 Ch. 1:33f). Unexplained, as yet, except that the same name occurs in Sab. inscriptions (אַבִּידָה, cp also יְרֵמָה, Hal. 192, 202, etc.).

ABIDAN (אַבִּידָן, § 44. 'the (divine) father is judge'; cp Homel; אַבִּי(ה)אָדָן [BAL], אַבִּי(ה)אָדָן [AV], אַבִּי(ה)אָדָן [L]; of Benjamin in the time of Moses (Nu. 1:11 2:22 7:66 10:24f). On the age of the name see Gray, *HP.V* 202, 244. Possibly P had a consciousness that *-dan* was archaic (cp DAN, § 1), and therefore suitable in the name of a tribal chief at the time of the Exodus. To infer with Homel (*AHT* 298-301) from such a name as Abidan that P's record is itself ancient, is critically unjustifiable. P also gives the names SHAPHAT and SHIPHAN, which are scarcely archaic.

ABIEL (אַבִּיֵּל, § 4, 44. 'God is father' (of the clan?); אַבִּי(ה)יֵל [BAL]; *ABIEL*).

1. Father of Ner and Kish (1 S. 9:1, also 14:51f, -*np* [B]); see ABER.

2. One of David's thirty mighty men (1 Ch. 11:32); see ABIALEON.

ABIEZER, AV **Abi-ezer** (אַבִּיעֶזֶר, § 44. 'the (divine) father is help,' cp Abiezer; אַבִּיעֶזֶר [BAL]; Judg. 6:34 etc.).

1. The clan from which Gideon sprang belonged to the Gileadite branch of the tribe of Manasseh. In Gideon's time its seat was at Ophrah (Judg. 6:24), an unidentified site, but apparently on the west side of Jordan. It is probable that the first settlements of the Manassites lay to the west of that river, but the date at which their conquests were extended to the eastward is not known (Josh. 17:2 אָרָה [B], אַבִּיעֶזֶר [AV], אַבִּיעֶזֶר [L]; Judg. 6:11:24). In Nu. 26:30 the name Abiezer appears, not as in the parallel 1 Ch. 7:18, but in an abbreviated form as IEZER (יְעִזֶר, AV JEEZER, אַבִּיעֶזֶר [BAL]), and the gentilic as IEZERITE (יְעִזֶרִי, AV JEZERITE, אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי [B], אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי [AL]). In 1 Ch. 7:18 Abiezer finds a place in the Manassite genealogy as son of Hammolecheth the sister of Machir b. Manasseh. The patronymic ABIEZERITE AV, ABIEZERITE RV (אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי, occurs in Judg. 6:11:24) אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי בֶן אַבִּיעֶזֶר [B] 1 π. אַבִּיעֶזֶר, π. τ. אַבִּיעֶזֶר [A]; π. σ. ε. אַבִּיעֶזֶר [L] and אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי as a gloss, see Moore, *ad loc.* 8:32 (אַבִּיעֶזֶר [B], אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי [A], אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי a. [L]).

2. Of Anathoth, one of David's heroes (2 S. 23:27, אַבִּיעֶזֶר [B]; 1 Ch. 11:30:27:12; see DANIEL, § 11:1:1).

ABIGAIL (usually אַבִּיגַיִל, but אַבִּיגַיִל in 1 S. 25:18 Kt., אַבִּיגַיִל in 1 S. 25:32, 2 S. 3:3 Kt., and so RV ABIGAL) in 17:25; and, perhaps with * and transposed, אַבִּיגַיִל in 1 S. 25:33:6; possibly we should point אַבִּיגַיִל, § 45; so oftenest אַבִּיגַיִל, sometimes אַבִּיגַיִל; cp BDB *Lex.* 1:17: אַבִּי(ה)גַיִל [BAL], but in 1 S. 25: אַבִּיגַיִל [A]; meaning uncertain: 'Abi' is a divine title (see NAMES, § 44, and cp *HPN* 77, 85).

1. Wife of NABAL (*q.v.*), and, after his death, of David (1 S. 25). Her tactful speech against the causeless shedding of blood (1 S. 25:22-31) is noteworthy for the history of Israelitish morality. Like Ahinoam, she accompanied David to Gath and Ziklag, and was taken captive by the Amalekites, but was recovered by David (1 S. 27:3:30:5:18). While at Hebron she bore David a son (see DANIEL, 4).

2. A sister of David, who married Jether or Ithra, and became the mother of Amasa, 2 S. 17:25 (see above). 1 Ch. 2:16:17. In MT of the former passage, her father

1 B omits Abigail in 2:16, and BA read אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי for אַבִּיעֶזֶרִי of L.

is called Nahash (an error also found in Θ^B , and clearly produced by the proximity of that name in v. 27; Θ^+ gives the correct reading, 'Jesse, $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$, and her husband is called 'the Israelite' (so MT; $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ [B] $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$), which, however, seems to be a corruption from 'the Jezreelite' ($\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ [L], *de israeliti* [ed. Rom.], *de Hiesreli* [cod. Amiat.]), just as 'Ahihoam the Jezreelitess' (1 S. 27) becomes in B $\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\mu\alpha\ \eta\ \epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$. It is true, in 1 Ch. 12. Jether is called 'the Ishmaelite' ($\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\gamma\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ [L.C.], *ismahelites*), but this is plainly a conjectural emendation of 'the Israelite' (1. indeed has $\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$; Pesh. om.). In 2 S. 17.25 the same emendation appears in Θ^A ($\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$). David's sister was not likely to marry an Ishmaelite. Heysse wonders to what town Jerome's reading can refer. We can easily answer the question. It was the Jezreel situated in Judah (Josh. 15.56), from which not only David's brother-in-law but also his first wife Ahihoam probably came (so Marq. Fund. 24; see JEZREEL, i. 2). T. K. C.

ABIGAL ($\alpha\beta\iota\gamma\alpha\iota$), 2 S. 17.25 RV⁺. See ABIGAIL, 2.

ABIHAIL ($\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha\iota$), § 45, 'the (divine) father is strength,' cp. Sab. $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha\iota$ and the S. Arabian woman's name, Ili-hail [Hommel, *AHT* 320]; written $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha\iota$ [Gi. Bā.] in 2 and 4; Hommel in the Ebers Festschrift, 29; cp. *AHT* 320 compares the same name [with η] in S. Arabian inscriptions from Ghazzat (Gaza); but $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha\iota$ is supported by Θ ; $\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\chi\lambda\alpha\iota$ [BAL], $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha\iota$, *ABIHAIL, ABIHAIL*.

1. Father of ZURIEL (Nu. 3.35†, $\alpha\beta\iota\chi\lambda\alpha\iota$ [F]).
2. Wife of Abishur the Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2.29† $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha\iota$ [Gi. Bā.]; $\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\chi\lambda\alpha\iota$ [B], $\alpha\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ [A], $\alpha\beta\epsilon\eta\alpha$ [1.]).
3. A Gadite (1 Ch. 5.14†, $\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\chi\lambda\alpha\iota$ [B.A.], $\alpha\beta\epsilon\eta\alpha$ [1.]).
4. Daughter of Eliab, David's brother, and wife of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11.14†, $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha\iota$ [Gi. Bā.], $\beta\alpha\iota\alpha\upsilon$ [B], $\alpha\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ [B⁺], $\alpha\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$ [A], $\tau\omega\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\omega\upsilon$ [1., who reads $\alpha\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$]).
5. Father of Esther, whose name however is given as Aminadab by Θ (Esth. 2.15 $\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\delta\alpha\beta$ [BAL.], and $\delta\alpha\upsilon$ [N]).

ABIHU ($\alpha\beta\iota\eta\omega$), § 44, 'my father is he': $\alpha\beta\iota\omega\gamma\Delta$ [BAL.], *i.e.* $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\omega\upsilon$ $\alpha\beta\iota\omega\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\phi$ [A in Ex. 6.23], *ABIHU*. See NADAB AND ABIHU.

ABIHUD ($\alpha\beta\iota\eta\delta$), § 45, 'the (divine) father is glory,' a name probably appearing in contracted form in EHUD (*g.v.* i. and ii.), cp. Ammihud, Ishhud, as also $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\delta$ [*abi hud*], an almost certain correction of $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\epsilon$ [EV 'everlasting father'] in Is. 9.5, which, however, is to be treated as an Arabic *kunya*, 'father of glory' [Che. 'Isaiah,' in *SBOT*]; $\alpha\beta\iota\omega\gamma\Delta$ [BAL]; $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\delta$; *ABIHUD*, a Benjaminite (1 Ch. 8.3†).

ABIJAH ($\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha$), § 44, 'Yahwè is father'; on names ending in η , $\eta\alpha$, see NAMES, § 24; $\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\chi\lambda\alpha\iota$ [BAL].

1. Son of Rehoboam for a 'daughter of Absalom' (see MAACAH, 3), and for three years king of Judah (somewhere about 900 B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 32). The writer of the 'epitome' in Kings (see Dr. *Intrad.* 178) only tells us (1 K. 15.1-7)† that he continued his father's war against Israel, and that he

† A mere scribal error, A for A; so invariably in the case of Abigail.

2 Yet BA have $\alpha\beta\iota\omega$ (*i.e.* $\alpha\beta\iota\eta$) 5 times for Abijam. See ABIJAH, 1 end.

3 In Θ^B AL this name is regularly substituted for Abihu of MT exc. Ex. 6.23 [A]. See ABIHU.

4 According to Klo. 1 K. 15.5†, should run thus, 'Because David had done that which was right . . . all the days of his life.' From 'all the days of his life' to 'Abijam' (so read in accordance with the correction in v. 7) and Jeroboam is probably a late gloss from the margin. The notice respecting the war between Abijah and Rehoboam seems to be derived from 2 Ch. 12.2, where alone it is in print.

'walked in all the sins of his father;' and, since the first of these notices is very possibly due to an interpolator, we may confine our attention to the second. Why then does the epitomist take this unfavourable view of Abijah? As Stade points out, he must have read in the Annals of the kings of Judah statements respecting this king which, if judged by the standard of his later day, involved impiety, such as that Abijah, unlike his son Asa, tolerated foreign worship. It is surprising to find that the Chronicler (2 Ch. 13) draws a highly edifying portrait of Abijah, whom he represents as delivering an earnest address to Jeroboam's army (for 'there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam') on the sin of rebellion and schism, and as gaining a great victory over the Israelites, because he and his people 'relied on Yahwè the God of their fathers.' This, however, is a late Midrash, and has no historical value. The Chronicler (or his authority) wished to emphasize the value of the true ritual, and did this by introducing an artificial episode into an empty reign. Cp. Bennett, *Chron.* 326 ff. (Pesh. always $\alpha\beta\iota\eta$); Jos. *abias*: in 1 K. 14.3; 15.1†, MT has five times the corrupt reading $\alpha\beta\iota\eta$ ABIJAM, $\alpha\beta\iota\omega\upsilon$ [BA], $\alpha\beta\iota\alpha$ [L.])

2. A son of Jeroboam I., king of Israel, who died in his father's lifetime.† The account of his illness is given in 1 K. 14.1-18 (MT Θ^A), and in another recension in Θ^B immediately after the narrative of Jeroboam's return from Egypt on the death of Solomon (3 K. 12.24 ff. [Swete], 13.1-13 [L.]). If we accept the former version as original, we are bound to bring it down to the age which was under the influence of Dt., for the prophecy in 1 K. 14.7-16 is in tone and phraseology closely akin to similar predictions in 16.1-4, 21.20-24, 2 K. 9.7-10, the Deuteronomistic affinities of which are unmistakable. Nor is it possible to simplify the narrative without violence. The Θ^B version, on the other hand, can, without arbitrariness, be brought into a simple and very natural form. Jeroboam is not yet king. His wife, not being queen, has no occasion to disguise herself, and Abijah simply predicts the death of the sick child, without any reference to sins of Jeroboam which required this punishment. The writers who supplemented and expanded the older narrative were men of Judah; the original story, however, is presumably Israelitish. (See Kue. *Eint.* 25; St. *GVV* i. 350 n.; Wi. *ATUnters.* 12 ff.) Cp. JEROBOAM, 1.

3. A Benjaminite, 1 Ch. 7.3† (AV ABIAH; $\alpha\beta\iota\omega\upsilon\delta$ [B], $\alpha\beta\iota\omega$ [A]).
4. Wife of Hezron, 1 Ch. 2.24† (EV ABIAH).
5. Son of the prophet Samuel, 1 S. 8.2 (AV ABIAH; $\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha$ [L]), 1 Ch. 6.28 [13†] (EV ABIAH).
6. The eighth of the twenty-four courses of PRIESTS (*g.v.*)—that to which Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, belonged, 1 Ch. 24.10 (AV ABIAH); 1 K. 1.5† (AV ABIA).
7. Mother of King Hezekiah, 2 Ch. 29.1. See ABU.
8. Priest in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 66), Neh. 12.4 ($\alpha\beta\iota\alpha\varsigma$ [L], 17 [B om. *vv.*]); perhaps = No. 6.
9. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10.7 [B]. T. K. C.—W. E. A.

ABIJAM ($\alpha\beta\iota\eta\alpha$), 1 K. 14.1†. See ABIJAH, 1.

ABILENE ($\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta\eta\eta\eta$ [BA; W. and H.], $\alpha\beta\iota\lambda$, [N⁺; Ti.]), given in Lk. 3.1 as the tetrarchy of Lysanias, at the time when Christ's ministry began, was a territory round Abila ($\alpha\beta\iota\lambda\alpha$), a town of some importance in Antilibanus, and known to both Josephus and Ptolemy as Abila of Lysanias (*A. η Λυσανίου*), to distinguish it from others of the same name, especially Abila of the DECAPOLIS (*g.v.*). The Antonine and Peutinger Itineraries place it 18 R. m. from Damascus on the way to Heliopolis or Baalbek, which agrees with that portion of the gorge of the Abana in which the present village, Siḡ Wādy Barādā, lies. Not only are there remains of a large temple on the precipitous heights to the E. of this village, with ancient aqueducts and a Roman road,

1 It is defended, however, by Jastrow, *JBL* xiii. 114 ('94).

2 *i.e.* $\alpha\beta\iota\eta$, see ABIHU.

3 Josephus calls this son 'Oβίμης (*Ant.* viii. 11).

ABINOAM (אַבִּינוֹאָם) § 45, 'the (divine) father is plausiveness', cp **ABINAM**, **Ēlīnām**; אֲבִינְעָם [BAL], אֲבִינְעָם [A in Judg. 4:12]; **ABINOEM**, father of Barak [Judg. 4:6-12 5:14 f.].

ABIRAM (אַבִּירָם) § 44—i.e., 'the Father is the High One', cp **Abi. Nāmis** with § 2: אֲבִירָם [BA], אֲבִירָם [L]; אֲבִירָם; **ABIRUAM**, another form of Abu-ram, which (Abu-rāmu) is a well-attested Babylonian and Assyrian name (it occurs, e.g., in a contract-tablet of the time of Abil-sin, 2324-2300 B.C., and in the Assyrian eponym-canon under B.C. 677).¹ The second element in the name (-ram) is a divine title (cp 'Ράμας ὁ ὑψίστος θεός, Hesych.), but is also, in the plur., of all heavenly beings (Job 21:22). Parallel Hebrew names are Abi-ram, Adoni-ram, Jeho-ram, Malchi-ram (see also **ABRAM**). Ahiramu is the name of a petty Babylonian king under Āsur-nāsir-pal, and Malik-ram-mu that of a king of Edom in the time of Sennacherib (COT 1:95, 281).

1. A fellow conspirator of **DATHAN** (q.v.), Nu. 16 (אֲבִירָם [A once], אֲבִירָם [F twice]); Dt. 116 Ps. 106:17 and (AV **ABIRON**) Eccles. 15:1, 4 Matc. 2:17 f. אֲבִירָם [V^d].

2. Eldest son of Hiel the Bethelite, who died when his father laid the foundation of Jericho anew; 1 K. 16:14 f. אֲבִירָם; L. om. verse; cp Jos. 6:26 אֲבִירָם. See **HIEL**. T. K. C.

ABIRON (אַבִּירֹן), Eccles. 45:18 f. AV. See **ABIRAM**, 1.

ABISEI (**ABISSEI** etc.), 4 Esd. 1:7. See **ABISHUA**, 2.

ABISHAG (אַבִּישָׁג) § 43, mean=אֲבִישָׁג; אֲבִישָׁג [B], אֲבִישָׁג [A], אֲבִישָׁג [L]; אֲבִישָׁג; אֲבִישָׁג the Shunammite, David's concubine (1 K. 1:14), afterwards sought in marriage (2:13 f.) by **ADONIJAH**, 1.

ABISHAI (אַבִּישַׁי) § 45, written אֲבִישַׁי² in 2 S. 10:10 and always [five times] in Ch., where moreover A omits final *y*; meaning doubtful, cp **JESSE**, **AMASA**, and for *לַעֲשֵׂה* *v. s. v.* see **ABNER**; אֲבִישָׁג [B], אֲבִישָׁג [A], אֲבִישָׁג [A], אֲבִישָׁג [A], אֲבִישָׁג [L], also seven times B, and three times A, אֲבִישָׁג [A], 1 Ch. 2:16, אֲבִישָׁג [A], 2 S. 3:39, אֲבִישָׁג [L], 2 S. 20:6], the brother of Joab, is mentioned immediately after the 'first three' and at the head of 'the thirty' in the list of David's worthies (2 S. 23:18 f.; 1 Ch. 11:20 f.); reading 'thirty' for 'three' with **SBOT** (after, *Pesh.*). He was one of David's close associates during his outlawry, and was his companion in the visit to Saul's camp on the hill of Hachilah (1 S. 26:6). He was faithful to him in Absalom's rebellion (2 S. 16:9), commanded a third part of the army (2 S. 18:2), saved David's life when it was threatened by a Philistine (2 S. 21:16-17), and, according to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 18:12), slew 18,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt (but see **JOAB**, 1).

ABISHALOM (אַבִּישָׁלֹם), 1 K. 15:2 10 f. See **ABSALOM**, 1.

ABISHUA (אַבִּישׁוּא), § 44, for view of Lag, see **ABNER**; 'the (divine) father is opulence'? cp **MALCHISHUA**, and *Abi-šua*, *Wi. GI* 130 n. 3. See also **HOM. AHT** lii. 108 n. 209 n. 1, *ZDMG* xlix. 525 [95].

1. A son of **BELA** (q.v. ii. 2), 1 Ch. 8:4 (אַבִּישׁוּא³ [B], אֲבִישׁוּא [A], אֲבִישׁוּא [L]).

2. b. Phinehas, b. Eleazar, b. Aaron (1 Ch. 6:4 f. [5 20 f.], 30 [35], אֲבִישָׁג [BA], אֲבִישׁוּא [L]; Ezra 7:5.

1 See **Hummel, PNB** 4 xvi 210 [94]; **Sohs, COF** ii. 187.

2 **Fornia** and **Maspéro** connect this name with **Ab-sha**, the Egyptian form of the name of the Asiatic chief represented on a famous wall-painting at Beni-Hasan. But subsidiary evidence is wanting. See **Journées**, 1, 3, 10, and cp **WMM, Art. u. Ezr.** 36 n. 2. **Hommel (AHT** 53) connects **Ab-sha** or **Elshua** with **Abishua**.

3 This presupposes אֲבִישָׁג, a name for which there is no parallel in the OT, cp **SAMSON**, **SHIMSHAI**.

אַבִּישׁוּא [BAL] = 1 Esd. 8:2, **ABISUM** [AV], i.e., אֲבִישׁוּא [243, 248], RV **ABISUE** (אַבִּישׁוּא [B], אֲבִישׁוּא [A], אֲבִישׁוּא [L]). Called **ABISEI** in 4 Esd. 1:7 (1880 [ed. Bensly], *Abisaei* [cod. Amb.]).

ABISHUR (אַבִּישׁוּר) § 44, 'the (divine) father is (as) a wall'? cp **Sab. אַבִּישׁוּר**, Assy. *Abidūrā*; אֲבִישׁוּר [BA], אֲבִישׁוּר [L]; **ABISUR**, b. Shammai the Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2:28 f.). **Derenbourg (REF, 1880**, p. 58) gives אֲבִישׁוּר as a Himyaritic divine title (Hal. 1:8, 5). But the second part of **Abi-shur** may be a corruption of אֲבִישׁוּר; cp **ABISHAHAR**.

ABISUM, RV **Abisue** (אַבִּישׁוּמ [243 etc.]), 1 Esd. 8:7 = **Ezr.** 7:5, **ABISHUA**, 2.

ABITAL (אַבִּיטָל) § 45, 'my father is dew'? cp **HAMUTAL**; but should not these names be **Abitub** (אַבִּיטֹב), **Hamuṭub** [cp **AHITUB**]? A name compounded with טֹב seems very improbable. ל and כ might be confounded in Pالمyrene characters; **ABITAL**; wife of **David**, mother of **Shephathiah**; 2 S. 3:4, 1 Ch. 3:3 f. (אַבִּיטָל, תּוֹכַח אֲבִי. [B]; אֲבִיטָל. [A]; -אָבִיטָל, -אָבִיטָל [L]). In 2 Ch. 36:2, אֲבִישׁוּר אֲבִישׁוּר for **HAMUTAL**, the name of **Jehoahaz's** mother. T. K. C.

ABITUB (אַבִּיטֹב): perhaps properly, as in versions, **ABITOR**, 'the (divine) father is good,' see **NAMES**, § 45; cp **Aram. אַבִּיטֹב**; אֲבִיטֹב [BAL]; **ABITOB**, b. **Shaharaim** (1 Ch. 8:17 f.).

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

ABNER (אַבְנֵר) § 44, but in 1 S. 14:50 אֲבִנֵר; אֲבֵנְנִיָּה [BAL], -עֲנִיָּה [A five times], אֲבֵנִיָּה [A twice]; **ABNER**, *Lag. Ueberl.* 75, holds that **Abner** = אֲבִנֵר [N] = 'son of Ner.' This is suggested by the אֲבִנֵר form 'Abenner'; but cp אֲבִנֵר = אֲבֵנְנִיָּה, אֲבֵנְנִיָּה = *Βοροβία*. 'Abner' or 'Abiner' might mean 'my (divine) father is (as) a lamp'. Captain of the host under **Saul** and under **Ishbaal**. As a late but well-informed writer states, he was **Saul's** first cousin (1 S. 14:50, cp 9:1), **Ner** the father of **Abner** and **Kish** the father of **Saul** being both sons¹ of **Abiel**. The fortunes of **Saul** and **Abner** were as necessarily linked together as those of **David** and **Joab**, but tradition has been even less kind to **Abner** than to his master. Of his warlike exploits we hear nothing, though there was 'sore war against the Philistines all the days of **Saul**' (1 S. 14:52), and tradition loved to extol the prowess of individual heroes. Even at the battle of **Gilboa** there is no mention of **Abner**, though it was a part of his duty, according to **David**, or at least an early narrator, to guard the sacred person of the king (1 S. 26:15). All that we hear of him in **Saul's** reign is that he sat next to the king at table (1 S. 20:25), that, according to one tradition, he introduced **David** to the presence of **Saul** (1 S. 17:57), and that he accompanied the king in his pursuit of **David** (1 S. 26:5 f.). It was natural that upon **Saul's** death he should take up the cause of **Ishbaal** (**DAVID**, § 6). It suffices to mention here some personal incidents of that unhappy time. That **Abner** slew his pursuer **Asahel** (one of **Joab's** brothers) was, doubtless, not his fault but his misfortune. But his motive in passing over from **Ishbaal** to **David** was a shameful one. **Ishbaal** may indeed have been wrong in interpreting **Abner's** conduct to **Rizpah**, **Saul's** concubine, as an act of treason (cp 2 S. 16:21 1 K. 2:22); but to give up the cause of the **Benjamite kingdom** on this account, and transfer his allegiance to **David**, was

1 In 1 S. 14:51 read אֲבִנֵר for אֲבִנֵר with **Jos. Ant.** vi. 6, 6, followed by **Dr., Bu., Klo.** The text of 1 Ch. 8:33 = 9:39 should doubtless run, 'And **Ner** begat **Abner**, and **Kish** begat **Saul** (see **Kau.** note in *HS*).

ABOMINATION

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

Abner's death was regarded by David as a national calamity. 'Know ye not,' he said, 'that a prince and a great man is fallen this day in Israel?' He ordered a public mourning for Abner, and himself sang an elegy over his grave, a fragment of which is preserved (2 S. 3.31-39); see POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4. iii. (h). The Chronicler gives Abner a son named JAABIEL (1 Chr. 3.24).

T. K. C.

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

1. **שֶׂמֶת** (*sigmet*) occurs four times in *exilic* and post-exilic writings (Ez. 4.14 [D 22], Lev. 7.18 *מִמֵּנָהּ*; 19.7 *אֲבוֹתָיו*; Is. 65.4† [עֲבֵרֵי רִשְׁוֹ, 'broth', *לֹמֶזֶן* . . . *מֵמִיּוֹלָמָהּ*; Kt. D 78, 'scraps']) as a technical term for sacrificial flesh become stale (*κρέας ἑλών* or *βέβηλον* in Ez. [BAQ]), which it was unlawful to eat. See SACRIFICE. In the last passage WRS regarded *sigmet* as carrion, or flesh so killed as to retain the blood in it (RS² 343 n. 3).

2. **שֶׁבֶת** (*shebet*), also confined to *exilic* and post-exilic writings² (Ez. 8.8 Lev. 7.21 11 *מִמֵּנָהּ* Is. 66.17†; *βδέλυγμα* [BA]), is a term for what is taboo. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

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

4. **עֲוֹנוֹת** (*ʿōvōt*; *βδέλυγμα*), a word of uncertain etymology frequently occurring from Dt. onwards (esp. in Ezek.), is by far the commonest of these terms. It designates what gives offence to God (Dt. 12.31) or man (Pr. 29.27), especially the violation of established custom. The former usage is the more common; it applies to such things as rejected cults in general, Dt. 12.31 (see IDOL, § 2 f.), child-sacrifice (Jer. 32.35), ancestral worship (Ez. 43.8), images (Dt. 27.15), imperfect sacrificial victims (Dt. 17.1), sexual irregularities (Ezek. 22.1), false weights and measures (Dt. 25.16), etc. The latter usage, however, is not rare (esp. in Prov.). Thus J tells us eating with foreigners (Gen. 43.32), shepherds (46.34), Hebrew sacrifices (Ex. 8.26 [22]), were an abomination to the Egyptians (see EGYPT, §§ 19, 31).

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, THE (ΤΟ ΒΔΕΛΥΓΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΗΜΟΣΕΩΣ), an eschatological expression in the apocalyptic section (Mt. 24.15-28) of the discourse of Christ respecting His ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ (Mt. 24.15 = Mk. 13.14). The passage containing the phrase runs thus in Mt.—'When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing (ἐστῶς) in the holy place (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judea flee unto the mountains.' The reference to Daniel, however, which is wanting in Mk., is clearly an addition of Mt. (cp Mt. 2.23 4.14, etc.), and Mark's *ἐσθηκότα* (masc.),

¹ It is also used in 1 S. 13.4 for **שָׂמֶת**, the word rendered 'stank' in 2 S. 106 (AV).

² But in Is. 46. Duham and Cheyne read **שֶׁבֶת**; so also Sam. and some MSS. at Lev. 7.21. In Lev. 11.10 **שֶׂמֶת** we may point **שֶׁבֶת**, and in Ez. 8.10 read **עֲוֹנוֹת** (with B, Co.).

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION

being more peculiar than Matthew's *ἐσῶς* (neut.), is to be preferred. Both reports agree in inserting the parenthetic appeal to the trained intelligence of the reader, which, being both natural and in accordance with usage in an apocalyptic context, it would be unreasonable to set aside as an 'ecclesiastical note' (Alford). There is an exact parallel to the clause in Rev. 13.18 (cp 17.9): 'Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast,' and a parallel of sense in Rev. 27.13: 'He that hath an ear (or, if any man have an ear), let him hear,' i.e. let him understand (as Is. 33.19); the best commentary on which is a *terzina* in Dante (*Inf.* 961-63), 'O voi, che avete gl' intelletti sani,' etc. In fact, the whole section is a *μυστήριον*, not of the class in which Jesus delighted (Mt. 13.11), nor expressed in his highly original style, and is easily separable from its context. It is probably (apart from some editorial changes) the work of a Jewish writer, and was inserted to adapt the discourse, which had been handed down (itself not unaltered) by tradition, to the wants of the next generation.

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

But why this particular title for the expected opponent of God? Was derived from the first of the great apocalypses. In Dan. 9.27 11.31 12.11, according to the exegetical tradition in B, mention is made (combining the details of the several passages) of an apostasy, of an 'abomination of desolation' (or 'of desolations') in the sanctuary, of a time of unparalleled tribulation, of resurrection, and of glory. That the original writer meant 'abomination' to be taken in the sense described above, and the appended qualification to be rendered 'desolating' or 'of desolation,' cannot indeed be said. **קִרְשָׁי** as used in Daniel means 'image of a false god' (cp 1 K. 11.5; 2 K. 23.13), and the most natural rendering of **קִרְשָׁי** and (if the text be correct) **קִרְשָׁי** or **קִרְשָׁי** is 'appal-

¹ It is no objection that in 1 K. 11.31 the *ἐπιμαρτυρία* is referred to the burning in S.E. Jerusalem by Roman armies: cp Is. 46.25 x. 11.7, where the passages in Dan. are explained of the desolation by the Romans. The true meaning must be decided by Matthew and Mark, where nothing is said of injuries from invaders. The memory of the experiences of 70 A.D. suggested to Luke a new interpretation of the traditional phrase.

ling.' The phrase appears to be an intentional alteration of *baal šāmēm* ('heaven's lord.' That this was a current title of Zeus may be inferred from the Syriac of 2 Macc. 62, where the temple at Jerusalem is called by the emissary of Antiochus 'the temple of *bē'el shemin'* (see Nestle, *ZATW* iv. 248 [84]; cp his *Marginalien u. Materialien*, 35 f.; G. Hoffmann, *Ueb. ein. phön. Inschr.* 1889, p. 29; Bevan, *Daniel*, 193). The author of Daniel (whose meaning is correctly given by *MT*) contemptuously says, 'Call it not 'heaven's lord,' but "an appalling abomination"; and the object to which he refers is an image of Olympian Zeus, which, together with a small *βωμός*, the agents of Antiochus set up on the great altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) of burnt offerings. The statement in 1 Macc. 159 is not destructive of this theory, for altars and idols necessarily went together, and the phrase of the Greek translator of the Hebrew original in *v. 54* *ἡ βωμὸς ἐρημώσθη*; cp *ἡ βωμὸς ἐρημώσθη*, 67) might be used equally well of both or of either.² All this, however, had been forgotten when the apocalyptic section in Mt. 24 and Mk. 13 was written.

Another (a highly plausible) interpretation of the little evangelical apocalypse is given by Spitta (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 493-497), who thinks that it was written in apprehension of the erection of a statue of Caligula in the temple (see Schür. *Hist.* ii.). This implies that *τὸ βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσθη* means the statue of a historical king who claimed to be the supreme God, which, considering the nature of the context, is improbable, and is not supported by the use of the Hebrew phrase in Daniel. It is, no doubt, highly probable that apocalyptic writers regarded the mad Caligula as a precursor of the expected embodiment of the principle of 'lawlessness' (*ἀνομία*, 2 Thess. 27); but, without putting some violence on their inherited eschatological phrases, they could not have said that he was *ἐρημώσθη* or *ἀνομία* in person. For, after all, a Roman emperor could not be a purely destructive or lawless agent. Spitta's view, however, is preferable to that of Weiss, who, appealing to Lk. 21²⁰, understands the 'abomination' to be the Roman armies; and to that of Bleek and Alford, who explain it of the desecration of the holy place by the Zelots (Jof. *BJ* iv. 36-8). For the criticism and exegesis of the difficult passages, Dan. 9²⁷ 11³¹, see the commentary of Bevan and the translation and critical notes in Kau, *HS*; cp also Van Leenpe's treatise on the seventy year-weeks of Daniel (Utrecht, 1888), where it is proposed, on amply sufficient grounds, to change the impossible *וְתֵלַע בְּנֵי אָדָם* (9²⁷) into *וְתֵלַע אָדָם*, 'and instead thereof.' The greatest problem is how to explain or rather correct *וְתֵלַע אָדָם* in *וְתֵלַע אָדָם* (11³¹), for *וְתֵלַע אָדָם* we should perhaps read *וְתֵלַע אָדָם*, or delete 'אָדָם' as a gloss from 9²⁷. There is a similar problem in 8¹³.

T. K. C.

ABRAHAM (אַבְרָהָם, § 44; אַבְרָהָם [BAL]; once אַבְרָהָם [A]). The name has no meaning in

1. **Name, etc.** Hebrew, and seems to be another form of *ABRAM* (*q.v.*), due probably to a misunderstanding of an early orthography.³ In J and P, however, the latter is represented as the original name, which was changed at a critical point in the patriarch's life into Abraham (Gen. 17.5, P, where the etymology is a mere word-play; on J's narrative, see Fripp, *Gen.* 53). It is only from the time of Ezekiel

¹ See K^o. *Bibl.* 430.

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

³ Hommel maintains that *א* in the Mosaic (S. Arabian) alphabet represents a (*ā*) or, in some cases, *i*. The same peculiarity (*א* for *ā*) characterises the Moabite, the Hebrew, and the Samalite script. אַבְרָהָם, therefore, was originally pronounced *Abām* (Hommel, *Das graphische *א* im Altisraelischen*, 22-24). WMM (*Ab. u. Syr.* 309 n. 23) finds an Egyptian proper name *B'-rj-rj-may = Baal-ram*.

(see Ez. 33²⁴)¹ that Abraham was revered by the Jews as their greatest ancestor; cp Is. 41.8 f. 51.12 63.16 Neh. 9.7; 2 Ch. 20.7 30.6 18. 47.9 [10] 105.6.9.42 Ecclus. 44.19 1 Macc. 2.52 12.21 Mt. 1.1 3.9 Lk. 10.24.30 10.9 Jn. 8.39.53.56 Acts 7.2.13.36 Rom. 4.12.16 Heb. 6.13.11.17 Jas. 2.21, cp Gal. 3.7-9. But to give time to this general reverence to have arisen, we cannot help supposing that the name and, in some form, the story of Abraham were current in certain circles considerably earlier. Local traditions respecting him doubtless existed before the glory of the southern kingdom departed, and these traditions form the basis of the composite אַבְרָהָם or 'family history' of Abraham (P for a special reason substitutes 'Turah') contained in Gen. 11.27-25.18. That these traditions are legends, and not historical records of the times which the 'family history' appears to describe, is certain (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE). But that in their present setting they are much more than legends needs to be not less firmly held. They have been purified both by abridgment and by expansion; and, since the fusion of the original and of the added elements is by no means complete, it is not impossible to study the one from the point of view of prehistoric research, and the other from that of the history of religion. Let us, then, briefly consider these two questions: (1) What did the Abraham narratives of Genesis mean to their first editors and readers? and (2) may any of them be regarded as containing a historical element?

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

2. **Story of J and E.** This theory alone will account for the 'dreamy, grand, and solemn' impression which this patriarch makes upon us. The framework of the narrative may be derived from myths and legends, but the spirit comes from the ideals stored up in the minds of the narrators. A school of writers (for J and E are not merely individuals) devoted themselves to elaborating a typical example of that unworldly goodness which was rooted in faith and fervently preached by the prophets. That typical example was Abraham, who might, with a better right than the old Babylonian king, Hammurābi, have called himself the prophet of the heaven-god, and indeed is actually recognised by the Pharaoh (Gen. 20.7 E) as a prophet of Elohim. The 'dreaminess' which has been noticed in him is caused by his mental attitude. The Mohammedans appropriately call him 'the first Moslem.' He goes through life listening for the true *tōra*, which is not shut up in formal precepts, but revealed from time to time to the conscience; and this leaning upon God's word is declared to be in Yahwe's sight a proof of genuine righteousness (15.6 J). The *Pirqe Aboth* (*c. 5*; cp *Ber. rabba*, par. 56) reckons ten trials of Abraham's faith, 'in all of which he stood firm'; but this simply marks the intense Jewish reverence for the 'father of the faithful.' The word נֶאֱמָר, '(he) tried,' occurs only once in the narratives (Gen. 22.1), but from the first the faith of Abraham was tried like gold in the fire. He marries a woman who is 'barren' (11.30 18.1 f. both J; 15.2 f. JE). He leaves his home at the divine bidding to seek an unknown land (12.1 J). As the climax, he is commanded to offer up the child of promise as a sacrifice (22.1-13 E). It is characteristic of the pre-exilic age that this privileged life presents no reverses of fortune (contrast Job). But prosperity does no moral harm to Abraham. He retains a pure and disinterested philanthropy, which would even, if possible, have saved wicked Sodom (18.26-33a, a late Yahwistic passage).² Once, indeed, he appears as trusting in an arm of flesh, and defeating mighty kings (Gen. 14.1-17);

¹ This is the earliest mention of Abraham outside the Hexateuch; for Is. 29.22 Jer. 83.26 Mic. 7.20 belong to passages inserted after the Exile.

² See We. *CH* (2) 27 f.; *Documents of the Hex.* i. 26; Fripp, *Gen.* 48.50.

but this unique narrative, so flattering to the pride of the later Jews, is evidently a fragment of a post-exilic midrash on the life of Abraham.¹ It even contains a specimen of the mystic reckoning called 'gematria,' the number 318 in 1414 being suggested by the name of Abraham's servant Eliezer,² of which it is the numerical equivalent, just as it is stated in the Haggada that Abraham served God from his third year, because עקב אשר שמעו עקב (22:18) is equivalent to 172 (he was 175 when he offered up Isaac, according to the Midrash Tanchuma), and as the 'number of the beast' in Rev. 13:18 is 666 (or 616).

The narratives of P differ, it is true, in some respects from those of J and E. This writer, who is a lover of gradual, orderly progress, even in the history of revelation, represents the migration into Canaan as having been planned, without any express divine command, by Terah (Gen. 11:31), and admits no theophany before that of Abraham's ninety-ninth year (17:1). He introduces, also, some important modifications into the character of the patriarch. The friendly intimacy between Yahwé and Abraham has disappeared; when Yahwé at length manifests himself, Abraham falls upon his face (17:317). A legal element, too, finds its way into his righteousness, the rite of circumcision having been undergone, according to P, by Abraham and all the males of his household. Still, it may be said of P as truly as of his predecessors that he regards Abraham as the greatest of men, and exhibits him as the pattern for Israelitish piety. With this object in view, he has no scruple in dealing very freely with the traditional material. Since all things are best at their beginnings, he asserts that the ancestor of Israel was all, and more than all, that his own sober imagination can devise. Later writers attempted to supply his deficiencies. Even in the OT we have a strange reference in Is. 29:22 (post-exilic) to dangers incurred by Abraham, which agrees with the hints dropped in the *Book of Jubilees* (c. 12), and points the way to the well-known legend of the furnace of Nimrod. Not less did the enigmatical war-chronicle in Gen. 14 stimulate later writers. Nicolaus of Damascus, the court historian of Herod the Great, related (Jos. Ant. 1.72; cp Justin, 362) that Abraham came with an army out of Chaldaea and reigned in Damascus, after which he settled in Canaan; he adds that there still exists a village called 'Αβραάμου οικηρος' (see HOBAB). The only Biblical trace of such a story is in Gen. 15:2, where, however, 'it is Damascus' appears to be a gloss (see ELIEZER, 1). It is bold in Ew. (Hist. i. 312) to assume on such a basis that Damascus was a traditional link in the chain of the Hebrew migration. More probably these stories were invented by the Jews of Damascus (who were a numerous body) to glorify the national ancestor. The Moslems took up the tradition with avidity (see Ew. l.c.), and still point to the village of Berza, or Berzat el Halli ('the marriage-tent of Abraham'), one hour N. from Damascus, where the marriage of the patriarch furnishes the occasion of an annual festival (Wetz. ZDMG xxii. 105 [68]).

2. What historical element (if any) do these narratives contain? The Abraham traditions are twofold. Some

belong exclusively to the great patriarch; others are also attached to one or another of his successors. The latter we can disregard: the foundation of the sanctuaries of Shechem and Bethel has a better traditional connection with Jacob (Gen. 33:18-20 23:11-22), and that of Beersheba with Isaac (26:24 f.), while the

¹ Much confusion has been caused by the uncritical use of canonical research (see CHE. *Faunders*, 237 ff.). That the writer of Gen. 11-11 had access, directly or indirectly, to Babylonian sources for some of his statements is denied by none. But this does not make him a historian. See Kue. *Her.* 143, 164; We. *ChB* 206; E. Mey. *G.A.* 165 f. and CP. CHEIRON-LAUBER, MELCHIZEDEK, § 4.

² See, long ago, Hitzig, following *Ber. rabba*, par. 43.

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

i. *Existence of Abraham and connection with Hebron.*—The tradition, as it stands, is doubtless inadmissible. So much may be conceded to that destructive criticism which, denying that the old reverence for the story of Abraham has any justification, would throw that story aside as an outworn and useless myth. But the view taken by the patient reconstructive criticism of our day is that, not only religiously, but even, in a qualified sense, historically also, the narratives of Abraham have a claim on our attention. The religious value is for all; the historical or quasi-historical for students only. In the present connection it is enough to say (but see further HISTORICAL LITERATURE) that, since Abraham may be a genuine personal name, it cannot be unreasonable to hold that there is a kernel of tradition in the narratives. Hebrew legend may have told of an ancient hero (in the Greek sense of the word) bearing this name and connected specially with Hebron. This supposed hero (whose real existence is as doubtful as that of other heroes) cannot originally have been grouped with Jacob or Israel, for the name Abraham has a different linguistic colouring from the two latter. It was natural, however, that when Hebron (q.v.) became Israelitish the southern hero Abraham should be grouped with the northern hero Jacob-Israel, and that the spirits of both heroes should be regarded as having a special connection with their people, and even as entitled to a kind of national cultus (cp IDOLATRY), which, though discouraged by the highest religious teachers, has left traces of itself both in early and in late books, and is characteristically Semitic.² The cultus was no doubt performed at Machpelah, on the possession of which P lays such great stress (c. 23); but that the traditional hero was actually buried there cannot be affirmed. Even among the Arabs there is hardly one well-authenticated case of a tribe which possessed a really ancient tradition as to the place where the tribal ancestor was interred.³

ii. *Relation of Abraham to Sarah, Hagar, Lot.*—With regard to (b) it should be noted that, though an assertion of relationship may be literally correct, it may also merely mean that two particular tribes or peoples have been politically connected. If, with Robertson Smith, we may regard Sarah as a feminine corresponding to Israel, we may take the marriage between Abraham and Sarah (or rather Sarai) to symbolise the political fusion between a southern Israelitish tribe and non-Israelitish clans to the south of Hebron (see, however, SARAH, i. § 2). The relationship between Abraham and Hagar may also have a political meaning, for the close intercourse, and at times political union, between Egypt⁴ and Palestine and parts of Arabia is well attested. The story of the separation between Abraham and Lot⁵ may

¹ It is unnecessary to discuss here P's account of the origin of circumcision (see CHEIRON-LAUBER, *op. cit.* § 43), and the fact that the practice of the four kings in Gen. 14 (see above, § 2), or the birth and subsequent offering up of Isaac (see above, § 8) is not mentioned.

² See I. S. 283 f. (I saw Flavius, i. 18, 66-17; Jos. 31:10, cp 14, 16 in S. 20, and cp Che. *Her.* 143, 164 f.). For parallel Arabian beliefs, see Goldziher, *Kunst u. Myth.*, 200-214, 208-9, 210 f., and for the later Jewish belief in the prayers of the fathers, see 2 Macc. 10:13 f., and Talmudic references in Cassel, *Die Messia*, 104 f.

³ WRS *Kin.* 18.

⁴ We assume provisionally that Hagar is correctly regarded, from the point of view of the original tradition, as an Egyptian. See, however, HANSEN, and especially METZGER, § 2 (6), HEBRON-LAUBER, *op. cit.* § 2.

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

be but a foreshadowing of the separation between Israel and Moab and Ammon; but, if Lot is to be explained by Lotan (the eponym of an Edomitish clan, Gen. 36 20-29), the asserted relationship between Abraham and Lot accords with the theory of the original non-Israelitish character of Abraham.

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

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

For the later Haggadic stories concerning Abraham see Beer, *Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der jüd. Sage*, 1859; Hamburger, *RE für Bib. u. Talm.* (2) (s.v. 'Abraham'); also Grünbaum, *Neue Beitr. zur sem. Sagenkunde*, 1893, pp. 89-131 (Jewish and Mohammedan legends); and, especially, a late apocryphal book called *The Testament of Abraham (Texts and Studies, Cambridge, 1892)*, which presents perhaps the finest imaginable glorification of the character of the patriarch. All that he needs is to see the retributions

¹ The words, 'and worshipped other gods,' belong to R. But the sense of the earlier narrators is correctly given (cp. Gen. 31 19 33 35 4). And, of course, Israel's point of religious departure must, considering primitive circumstances, have been in some sense polytheistic (cp Reinach, *REJ* xv. 311 [87]; Boscawen, *The Migration of Abram*, 20 f.).

of heaven and hell that he may learn (like Jonah) to have pity on sinners (see APOCRYPHA, § 11). For the archæological aspects of the life of the patriarch see Tomkins, *Studies on the Times of Abraham* ('78; second ed. '97). The best critical literature is cited by Ki. *Hist.* i.; add to his list Hal. *REJ* xv. 161 ff. ('87); *Rev. sem.* i. 1 ff. ('93); Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israel*, i. (1887); and reviews of Renan by Reinach, *REJ* xv. 302 ff.; and by WRS, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* iii. 128 f. ('88). Renan's statements that the Abraham of Genesis is the type of an Arab sheikh, and that the ancient Hebrews, represented by Abraham, worshipped a 'patriarchal, just, and universal God,' from whom the worship of Yahwé was a falling away, are fantastically erroneous. For Nöldl.'s view that Abraham and Sarah are divine names, see his essay on the patriarchs in *Im neuen Reich*, 1871, p. 508 ff., and on the other side Baethg, *Beitr. z. sem. Kel.-gesch.* 154 ff. See also EDM (§ 2; supposed divine character of Abraham) and HOBAH (his connection with Damascus). T. K. C.

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

ABRAM (אַבְרָם, § 44, Gen. 11 27-17 5a 1 Ch. 1 27 Neh. 9 7†; אַבְרָם [BADL], but -פֶּאֶן [A twice in Gen.], -פֶּאֶם [A once in Gen.; B in Ch. and B* vid. NL in Neh.; פֶּאֶם; ABRAM], i.e. probably, in the mind of the priestly writer (Gen. 17 3), 'high father' (patriarch), to which the name Sarai, if taken as another form of SARAH [q.v.], would be a suitable companion. If, however, the name ABRAM be a genuine traditional one, it will be related to ABIRAM [q.v.], as ABNER [q.v.] is to ABINER, and be explained similarly (cp ABRAHAM, § 1).

ABRECH (אַבְרֵחַ, Gen. 41 43†, 'Then he made him ride in the chariot next in rank to his own, and they cried before him Abrech. So he set him over all Egypt' (Kau. HS). The passage occurs in E's (or E₂'s) version of the appointment of Joseph to be grand-vizier, and the strange word Abrech greatly puzzled the ancient interpreters. G^{ÆL} gives καὶ ἐκίρυσεν . . . κίρυσ; the Targums אַבְרֵחַ אַבְרֵחַ Pesh., omitting אַבְרֵחַ, paraphrases **إِدَا مَعْبُودَا** [cp 45 8 Pesh.], and Vg. *clamante præcone ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent*. Jerome himself, however (*Quæst. in Gen.*), remarks, 'Mihî videtur non tam præco sive adgeniculatio . . . intelligenda, quam illud quod Hebræi tradunt, dicentes "patrem tenerum," . . . significante Scripturâ quod iuxta prudentiam quidem pater omnium fuerit, sed iuxta ætatem tenerimus adolescens et puer.' So, in fact, the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. 90) and the two later Targums (as an appendage to 'father of the king') expressly interpret, and in *Bab. Bathra*, 4a we even find this justified by the combination of **רַךְ** and **רֵזַר**. In *Jubilees* 40; (Charles) the form is Abiret, i.e. Abirel ('God is a mighty one,' or, being an imaginary form, 'mighty one of God').

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

¹ Harkavy, *J. As.*, mars-avril 1870, pp. 161-165. I.e. Page Renouf's explanation (*PSB* i. xi. 5 ff. [38]), 'thy command is our desire' (*ab-n-rab*), i.e., 'we are at thy service,' is much less suitable to the context.

vizier.' No such title including the letters b-r-k is quoted from the pure Egyptian vocabulary; but may it not be really a loan-word? This might account for the fact that Abrech is passed over in 6. It is well known that from the fifteenth century onwards there was close intercourse between the Egyptians and the Semitic peoples, and that many technical words were borrowed from the latter. This being the case, it appears reasonable to connect Abrech with the Ass.-Bab. *abaraku* (fem. *abarakatu*), which is applied to one of the five highest dignitaries in the empire.¹ Schrader, who once opposed this view (*COT* i. 139), now thinks that the Amarna discoveries (1888) have made it much more probable; and Brünnow has expressed the opinion that 'the Assyrian a-ba-rak-ku seem undoubtedly to be the prototype of Abrech'² (private letter). In spite of Dillmann's peremptory denial (1892), it has become very difficult to think otherwise. We might, indeed, correct the word out of existence; but Ball's text (*SBOT*) is hardly an improvement except in the substitution of the *רַב־בַּיִת* of the Sam. text (cp 6 Pesh.) for *רַב־בַּיִת*, which is justified by the context, and had already been made by Geiger (*Urschr.* 463). T. K. C.

ABRONAH, AV Ebronah (עֲבְרֹנָה), one of the stages in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33⁴ f. 7, P; *αβρωνά* [B]; EB. [AFL.]; see WANDERINGS §§ 12, 14. On *αβρωνά* [AB] in Judith 224, see ARBONAI.

ABSALOM (אֲבִישָׁלוֹם), § 45, or—less correctly, as Nold. thinks—as in 1 K. 15²¹ אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, *ABISHALOM*, *ABESSALOM*: probably 'the [divine] father is peace,' cp *Yahwé-shalom* Judg. 6²⁴, a title of Yahwé, but not Ps 120⁷; *αβεσσαλωμ* [BA, and in 2 S. 3³ and 1 Chr. also L.]; *εβσα* [A. 2 S. 18¹⁵]; *εβσα* [L.; but in 1 K. 2³⁸ *κολωνωντος*, where also *αβσα*, *αβισσαλωμ*]; *אבשלום*; *αβεσσαλωμ* [A.] 2 S. 18¹⁵; *ישׁוּב. αβεσσαλωμ* and *αψαλωμοσ*; *ABSALOM* was David's third son, his mother being Maacah, daughter of Talmai, king of GESHUR (*q.v.* 2). Born at Hebron, he grew up at Jerusalem, the idol of his father, and popular for his manly beauty and his winning manners. His tragic history is faithfully recorded by an ancient and well-informed writer in 2 S. 13-18.

We first hear of him in connection with the outrage on his sister Tamar by her half-brother Amnon, whom David, out of weak-minded affection for his first-born (2 S. 13¹⁷, 6^{BAL}), omitted to chastise. Absalom soothed his sister, and silently bode his time. Then, after two years, he lured Amnon with the other princes to a feast of sheep-shearing on Absalom's estate at Baal-hazor (see HAZOR, 2), and at a concerted sign his servants slew Amnon during the banquet. The next three years Absalom passed in exile in Geshur (*q.v.* 2), till Joab, knowing that the king pined for the fugitive, contrived by the help of a 'wise woman' from Tekoa to bring him back. The form of the parable (2 S. 14⁵⁻⁷) may belong to the 'wise woman,' but the ideas which it suggested came from Joab. Why was the king so willing to mitigate the custom of blood-vengeance for a stranger, and so hard towards his own son? We die, and are like water spilt on the ground; but God spares the life of him whose thoughts are bent on the restoration of the banished (2 S. 14¹⁴ with Ewald's emendation). The king gave way to this gentle pressure, and allowed his son to come back to Jerusalem, but refused to see him for two whole years. Nor would Joab take any further step, till the impetuous prince set his barley field on fire, and, when Joab came in person to complain, declared that death was better than con-

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

Four years followed (2 S. 15⁷, L. Pesh. and Jos.; MT 6^{BA} Vg. have 'forty') during which Absalom prepared men's minds for coming events. He let his hair grow enormously long (2 S. 14²⁶), in token, as Robertson Smith thinks (*R.S.*⁽²⁾ 484), of the sacredness of his person, though the ordinary view that it was merely a proof of vanity possesses the recommendation of simplicity. He rode in a chariot with horses (then scarcely known in Israel) and was accompanied by a guard of fifty men. He made every suitor's cause his own, and lamented aloud that his power did not match his desire to help (2 S. 15¹⁻⁶). At last he fired the train which had been so long and so carefully laid. On pretence of a sacrificial feast, he withdrew to Hebron, accompanied by 200 men, doubtless needy dependents, who followed him in ignorance of his plan. Here, at the old capital of Judah, amidst a people who were still unreconciled to their absorption in a larger state, he raised the standard of revolt. Ahithophel, a man of southern Judah, he made his principal counsellor; Amasa, Absalom's cousin, also from Judah, took command of the troops (cp GESHUR, 2). But an appeal was also made to the centrifugal forces always at work in the N. tribes, for, as he set out for Hebron, the rebel prince sent men through the land of Israel. At the sound of the trumpet these were to proclaim the accomplished fact, 'Absalom has been made king in Hebron.'

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

Thence, in three divisions, David's army sallied forth, and in the neighbouring forest (see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF) the rebel troops were routed. In the flight Absalom's head (hair?; Heb. שָׂרָא, cp 2 S. 14²⁶) was caught in the branches of a terebinth tree, and his mule left him hanging between heaven and earth. 'Not for a thousand shekels' would the soldier who saw him hanging have taken his life. How could he venture to disregard the king's charge to watch over the young man Absalom? If he had treacherously attempted Absalom's life, would not the king have found it out, and would not Joab himself have stood aloof? But Joab, who felt his courage called in question (2 S. 18¹⁴, 6^{BAL}; see Bu. *SBOT*), with an emphatic denial of the statement, plunged three javelins into Absalom's body. The corpse of the ill-fated prince was flung into a pit, and the soldiers cast stones upon it, that the restless spirit might trouble them no more.¹ Meantime the old king was waiting at the gate of Mahanaim. The pathetic story of his broken-hearted grief at hearing the news of his dearly loved son's death is enshrined in all memories.

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

¹ Friedr. Del., *Heb. in the light of Assyrian Research* (1881), p. 25 f.; cp *Par.* 205; *Ass. Heb.* 12. This brilliant suggestion was temporarily adopted by the present writer (*Mon.* 12th Apr. 1884), who has, since the Amarna discoveries, returned to it.

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

¹ See Tylor's *Prim. Cult.* ii. 29.

was about twenty when he took up his sister's cause, he must have died a little over thirty. Apparently his three sons died before him (2S147 1818). On his 'daughter,' see TAMAR, 3, and ΜΑΑΣΑΗ, 3, 4. The notice respecting Absalom's monument in 2S18:8 is not very clear, perhaps owing to some confusion in the text of vv. 17-19 (50 Klo.). It is evidently parenthetical, and reminds the reader that Absalom had a suitable monument erected, according to Klo.'s reading, by David) in the King's Vale (see SHAVEH, 1, MELCHIZEDEK, § 3). The building close to Jerusalem, now known as Absalom's tomb, is of very late origin, as its Ionic pillars prove.

W. E. A.
2. Father of Mattathias (1 Macc. 11 70; 'Ἀφάλαμος [AV], φαλαμῶδός [K]). Zöckler proposes to read 'Jonathan' for 'Mattathias' here; or else to read Mattathias in 1 Macc. 13 11 also.

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

4. An ambassador to Lysias; 2 Macc. 11 17 (Ἀβυσσάλου [A], ἄβυσσαλα Ἰ [sic V]). Possibly also to be identified with (2).

ABUBUS (Ἀβουβός [ANV]); אבובוס, cp Πτολεμαί, 1 Ch. 7 34 Kr.; *ABUBUS*), father of Ptolemy, captain of the plain of Jericho, and son-in-law to Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 16 11 15†).

ABYSS, THE (Η ΑΒΥΣΣΟΣ), the term substituted in RV of NT for the 'deep' and the 'bottomless pit' of AV; see Lk. 8 31; Rom. 10 7; Rev. 9 1 f. 11 17 17 8 20 1 3†. In the second of these passages, by an inexact use of the term, 'the abyss' is equivalent to Sheol; 'over the sea' in Dt. 30 13 is taken to mean 'over the world-encircling ocean into which the "rivers" of the underworld (Ps. 184 [5], תהלי בלי יליעל) discharge themselves to "the place where all flesh wanders" (i.e., Sheol; *Enoch* 176). Elsewhere it means the deeply-placed abode of the 'dragon' or devil, of the 'beast' his helper, and of the δαιμόνια, —whether this abode be taken to be 'deep (*ἀβύσσος*) that coucheth beneath' (Gen. 49 25 RV), or the 'waste place' with 'no firmament above and no foundation of earth beneath, by which the fire-filled chasm was thought to be bordered (*Enoch* 18 12; cp 21 27). The former view is in accordance with OT usage, the *thām* of MT and the *ābūssos* of G being the flood or ocean which once enfolded the earth, but is now shut up in subterranean store-chambers (Ps. 33 7); and it is favoured by the use of *θάλασσα* in Rev. 13 1 as synonymous with *ābūssos*. But the latter is more probably right in the Apocalypse, which agrees with *Enoch* in asserting the existence of a lake of fire, destined for the final punishment of the devil and his helpers. This fiery lake is not in either book technically called 'the abyss'; in *Enoch* 10 13 the Greek has τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρός, and in 21 7 διακοπήν εἶχεν ὁ τόπος ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου. The angelic overseer of this region is Uriel, who is described in *Enoch* 20 2 (Gizeh Gk.) as ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κάμου καὶ τοῦ τάρταρου. 'Tartarus' occurs also in Job 41 23, G, in the phrase τὴν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου [BNA], which, being used in connection with Leviathan, is doubtless to be taken of the subterranean abode of Yahwé's enemy, the dragon (see DRAGON, § 4 f.). Cp ταρταρώσας, used of the fallen angels, 2 Pet. 2 4.

ACACIA (ἡψύς), Ex. 25 5 etc., RV. See SHITTAH TREE.

ACATAN (ἀκατάν [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 38† AV = Ezr. 8 12; ΗΑΚΚΑΤΑΝ.

ACCABA (ἀκκαβα [B]), 1 Esd. 5 30 RV = Ezra 2 46, HAGABE.

ACCAD (ἄκκ: ἀκκαδ [AJ.], אַק: [DE]; אַק: [*ACHAD*]) is one of the four cities mentioned in Gen. 10 10 as forming the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod in the land of Shinar or Babylonia. In the cuneiform inscriptions the name of Akkad is most frequent.

1 If a Hebrew original could have been suppressed for 2 Macc. 13 10 אבובוס might have represented a transliteration of part of a participle of אבוב (cf. *pephéeres* follows).

quently met with in the title *Iugal Kingi(ki) Uri(ki)*, which is rendered in Semitic by *jar (mātu) Šunēri u (mātu) Akkadī*. This title, which implied dominion over the whole of Babylonia, was borne from the earliest times by the Babylonian kings, and was adopted by those kings of Assyria who conquered Babylon (cp BABYLONIA, § 1). The Akkad referred to in Gen. 10 10 has been identified by some with the ancient city of *Agadé* which was situated in northern Babylonia and attained a position of supremacy over the rest of the country under Sargon I. about 3800 B.C. This identification, however, is entirely hypothetical, and is based only on the superficial resemblance of the names. L. W. K.

ACCARON (ἀκκαρων [A*]), 1 Macc. 10 89† AV = RV EKRON (9. v.).

ACCOB, RV Acco (ἰσῦ), Judg. 1 31 and (see UMMAH) Josh. 19 30†; see PTOLEMAIS.

ACOS (ἀκκωκος [A], ἀκκωκος [N], ἰακκ [V]; same as HAKKOS [9. v.]), grandfather of Eupolemus; 1 Macc. 8 17†.

ACCOZ (ἀκβωκος [B]), 1 Esd. 5 38† AV = Ezra 2 61 RV, HAKKOS, I.

ACCUSER (κατήγορος [Ti., W & H following A], κατήγορος [B*, etc.]). The form of word found in the best texts is simply a Hebraised form [קטגור] of the common word *κατήγορος*. For Rabbinic usage see e.g. Buxt. *Lex.*, Rev. 12 10†. See SATAN, §§ 6 (3) 7.

ACELDAMA AV; RV Akeldama (ἀχελδαμαῖ [Tisch. A, etc.], *ACHELDEMACH* [96 lat.], ἀκε [B* followed by W & H], -δαίμ. [D], *ACHELDEMAH* [d], the name according to Acts 1 19 of a field bought by Judas Iscariot for some unknown purpose. The vet. Lat. of Mt. 27 8 applies the name (not, as in the Gk. MSS., merely in translation, but in the original) also to a field bought by the priests of Jerusalem to bury strangers in.

MS. evidence is so overwhelmingly in favour of some such form as Akeldamach that the RV is quite unjustified in rejecting it, especially when

1. **The name.** corrected the c into k. Acts 1 19 states that in the language of the dwellers at Jerusalem this name meant 'the field of blood' (*χωρίον αἵματος*). *קטג קת* (*hēbēl dēma'akh*), however, is obviously 'the field of thy blood,' an impossible expression. Klostermann has therefore argued with great acuteness (*Probleme in Aposteltexte*, 1-8 [83]) that קת (DMKH) is one word—viz., the well-known Aram. root 'to sleep.' All we have to do, then, is to understand it of the sleep of death, a usage known in Syr., and 'field of sleep' will mean cemetery, which, as Mt. tells us, was what the priests meant to make of the potter's field. Klostermann's argument is very strong—it is certainly natural to suppose that the name originated in some fact known to the people at large, as the transformation of a potter's field into a burying place would be—and his view was adopted by Wendt (*Meyer*⁶ *ad loc.*). But we have no instance of a noun *קת* so used, and *אח, ח*, may = *ח* (cp *ωσηח* [Lk. 3 26, BN, etc.] = *ישׁי*; *Σειραχ*, Sirach = *סירא*, Sira). Hence, whatever may have been the real origin of the name—we can never know—its form was probably קת קת (Dalm. *Gram.* 161 and 105 n. 1 respectively), 'the field of blood' (so Dalm. 161 n. 6; Arn. *Mey. Jesu Muttersprache*, 49 n. 1). On the questions who bought the field and why it was called Akeldama see also ACTS, § 14. Cp JUDAS, 9.

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

—a tradition which rests precariously on Jer. 18 f., where the situation of the potter's house in Jeremiah's day is thought to be indicated. Potter's

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

material is still dug out in the neighbourhood. The traditional Acaeldama was used to bury Christian pilgrims in at least from 570 (*Anton. Plac. Itin.* 26): especially during the Crusades, but, according to Maundrell, who says it was then called Campo Santo, even as late as 1697. A charnel house into which the bodies were let down from above has stood here from very early times. The best history and description of the site (with plans) is that by Schick, *PEPQ*, 1892, pp. 283 ff.

G. A. S.—H. W. H.

ACHAIA (Ἀχαΐα [Ti.WH]). It is a fact of some interest that both at the beginning and at the end of their history the word 'Achaean' was used as the general designation of the inhabitants of Greece proper. During the classical period Achaia denoted only the narrow strip of coastland and the adjoining mountain stretching along the S. shore of the Corinthian gulf from the river Sythas (mod. Trikalitikos) 20 m. west of Corinth, to the river Larissus near Cape Araxus (mod. Kalogria). In the time of Paul, Achaia signified the Roman province—i.e., the whole country south of Macedonia and Illyricum, including some of the adjacent islands. The name Achaia was given to it in consequence of the part played by the Achaean League in the last spasmodic effort which occasioned the sack of Corinth and the downfall of Greek independence, 146 B.C. (Paus. vii. 1610). Whether the formation of the province dates from that year, or not, is of no consequence to the student of the Bible. It was in 27 B.C. that Augustus definitely settled the boundaries of Achaia, assigning to it Thessaly, Aetolia, Acarnania, and part of Epirus (Strabo, p. 830). The Achaia of Paul is, therefore, practically synonymous with the modern kingdom of Greece, but a little more extensive towards the north-west. The combination 'Macedonia and Achaia' embraces the whole of European Greece, as in Acts 19:16, *διεμάθων τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν* (see also Rom. 15:26 1 Thess. 1:7 f.). From 27 B.C. Achaia naturally ranked as a senatorial province—i.e., its governor was an ex-prætor, with the title proconsul (Strabo, l.c.). In 15 A.D., however, owing to their financial embarrassments, both Achaia and Macedonia were taken charge of by Tiberius; and it was not until 44 A.D. that Claudius restored them to the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76; Suet. *Claud.* 25). The writer of Acts 18:12 is thus quite correct in speaking of Gallio in 53 or 54 A.D. as *ἀνθύπατος*—i.e., proconsul. The fiasco of Nero's proclamation made all Greece free, but this state of things lasted only a short time. With this exception, a proconsular governor was stationed in Corinth, the capital of Achaia, until the time of Justinian.

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

W. J. W.

ACHAICUS (Ἀχαϊκός [Ti.WH]), a member of the Corinthian church, who, along with Stephanas and Fortunatus, had carried to Paul at Ephesus news of the Corinthians which had gladdened and refreshed him (1 Cor. 16:17 f.). He is enumerated as one of the Seventy (Lk. 10:1) in *Chron. Pasc.* (Bonn ed. i. 402).

ACHAN (אָחַן, Josh. 7), called **Achar** (אָחַר)—i.e., 'troubled'—, cp OCRAN, אָכְרַן in 1 Ch. 2:7 and **ACHAR** [ed. Bensly]] in 4 Esd. 7:37 [107] RV. Ⓢ's readings are

אָחַר [BF and (except Josh. 7:1; אָחַן)] L.; אָחַן [A; but אָחַר in Josh. 7:24 1 Ch. 2:7]; the son of Carmi b. Zathai b. Zerah b. Judah, who unlawfully took possession of some of the 'devoted' spoil of Jericho (see BAN). His breach of a taboo had involved the whole host in guilt (*RS*² 162), and the community had to free itself of responsibility by destroying not only Achan but also his whole family (Josh. 7). This is quite in accordance with primitive notions (*RS*² 421), although our present text is due to later insertions in v. 24 f. With the variety in the form of the name is to be connected the word-play in Josh. 7:25. Cp CARMi, I.

ACHAZ (אָחָז [Ti.], אָחָז [WH], Mt 140, RV AHAZ 17:30, I.).

ACHBOR (אָכְבוֹר [עֲבֹר]), § 68, i.e., MOUSE [q.v.]; cp Ph. עֲבֹרָה, עֲבֹרָה, עֲבֹרָה; אָכְבוֹר [BAI.].

1. Father of Baal-hanan [I] king of Edom (Gen. 36:38, *חֲבוֹרָה* [A¹ V]); cp: 1 Ch. 1:46, 722; [Aa. CARMi.], אָכְבוֹר [B], χ[.], [I.]; also v. 8: in Ⓢ'. See EDOM, § 2.

2. b. Micah; a courtier of King Josiah (2 K. 22:12 14; Jer. 26:22, MT and Theod. in Q mg. [BAN om.]; Jer. 36:12, אָכְבוֹר [BN], -בֵּן [N²], אָכְבוֹר [Q]); in 2 Ch. 34:20 named אֲבוֹרָן v. 34 (אֲבוֹרָן [B], אֲבוֹרָן [A]).

ACHIACHARUS (Ἀχιαχάρους [BA]; see further below).

1. The prosperous nephew of Tobit (see TOBIT). He was cup-bearer, signet-keeper, steward, and overseer of accounts to Esarhaddon at Nineveh (Tob. 1:2 f.).

In 1880 George Hoffmann pointed out¹ the identity of the Achiacharus of Tob. 1:2 f., 11:8 14:10f with Ahikar (on the name see below), a legendary sage and vezir of Sennacherib, who is the hero of a romance found in certain Syriac and Arabic MSS. According to this romance, he almost lost his life through the base treachery of his sister's son (cp Pesh. in Tob. 11:8), Nadan (= Aman of Tob. 14:10—cp [ἐπίσιπτον] ἀδάμ [B], *παδάβαν*); see AMAN—and probably [Ναδάν] [B] (then or other form) of Tob. 11:8; see NABAS), whom he had adopted. Restored to favour, he gave sundry proofs of his marvellous wisdom, especially in connection with a mission to a foreign king. Assemanni had already observed (*Bib. Or.* 3, pt. 1:266 a) that in the Arabic story 'de Hicaro eadem fere narratur quae de Aesop Phryge'; chaps. 23-32 of the legendary *Life of Aesop* (Maximus Planudes) in fact tell of Aesop and his kinsman Ennos a quite similar story. There can be little doubt that the story is oriental in origin; but it has been argued by Meissner (see below) that the Aesop romance has preserved in some respects a more original form. The Greek recension, however, that must be assumed as the basis of certain Roumanian and Slavonic versions still surviving, was probably an independent version now lost, made from the Syriac. Allusions to an eastern sage *αχαιαρος* are found elsewhere (e.g., Strabo, p. 762); and traces of his story seem to have made their way into the Talmud (*ZDMG* 48:194 f. [94]). The mutual relations of these various recensions are still obscure; but there seems little reason to question that the allusions in Tobit are to an already well-known story. M. R. James (*Guardian*, Feb. 2, 1898, pp. 163 f.) suggests parallels to the same story in the NT.

Of the allusions, that in 11:8 is wanting in the It.; those in 11:8 and 14:10 are absent from the 'Chaldee' and Heb. texts; while the Vg. omits all save that in 11:8 (*Achiachar*)—perhaps the allusions were felt to have little to do with the story of Tobit.

Greek variants of the name are ἀχιαχάρους in 2:1, ἀχιαχάρους in 8:10, ἀχιαχάρους in 11:10, ἀχιαχάρους in 11:18, ἀχιαχάρους in 14:10, cp Ti. *Achiacharus*, and in 14:10 *Achiacharus*. The equivalent Hebrew would be אָחִיכָר, and Meissner has pointed out that Pesh. has אָחִיכָר for אָחִיכָר in 1 Ch. 6:5. The name remains obscure however. Pesh. has אָחִיכָר; 'Chalde' Hg, אָחִיכָר; H1 אָחִיכָר; Vg. *Achiachar*, and Pesh. in 1:2 f. אָחִיכָר.

¹ 'Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischen Märtyrer,' in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, 7, no. 3, p. 182.

In the romance the forms are **سماح** **حيقار** [cod. Sach.]; **سماح** [cod. in Brit. Mus.].

Published texts—(1) Semitic: Arabic, A. Šahani, *Contes arabes*, 2-20 (Beyrouth, 1890); Ar. and Neo-Syr., M. Lidzbarski, *von cod. Sachau 339*, in *Feindwangshefte zur ZA* Hefte 4-5, 1 Teil, with Germ. transl.; English transl. of Syriac (compared with Ar. and Neo-Syr.), E. J. Dixon, *Contemp. Rev.*, March 98, p. 269-285; cp also versions of the Arabian Nights—e.g., Sir R. F. Burton, *Alf Laylah wa Laylah*, supplemental volumes, 6:3-38; Ethiopic (precepts), C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch der weisen Philosophen*, 19-21, 40-44. (2) Slavonic: Germ. transl. V. Jagić, *Byzant. Zeitsch.*, 1:11-126. (3) Armenian, printed at Constantinople, in 1708, 1731, and 1862. (4) *The Story of Achikar*, Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis, Camb., 1898 (Gk. text; Armen., Syr., and Arab. texts and transl.; Slav. and Eth. transl.) appeared as these sheets were being passed for press.

Discussions: Bruno Meissner, *ZDMG* 48 171-197 [94]; Jagić (*op. cit.* 107-111); Ernst Kuhn (*ib.* 127-130); Lidzbarski (*l.c.* 3 f.); Bickell, *Athenaeum*, 22nd Nov. 1890, p. 700, and 24th Jan. 1891, p. 123; cp also 20th Nov. 1897, p. 711, and 27th Nov., p. 759; J. R. Harris in *Story of Achikar* (see above), pp. vii-xxviii.

2. 'King of Media' (Tob. 14.15 [N?]). It. *Achicor* = NEBUCHADNEZZAR (B). [B] = AHASUERUS (B). [A]. See TOBIT, BOOK 9 F.

ACHIAS (ACHIAS), 4 Esd. 1:2f. See AHIAH, I.

ACHIM (אָחִים [B^N?]). -N, אָחִים, -הֵן [A etc.], אָחִים [B^N etc.], cp אָחִים = אָחִים, AHIAM, I Ch. 11.35 [BNA], and אָחִים, JACHIN, Gen. 46.10 [A^{vid}], I Ch. 24.17 [6] [B], a name in the ancestry of Joseph (Mt. 1.14). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 c.

ACHIOR (אָחִיעֹר [BNA], § 44), in the romance of JUDITH (*q.v.*), 'captain of all the sons of Ammon.' Having dared to warn Holofernes of the danger of attacking the Israelites, he was handed over to them to share their fate on the expected triumph of the Assyrian arms (6.5 ff.). He was hospitably received, and ultimately became a Jewish proselyte—no doubt to the great edification of Jewish readers of the story.

In some versions of Tobit his name takes the place of that of ACHIACHARUS (*q.v.*)—an error due to the similarity of *h* and *w* in Syriac.

ACHIPHA (אָחִיפָּה [B]), I Esd. 5:31f RV = Ezra 2.51. HAKIPHA.

ACHISH (אָחִישׁ, אַרְחוּשׁ [BA], אַרְחִי. [L]), a Philistine, son of Maach (1 S. 27.2) or Maachah (1 K. 2.39 f.; אַרְחִישׁ [A]); a king of Gath, with whom David and his band took refuge from the persecution of Saul (see DAVID, § 5). He is described as a credulous man whom David found it easy to deceive, representing that his raids against Bedouin tribes were really directed against the Judahites and their allies, and taking care not to leave any of his captives alive to reveal the truth to Achish. At Ziklag, which had been assigned to him as his place of residence, David lived as a freebooter in vassalage to Achish for a year and four months (6 only four months). The confidence, however, with which his suzerain regarded him was not shared by the Philistine lords, who prevailed upon Achish to dismiss David from his army when starting to meet Saul at Gilboa. See 1 S. 27.1-28.2 29.1-11, a connected passage of date prior to 800 (SBOT). In another passage (1 K. 2.39 f.), where the execution of Shimei [1] is accounted for by his having gone to Gath in search of some runaway slaves, it is said that the fugitives went to Achish. No doubt the same king is meant (son of Maachah, *v.* 39), though the reference to Achish has the appearance of being a later ornamental insertion made in oblivion of chronology.

To a very much later writer (see 1 S. 21.10-15 [11-16]) the account in 1 S. 27-29 seemed to reflect on David's patriotism. He therefore devised an entertaining and unobjectionable story, in the style of the Midrash, which he hoped would supplant the no longer intelligible historical tradition. According to him, David went alone, and was compelled to feign madness for safety

till he could escape. The author of the title of Ps. 34 accepted this story, but by mistake (thinking of Gen. 20.2) wrote 'Abimelech' for 'Achish' (αβ[ι]μελεχ [BNAR], αχαιμ. [U], *Achimelech*; Pesh. quite different). T. K. C.

ACHITOB (אָחִיעֹב [B]), I Esd. 8 = 4 Esd. 1:1f AV = Ezra 7.2, AHITUB, 2.

ACHMETHA (אָחִמֶּתָה [B]), Ezra 6.2f, the capital of Media; see ECBATANA.

ACHOR (אָחֹר, אָחוּר [BAL]), a valley on the N. boundary of Judah (Josh. 15.7), which, as we may infer from Josh. 7 (εμμεχαωρ [BAL]) combined with Hos. 2.15 [17], led up from Jericho into the highlands of Judah. In Is. 65.10 it represents the E. portion of Canaan on this side the Jordan. To an Israelite its name naturally suggested gloomy thoughts. Hosea promises that in the future, when Israel has repented, the evil omen shall be nullified, and a much later prophetic writer (Is. *l.c.*) that the valley of Achor shall become a resting-place of flocks. Early legend connected the name with the sin of Achan the 'troubler' of Israel (Josh. 7.24-26f, JE). Many (e.g. Grove, very positively, in Smith's *DTB*) have identified the valley with the Wady el-Kelt, which leads down through a stupendous chasm in the mountains to the plain of the Jordan, and is, to unromantic observers, dark and dismal. This wady, however, is scarcely lifeless enough to be Achor, for its slender torrent-stream rarely dries up. It is also scarcely broad enough; it would never have occurred to the most ecstatic seer that flocks could lie down in the Wady el-Kelt. Some other valley must be intended. According to the OS (217.25 89.34) the valley was to the N. of Jericho, and its old name still clung to it. This cannot be reconciled with the statement in Josh. *l.c.* respecting the N. boundary of Judah.

ACHSAH (אָחְסָה, § 71, 'anklet'; אַחְסָה [B], אַחְסָה [AL], according to Josh. 15.16-19, and אַחְסָה [B], אַחְסָה [B^{vid}]) Judg. 1:22-25 (cp I Ch. 2.49; AV *Achsa*, אֹחְסָה [L]), a daughter of Caleb, who offered her in marriage to the conqueror of Kirjath-sepher. She was won by his younger brother Othniel. At her petition, because her home was to be in the dry southland (Negeb), Caleb bestowed upon her certain coveted waters called the Upper and the Lower Golith (see below). The simple grace of the narrative holds us spell-bound; but we must not, with Kittel (*Hist.* I 209), pronounce the story historical on this account. That some clans should have been named after individuals is not inconceivable; but it is most improbable that we have any true traditions respecting the fortunes of such possible individuals, and it would be throwing away the lessons of experience to admit the lifelikeness of a narrative as an argument for its historicity. According to analogy, Achsa must represent a Kenizite clan, allied in the first instance to the Calebites of Hebron, but also, very closely, to the clan settled at Debir and called Othniel; and the story arose in order to justify the claim of the Achsa clan to the possession of certain springs which lay much nearer to Hebron than to Debir (so Prof. G. F. Moore, on Judg. 1). That the cause is amply sufficient, can hardly be denied (cp the Beersheba and Rehoboth stories in Genesis). It only remains to discover the right springs. We know where to look, having identified Debir with the highest degree of probability. And our search is rewarded. In all other parts of the district the water supply is from cisterns; no streams or springs occur. But about seven miles (Conder N. of *ed-Daheriyeh* (the true Debir), and near Van de Velde's site for Debir (*Kh. ed-Dibek*), are beautiful springs (worthy of being Achsa's prize), which feed a stream that runs for three or four miles, and does not dry up.¹ The springs, which are fourteen, are in three groups.

¹ PEF. Mem. 3.302; see also GASM. *Hist. Geog.* 279 (cp p. 78), who speaks of only two springs.

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

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

ACHSHAPH (אֲחִישָׁפַח, i.e. 'sorcery'; ΔΖΕΙΦ [B], ΔΧΣΑΦ [A] ΔΧΑΣ. [L]), one of the unknown sites in the book of Joshua. It lay, according to P, on the border of the Asherite territory (Josh. 19:25; κεαφ [B]). Its king (if the same Achshaph is meant) joined the northern confederation under Jabin, king of Hazor (11:1; αχσφ [A], αχσφ [B], [Γαοαδ] χασαφ [L]); and shared the defeat of his allies (12:20). Rob. (BR, 455) connects it with the modern Kesaf, a village near the bend of the river Litany where there are some ruins of uncertain date; this identification would suit Josh. 11:1, but not 19:25. Maspero, on the other hand, followed by WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 154, cp 173), identifies Achshaph with the *Aksap* of the name-list of Thotmes III. (*KP*², 546). In this part of the list, however, there are names of localities in the region of Jezreel, which is outside the land of Asher. Flinders Petrie (*Hist. of Eg.* 236) connects Aksap with *Asafeh*, 9 m. SSW. of Jeba, which is hazardous. At any rate there were probably several places noted anciently for their sorcerers and therefore called Achshaph. The form κεαφ (see above) has suggested a most improbable identification with Haifa (*PEF Mem.* 1165). The statement of Eus. in OS, 218⁵⁴ ff. (ακαφα) is geographically impossible.

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

1. A town of Judah in the Shephelah, mentioned with Ke'ilah and Mar'ashah, Jos. 15:44 (ακίεζε κ. κεζεφ [B], αχζεφ [A], αχζεφ [L]), also Mic. 1:14, where ⁶אֲחִזִּיב, losing the intended paronomasia, renders 'the houses of Achzib' *oikos maraiotus*. The name becomes CHEZIB (207; Samar. text, Chazbah; χασβη [AEL]) in Gen. 38:31, where the legend presupposes that Chezib is the centre of the clan of Shelah; and since in 1 Ch. 4:22 'the men of Cozeba' (αζεβη; χασβη [A]), but ²αχζηβα [B], cp ²σωχα = Socoh) are said to belong to the same clan, we may safely recognise COZEBΑ (so RV; AV CHOZEBΑ) as another form of the same name. The

name may perhaps linger in *'Ain el Keebeh*, between Yarmuk (Jarmuth) and Shuweikeh (Socoh), but to the E. of both (So GASm., after *PEF Mem.* 336). Conder's identification of Cozeba with the ruin of Kuweiziba, 2½ m. NE. of Hailhū towards Hebron (*PEF Mem.* 333) is therefore superfluous. Buhl wisely doubts the proposal to identify it with Kusābe SE. of Tell el-Hesi (*Pal.* 192).

2. A Canaanite town, 9 m. to the north of Accho, like which city it was claimed but not conquered by the tribe of Asher, Josh. 19:29 (αχζεφ [B], αχζεφ [A], αχζεφ [A²], αχζεφ [L], ²αχζεφ [A], ²αχζεφ [A], ²αχζεφ [A]). Sennacherib mentions Akzib and Akku together in the Taylor inscription (*RI*² 688). Achzib (Aram. *Achlib*) is the Eclippa, *ἐκδιππα*, of OS, 95:13 22:17, the *ακδιππων* [*RI*² 133], *ακδιππων* (*Act.* 5:12), where it is said to have been also called *ἀρεκη* of Jos., the modern *ez-Zib*. T. K. C.

ACIPHA (ΑΧΕΙΦΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:31† AV = Ezra 2:51, HAKUPHA.

ACITHO (ΑΚΙΘΩ [A]), Judith 8:1†. RV, AHITUB (*q.v.*, 4).

ACRA (ΑΚΡΑ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 1:33 etc., AV 'strong-hold,' RV 'citadel.' See JERUSALEM.

ACRABBIM (אֲכַרְבִּים), Josh. 15:9†, RV AKRABBIM.

ACRE (אֲכָרָה, ζεγγρος in Is.; for ² in 1 Sam. cp We. *Dr. ad loc.*, Is. 5:10, 1 S. 14:14 AV mg. RV. The Heb. word seems to denote the amount of land which a span or YOKE [*q.v.*] of oxen could plough in the course of a day (cp below); perhaps, like the Egyptian *ἀροπα*, it ultimately became a fixed quantity (cp Now. *Arch.* 1:202). Even at the present day the fellahin of Palestine measure by the *faddān* (=Syr. *paddānā* 'yoke'; cp ZDPV 479) or also Lat. *jugum, jugerum*. The term is not restricted to arable land, being applied in Is. *l.c.* to a vineyard. Winckler, however (*AOF*, and ser., 290), derives *zeded* from Bab. *šamādū* (= *šakūlu*) to weigh, properly to measure off (which is at any rate barely possible), and attempts to show that *zeded* in Is. can denote only a liquid measure (which is by no means obvious). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES¹

CONTENTS

The 'W' sections distinct in character from rest of book (§ 1); *Imaginary* (§§ 2-3); 'Tendencies' (§§ 3-7); 'Journey Record' (§ 8-9); Other Sources (§ 10-11); *Trinitarianism* (§§ 12-14); *Authorship* (§ 15); *Date* (§ 16); *Class & hypothesis* (§ 17, 18); *Religious Value of Acts* (§ 19); *Literature* (§ 20).

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

The sections in which, as an eye-witness, the writer gives his narrative in the first person plural (16:10-17:20

1. The 'We' sections or Journey Record.

5-15 21:1-18 27:1-28:16) may be implicitly accepted. But it may be regarded as equally certain that they are not by the same writer as the other parts of the book. In the sections named, the book shows acquaintance with the stages of travel of almost every separate day, and with other very unimportant details (20:13 21:2 f. 16 28:11, etc.); outside these limits it has no knowledge even of such an important fact as that of Paul's conflicts with his opponents in Galatia and Corinth, and mentions only three of the twelve adventures catalogued so minutely in 2 Cor. 11:24 f. cp 23 (Acts 14:19 16:22 23 f.). Even had the writer of the book as a whole (assuming him to have been a companion of Paul) been separated from the apostle—remaining behind, e.g., in Macedonia during the interval between 16:17 and 20:5—he would surely afterwards have gathered the needful details from eye-witnesses and embodied them in his

book, instead of satisfying himself with such extraordinarily meagre notes as we have in 18:1-23 20:1-3 or 16:5-8. Even were he following an old journal, he could never have passed over so many important matters in silence simply because they were not to be found in his notes. Further, he contradicts the Epistle to the Galatians so categorically (see GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO, § 5 f., and COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM) that, if we assume his identity with the eye-witness who writes in the first person, we are compelled (see below, § 6) to adopt one of two courses. We must either make Galatians non-Pauline or pronounce the writer of Acts as a whole to be a 'tendency' writer of the most marked character—hardly less so than a post-apostolic author who should have simply invented the 'we' sections. To suppose that the 'we' sections were invented, however, is just as inadmissible as to question the genuineness of Galatians. If the sections had been invented, they would not have been so different from the rest of the book. We must therefore conclude that the sections in question come from a document written by an eye-witness, the so-called 'we' source, and that this was used by a later writer, the compiler of the whole book.

It is upon this assumption of a distinct authorship for

¹ On title see below, § 3 n.

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the 'we' sections that we are best able to pass a comparatively favourable judgment on the compiler's deviations from historical facts in other parts of the book. But there is one charge from which he cannot be freed, viz., that he has followed the method of retaining the 'we' without change. In the case of so capable a writer, in whom hardly a trace can be detected, either in vocabulary or in style, of the use of documents, this fact is not to be explained by lack of skill, such as is sometimes met with in the Mediaeval chroniclers. The inference is inevitable that he wished—that has actually happened—that the whole book should be regarded as the work of an eye-witness. An analogous case is to be found in the 'I' taken over from the Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 7:27-8:34, 9:1-15; Neh. 1:1-7:5, 12:31, 13:6-31; also in Tob. 1:3-8, and in *Protangelium Jacobi*, 18 f.). Just as Ezra 10 and Neh. 8, as well as the sections just mentioned, must be held to rest on those Memoirs, although modified and with the 'I' dropped out, so in Acts we may assume much other matter to have been drawn from the source from which the 'we' sections are derived. Any attempt, however, to assign to this source whole sections of the book not having the 'we,' and to use the conclusion so gained as a proof of the trustworthiness of everything thus assumed to belong to it, must be postponed until this trustworthiness has been investigated by the means otherwise at our command.

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

2. Inaccuracies uninfluenced by tendency.

Let us take the manifestation of Christ to Paul near Damascus. According to 22:9 his companions see the light from heaven but do not hear the voice of Jesus; according to 9:7 they hear the voice but see no one and do not fall down; according to 26:12-18 they fall down indeed with Paul, but it is he alone who sees the heavenly light, and hears the voice. This last account, moreover, represents him as having received at the time an explanation of what had occurred; according to 22:14 f., he did not receive the explanation until afterwards, through Ananias.

Further inconsistencies of statement are to be found when we compare the explanation of the departure from Jerusalem in 9:25-30 with that in 22:17-21; the account in 10:44 (εἶπε) with that in 11:15 (ἀπεστόμα); the explanation of the offering in 21:20-26 with that in 24:17 f.; the accounts in 21:31-34, 22:23-29, 28:27 with 28:17, according to which Paul was, in Jerusalem, a prisoner of the Jews and not as yet of the Romans; the occasion of the appeal to Caesar in 25:9-11 with that in 28:18 f. The liberation of Paul and Silas from prison at Philippi (16:23-40) is not only a very startling miracle (with resemblances to what we read in Euripides, *Bacchae*, 436-441, 502 f., 606-628 [cp. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 45, 262-283], and as regards Acts 16:25-30, in Lucian, *Toxaris*, 27-33), but is scarcely reconcilable with 1 Thess. 2, where the language of the apostle hardly suggests that his 'boldness in God' was in any measure due to an occurrence of this kind.

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

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

3. Tendency of the book.

His trustworthiness is not necessarily affected thereby: indeed, it has actually been urged by one of the apologists for Acts,¹ as an argument for the trustworthiness of the book, that it was designed to be put in as a document at the trial of Paul, and was written entirely with this view—a position that cannot, however, be made good. Now, it is clear that the book does not profess to be a history of the first extension of Christianity, or of the Church in the apostolic age: it covers really only a small portion of this. It is equally certain that the title *πράξεις (ἔργων) ἀποστόλων* does not express the purpose of its

author, who relates hardly anything of James and John, and of nine of the apostles mentions nothing but the names.¹ Neither is the book a history of Peter and Paul, for it tells also of John, of both the Jameses, of the deacons, of Stephen, Philip, Apollos, and others. Nor is it a history of the spread of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome; for the founding of the Roman church is not described but presupposed (28:15), and all that has any interest for the writer is the arrival there of Paul (19:21, 23:11). It is often supposed that the aim of the book is expressly formulated in 18, and that the purpose of the author was to set forth the spread of Christianity from Jerusalem, through Samaria, and to the ends of the earth. This is much too indefinite to account either for the difference in scale of the various narratives, sometimes so minutely detailed and sometimes so very vague, or for their marked divergences from actual history.

It is, therefore, no prejudice on the part of critics, but the nature of the book itself, that leads us to ascribe tendency to the writer. Only (1) we must not, with the Tübingen School, consider it 'conciliatory.' According to that view, Acts was an attempt from the Pauline side, by means of concessions, to bring Judaism to a recognition of Gentile Christianity. A reconciliation of the two was thus to be effected in face of the danger that threatened both, from Gnosticism on the one side and from state persecution on the other. This cannot have been the purpose. Acts is much too harsh towards non-Christian Jews, for whom Christian Jews continued to retain a certain sympathy (2:23, 7:51-53, 18:3 f., 12:17, 19:1-16, 21:27-36, 23:12-15, etc.); besides, most of the details which it gives have no relation to any such purpose. The main point on which the supposed reconciliation turns, the Apostolic Decree (15:28 f.), is to be explained otherwise (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 10). (2) On the other hand, the book is not a mere apology for Paul. If it were, much of its contents would be unsuitable (e.g., the enumeration of the conditions required in an apostle [21 f.], which were not fulfilled in Paul); it does not even give such a view of the personality of Paul as the facts known to us from the epistles demand (see below, §§ 7, 14). There remains only (3) one other possible view of the author's tendency. His aim is to justify the Gentile Christianity of himself and his time, already on the way to Catholicism, and he seeks to do this by means of an account of the origin of Christianity. The apostles, including Paul, are the historical foundation of Christianity, and 4:32 a, where we are told that all Christians were of one heart and soul, may be regarded as forming a motto for the book.

A whole series of demonstrable inaccuracies becomes

4. Inaccuracies resulting from this tendency.

comprehensible when viewed as resulting from this tendency. Paul never comes into conflict with the original apostles or their followers as he does

in Gal. 4:17, 5:7, 10:12; 2 Cor. 10:14 f., 11:13-15, 18-23.

The one misunderstanding (Acts 15) that arises is cleared away by the original apostles; the attempt to enforce the circumcision of Titus (Gal. 2:3-5)—nay, the whole personality of Titus—is just as carefully passed over in silence as are the dispute with Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-21; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3) and the Judaising plots to impose on the Galatians and Corinthians another Gospel, that of circumcision (Gal. 1:8, 6:12 f.), and another Christ (2 Cor. 11:4 f.). Apart

¹ It is not to be inferred from the absence of the article from the title in good MSS (*πράξεις ἀποστόλων* [BD]) that the author meant to say that it was with the acts of only some of the apostles that he proposed to deal; for it would be very strange that he should admit such an incompleteness in the very title of his work. The article before *ἀποστόλων* is omitted because *πράξεις* is without it; and that is so simply because such is the usual practice at the beginning of books (cp. Mt. 1:1 Acts 1:1, and see Winer⁸, § 19.4, 10). Since therefore no form of the title can be assigned to the author of the book, we conclude that the title must date from the time when the book was first united with others in one collection—its first occurrence is in the last third of the second century (Mur. Fragm. Tert. Clem. Al.). The simple *πράξεις* [α], common since Origen, is meaningless as an original title, and intelligible only as an abbreviation.

¹ Aberle, *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.* 1863, pp. 84-134.

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from the Gentiles, who seldom show hostility to Paul (14.5 16.23 19.37-41). It is (notwithstanding the end of 2 Cor. 11.20) only at the hands of non-Christian Jews that Paul meets with difficulties (13.45 18.6 19.23-24) or persecutions (9.21.7. 23 13.50 14.12 19 17.5-13 18.12.5. 20.12 21.27-36 22.12-21 24.17. 25.23-29). For further illustrations of the operation of this tendency in the writer of Acts see SIMON and BAILEY.

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

His journeys to Arabia, Syria, and Cilicia (Gal. 1.17-21) are passed over in silence, and thus it is made out that not he but Peter gains the first Gentile convert, for Cornelius, in opposition to 10.2-23.5, where he is a semi-proselyte, is represented in 10.23-45 11.18 15.7 as a pure Gentile. (Historically, however, after Peter had, in face of the doubts of the primitive church, so completely, and as a question of general principle, justified the reception of Cornelius into the Christian community without his being subjected to the requirements of the Mosaic law, as is related in 11.1-8, the question that led to the Council of Jerusalem could never again have sprung up.)

Again, whenever Paul comes into a strange city, he seeks (as we should expect him to do) to establish relations first of all with the synagogue, since, through the proselytes who might be looked for there, he could obtain access to the Gentiles: our view agrees also with Rom. 10.18-21. According to Acts, however, in almost every place where Paul betakes himself with his message to the Gentiles as distinct from the Jews, he has to purchase anew the right to do so, by first of all preaching to the Jews and being rejected by them (13.14.45. 18.4-6 19.8. 28.17-24-28). The only exceptions to this rule are Beroea (17.10-12), Paphos, Lystra, and Athens (13.6 14.17 17.17)—where the narrative passes at once to a quite singular incident—and towns so summarily dealt with as Derbe and Perga (14.21-25), along with Iconium, where Gentiles are brought to Christianity through the sermon in the synagogue (14.1). In 28.17-28, in order to make the right to preach to the Gentiles dependent on the rejection of the gospel by the Jews, the very existence of the Christian church, already according to 28.15, to be found in Rome, is ignored. Such a dependence of Paul's life-work—his mission to the Gentiles—on the department of the Jews, and that too in every individual city, is quite unreasonable with Gal. 1.10 2.7. and with the motives which the author himself indicates in Acts 13.47 28.25, as well as with 24.14.7.

After the appearance of Jesus himself to Paul near Damascus, the apostle has yet further to be introduced to his work by the appearance of the first Christian in Antioch (13.10-19 22.10-14.1), and subsequently (11.23) by DEMAS, who, a member of the original church, and thus happens after the fashion of Antioch—the first Gentile Christian Church, and Paul's first independent congregation—had already been founded by Christians from Jerusalem (11.20-24). (Both of these statements are contradicted by Gal. 1.16; the latter of them also by the order in which Syria and Cilicia are taken in Gal. 1.21.) Moreover, at the Council of Jerusalem (15.2) Paul is only to give in a report and to accept the decisions of the primitive church.

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

Both begin by healing a man lame from birth (8.2-10=14.8-10), and go on to the cure of another sick man (9.33.7=28.8); they heal many men at once, both directly (5.16-28.9) and mediately (5.15=19.12), besides doing signs and wonders generally (2.43 5.12=14.15 12.10.11); both bring a dead person to life (9.26-42=20.9-12); both perform a miracle of judgment (5.1-10=18.6-11); both, by the laying-on of hands, confer the gift of the Holy Ghost (8.14-17=19.1-7), and in doing so also impart the gift of tongues (10.44-46=19.6); both have a vision corresponding with one experienced by another man (10.1-22=9.3-16); both are miraculously delivered from prison (5.18.7.11=16.23-24); both are scourged (5.40=16.22); both decline divine honours in almost identical words (10.25.7=14.11-18, cp 28.6).

The life of Paul included many more incidents of this kind than that of Peter; but from what we have already observed we can understand how the author's wish not to allow Peter to fall behind Paul must have influenced the narrative. Still, he has by no means wholly sacrificed history to his imagination; had this been so, he would certainly have brought his narrative into much closer agreement with his own ideals. He has not, for example, introduced in the case of Peter, as in that of Paul, a stoning (14.19), or threats against life (9.23.7. 29.14), or an exorcism (16.16-18). And in like manner the omission of many of the items enumerated in 2 Cor. 11.23-27 12.12 may be explained, at least in part, by the supposition that he had no definite knowledge about them. He has, it would seem, at least in the main,

confined himself to matter preserved by tradition, merely making a selection and putting it into shape.

The author has two tendencies in addition to the religious-theological one.

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

In the Third Gospel we already find Pilate declaring that he finds no fault in Jesus, and he has this judgment confirmed by Herod, who in the other gospels is not mentioned at all in connection with the examination of Jesus. Pilate declares thrice over that he will release Jesus, and he is prevailed upon to pass adverse sentence only by the insistence of the Jews (Lk. 23.1-25). In Acts (which has even been regarded by some as an apology for Christianity intended to be laid before Gentiles; see above § 1.1), the first converts of Peter and Paul are Roman officers (10.1-13.7), while it is the Roman authorities who definitely declare Paul to be no political criminal as the Jews would have it (18.14. 19.37 23.29 25.18.7. 26.31.7.); it is by them also that he is protected (in more than one instance at any rate) from conspiracies (18.12-17 19.31 21.31-36 23.10-22-33 25.24).

When this political tendency is recognised, the conclusion of the book becomes intelligible. Otherwise it is a riddle. Even if the author meant to add still a *τρίτος λόγος* (third treatise)—which is pure conjecture—he could not suitably have ended the *δέυτερος λόγος* (second treatise) otherwise than with the death of Paul: that he did not survive Paul is even less likely than that he was otherwise interrupted at this point of his work. When we take account of this political tendency, however, 'none forbidding him' (*ἀκαυλώτως*) is really a skillfully devised conclusion. The very last word thus says something favourable to the Roman authorities, and, in order not to efface this impression, the writer leaves the death of Paul unmentioned.

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

This end is promoted very specially by the 'we' and the details, otherwise purposeless, appropriated from the Journey Record; but it is also served by much in chaps. 1-12 that, without having any claim to be regarded as historical, contributes to the enlivening of the picture of the primitive Christian community (see below, § 13); also by the speeches (see § 14), and particularly by the miracle-narratives, which in almost every case where they are not derived from the 'we' document (see § 8) are characterised by touches of remarkable vigour (1.10-12 2.1-13.4; 3.1-11 4.1-12 5.1-12 6.1-12 7.1-12 8.1-12 9.1-12 10.1-12 11.1-12 12.1-12 13.1-12 14.1-12 15.1-12 16.1-12 17.1-12 18.1-12 19.1-12 20.1-12 21.1-12 22.1-12 23.1-12 24.1-12 25.1-12 26.1-12 27.1-12 28.1-12).

The total influence of all these tendencies not having been so great as to lead the author wholly to disregard the matter supplied to him by tradition,

6. Total effect of these tendencies on the history.

the matter supplied to him by tradition, it has often been supposed possible to affirm that he had no such tendencies at all. The inaccuracies of the book are in this case explained simply by the assumption that the writer was not in possession of full information, and that, in a naive yet still unbiassed way, he first represented to himself the conditions of the apostolic age, and afterwards described them, as if they had been similar to those of his own, when the conflict of tendencies in the primitive Christian Church had already been brought to an end. Certain it is that in his unquestioning reverence for the apostles, it was impossible for him to conceive the idea of their having ever been at variance with one another. On the other hand, it cannot possibly be denied that he must at the same time have either passed over accounts that were very well known to him or completely changed them. It is hard to understand how any one can airily say that to this writer, a Paulinist, the Pauline epistles remained unknown. Paradoxical as it sounds, it is certainly the fact that such a lack of acquaintance would be more easily explicable had he been a companion of Paul (a supposition which, however, it is impossible to accept; see above, § 1) than it is on the assumption that he lived in post-apostolic times. It is conceivable, though not probable, that Paul might sometimes have been unable to communicate his epistles to his companions

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

The tendencies of the author once established in regard to points where his historical inaccuracy admits

7. Possible further influences of tendency.

of definite proof from a trustworthy source, one may perhaps find on them presumptions in regard to matters that admit of no such control. Did Paul circumcise Timothy (163)? Since Timothy's mother is called a Jewess, and Paul held the principle laid down in 1 Cor. 9.20, it is impossible to deny categorically that he did. Nevertheless, it remains in the highest degree improbable, especially after Paul had, just before (Gal. 2.3-5), so triumphantly and as a question of principle, opposed the circumcision of Titus. The difficulty of the case is not much relieved even by the supposition that the circumcision happened before the Council of Jerusalem, and only on account of the Jews of that place (163) and therefore, notwithstanding the statement of the same verse, not with a view to the missionary journeys. Again, did Paul take a Nazirite vow? We leave 18.8 out of account, since the text does not enable us clearly to decide whether that assertion concerns Paul or Aquila, and since a Nazirite could shave his head only in Jerusalem. In 21.25-26, however, Paul is represented as having taken such a vow, not only without waiting for the minimum period of thirty days required by traditional law (21.27; 24.11, cp. Jos. *Ant.* 15.4 [§ 313]; Num. 6.13-21; see NAZIRITE), but also, and above all, with the expressly avowed purpose of proving that the report of his having exempted the Jewish Christians of the Diaspora from obligation to the ceremonial law was not true, and that he himself constantly observed that law (cp 28.17). This would, for Paul, have been simply an untruth, and that, too, on a point of his religious conviction that was fundamental (Gal. 4.9-11; Rom. 10.4, etc.). Just as questionable, morally, would it have been had he really described himself, especially before a court of justice (23.6, cp 24.21; 26.5-8; 28.20), simply as a Pharisee, asserted that he was accused only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and held his peace about his Christianity.

In view of the tendencies that have been pointed out, there is, unhappily, some room for the suspicion that

8. The Journey Record: a. its treatment.

the author has not held himself bound to appropriate the 'we' source in its integrity. This is indeed made antecedently probable by the fact that he has already in the Third Gospel passed over much that lay before him in his sources, and that the sections of the Journey Record actually adopted supply for the most part only superficial notices of the stages passed, or miracle stories. And just in proportion to the freedom of the latter from legendary embellishments (16.16-18; 20.9-12; 28.3-9), and to their credibility even in the eyes of those who wholly reject the supernatural (although, of course, the narrators thought them miraculous), must be our regret at every instance in which the Journey Record has been set aside, or even in which its words (as has been conjectured to be sometimes the case; see above, § 1) are not reproduced exactly.

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

been certain that it was not composed by any of those who appear among the companions of Paul in the

9. b. Its author.

sections where the narrative 'we' does not occur. But this means of solution is out of the question. And if the source came into the hands of the author of Acts as (let us say) an anonymous document, or if, in the interest of greater vividness, he used the 'we' without regard to the person originally meant, he may also at the same time have spoken of the writer of the Journey Record in the third person, even when he was otherwise following the document. Yet 20.5 is a strong indication that by the 'we' he does not wish us to understand any one at least of the seven mentioned in the immediately preceding verse. Thus the text at all events gives nowhere any ground for thinking of Timothy, who, moreover, is mentioned in 17.14 f. 18.5 in the third person. If we are to regard the record as coming from Silas, the author of Acts must have used it without the 'we,' and, in a very fragmentary way indeed, for long periods during which, according to his own statement (15.40; 16.19; 25.29; 17.4; 18.5), Silas was with Paul. This, though not quite impossible, is very unlikely. Moreover, Silas is never again mentioned in Acts after 18.5; neither, from the same period—that of Paul's first stay in Corinth (2 Cor. 1.19)—is he again mentioned in the Pauline Epistles; and in 1 Pet. 5.12, he appears by the side of Peter. Whoever attributes the Journey Record to Titus must in like manner assume that much of it has been either not used at all or used without the 'we.' For Titus was with Paul at the time of the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. 2.1), and continued to be his companion at least during the latter part of the three years' stay at Ephesus, as also during the subsequent stay in Macedonia (2 Cor. 2.13; 7.8; 16 f. 23; 12.18¹). Besides, the writer of Acts would use a work of Titus somewhat unwillingly, for he completely suppresses his name (see above § 4²). Still, if so valuable a writing by Titus had been really available, the author of Acts would scarcely have completely neglected it.

If it is thus just possible that Titus wrote the Journey Record, it is perhaps still more conceivable that it was written by Luke. In this way we should best be able to explain how, ever since the time of the Muratorian Fragment and Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 14.1), the entire book of Acts as well as the Third Gospel came to be ascribed to him. It is true that, in the Pauline Epistles, the first mention of Luke is in Col. 4.14; Phil. 2.4; 2 Tim. 4.11—in other words, not before Paul's imprisonment and the closing years of his life. Nevertheless, he may have been one of Paul's companions at an earlier period, if we are allowed to suppose that he occupied a subordinate position. The most suspicious fact is that, whilst Luke (see LUKE), if we may trust Col. 4.14, was, like Titus (Gal. 2.3), uncircumcised, the writer of the Journey Record not only uses Jewish specifications of date (Acts 16.13; 20.6 f. 27.9), and goes to the synagogue or the Jewish place of prayer (16.16), but also includes himself (16.13) among those who taught there (*Ἰουδαῖοι*, 16.20, must not be pressed, as it may rest on an error on the part of the speakers; cp 16.37). We must thus, perhaps, abandon all attempt to ascribe the Journey Record to any known companion of Paul.

Other sources for Acts, in addition to that just mentioned, have long been conjectured: e.g., a

10. Other Sources.

Barnabas source for chap. 13 f. Here the naming over again of Barnabas and Saul, and the omission of John Mark (13.1), notwithstanding 12.25, are indeed remarkable, as are also

¹ Add to this that, if 2 Tim. 4.10 is to be taken as accurately preserving an incident in Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea, it could hardly have been Titus that accompanied Paul to Rome (Acts 27.28). The notices in the epistle to Titus are too untrustworthy to serve as a foundation for historical combinations.

² It is just as incorrect to suppose that he is named in Acts 18.7 as it is to identify him with Silas.

the circumstance that, apart from 11 30 12 25 15 22 25, it is precisely in these two chapters that Barnabas is often (13 47 14 14; contrast 13 43 46 49 14 20) mentioned before Paul, and that it is only here (14 14) that Paul (with Barnabas) is called an 'apostle' (see APOSTLE).

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

Many traces of distinct sources can be detected. In addition to what is said under GENTILES, STRATONIA, and under COME TO ME (see below, §§ 29, 2 two theories had been recognised as having been thought of. Such a solution of the idea that the blessing of God depended on the possession of the temple (7 48-50), and censure of the national rebellion of the people against the divine will (7 51-53). The stoning of Stephen, moreover, is narrated twice (7 58 and 60a), in a very curious way, and his burial does not follow till 8 2, after the mention of the great persecution and the flight of the Christians except the apostles (8 16c). In 8 5, the persecution is mentioned, not in 8 14, only once in 8 14, and in 8 14. The mention of Saul seems thus throughout (7 58 8 1 2) to be a later insertion into a source in which he was not originally named. Besides, 8 16c seems also to be an interpolation into the account of the last hours of Stephen. In as far as this interpolation speaks of the dispersion of the Christians, it is continued in 11 19, while 8 4 may easily be an ingenious transition in some editor leading to the laying on of hands in 11 19 is further followed by the statement (11 22) that the church at Jerusalem elected a delegate. This representation of the right of the church to elect delegates, which is found also in 6 5, seems to be more primitive than that in 8 14, according to which such an election was made by the apostles. Further, in 8 15-17 the apostles are raised to a rank unknown to the earliest times. For, that Christians did not receive the Holy Ghost by baptism, but only through subsequent laying on of hands, and those in the hands of the apostles, is disproved by Gal. 3 26, and even by the presupposition underlying Acts 19 2 f., although the same notion reappears shortly afterwards (19 6). In like manner, finally, the words 'except the apostles' (8 1) may have been subsequently inserted, to preserve the dignity of the apostles and the certainty of their role in Jerusalem. In 11 30 the friendly gifts destined for distribution during the famine come into the hands of the presbyters, not, as 6 1-6 would have led us to expect, into those of the deacons.

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

11. Theories as to Sources. No. 3. Weiss, *Einheitsurtheil* (1871, 2nd ed. 1876), § 89, and *Uebersicht*, 113; (vol. 9, 1881, 2nd ed. 4, of *Goldschmidt and Haenke's Text u. Deutung*); Seele, *Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte* (1872); Van Manen, *Paulus, 1. de handelingen der Apostelen* (1879); *Textus, Uebersetzung, Einleitung, Anmerkungen* (1880); Goldschmidt, 142; Spitta, *Apostelgesch.*, 113; Clemens, *Comment. de Paulin*, Br. 1893, and (for chaps. 1-5) in *St. Kr.*, 1895, pp. 297-357; Joh. Weiss, *St. Kr.*, 1893, pp. 480-540, 'Das Judenthum in der Ap. gesch.', etc., and 1895, pp. 252-269, 'Die Chronol. der Paulin. Br.'; Gercke in *Hermes*, 1894, pp. 373-392 (of the first chapters); Jüngst, *Die Quellen der Apostelgesch.*, 1895; Hilgenfeld, *ZfW*, 1895, pp. 65-115, 186-217, 384-447, 488-513, 606 ff., pp. 24-79, 172-186, 218-220, 228-230.

No satisfactory conclusion has as yet been reached along these lines; but the agreement that has been arrived at upon a good many points warrants the hope that at least some conclusions will ultimately gain general recognition. It is certainly undeniable that this kind of work has sharpened the wits of the critics, and rendered visible certain inequalities of representation, joints and seams, even in places where they are not so conspicuous as in 7 58-8 4.

Thus the tumult in Thessalonica is told in 17 for a second time after 17 5 in a disturbing way that leaves it impossible to say who it was that the Jews were trying (17 5) to drag before the people, or why it was that Jason (17 5 f.), whose part in the affair does not become clear till 17 7, was brought before the authorities. It is probable that 13 52 originally followed immediately on 13 49. Similarly, the account of the wholesale miracles of the original apostles (5 12 15 1 f.) is interrupted by the interpolation of a fragment (5 12b 14) which is itself not homogeneous. The least that could be done here would be to arrange as follows: 5 12a 23 16 14 10b 13. But that the text should have become so greatly disarranged by transposition is much less likely than the supposition of several successive interpolations. On 18 24-28 15 2-24, see APOLLOS, and COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, §§ 4-5. In the latter passage (15 2-3) the attempt has been made, by separation of sources, to solve the questions to which otherwise only tendency-criticism seemed to provide an answer. Similarly in the case of 21 20b-26. After the presbyters have just praised God for the success of Paul's mission to the Gentiles (21 20a) the proposal that he should put it in evidence how strictly legal he is in his views follows with but little fitness.

And had Paul been engaged in carrying out a Nazirite vow, it is hardly likely that his presence in the temple (21 27-29) could have led to an attempt on his life. A reason for this attempt is found (21 28 f.) in the alleged introduction of a Gentile within the sacred precincts of the temple, a proceeding which no one would guess to be simultaneous with the presentation of an offering. Since, moreover, for a Nazirite vow at least thirty days are necessary (see above, § 7), it has been proposed to detach 21 20b-26, and to refer the seven days of 21 27 to the duration of the feast of Pentecost which Paul, according to 20 16, was to spend in Jerusalem. 21 19 20a 27 ff. would then also, along with 20 16 and 21 1-18, belong to the Journey Record.

We come now to the question how far this distribution of the matter among various sources affects the

12. Bearings of these theories on trustworthiness.

trustworthiness of the book. It is (supposed) true that, in the case last mentioned, the archæological mistake of assigning only seven days for the Nazirite rites would become more comprehensible if we recognised a variety of sources; yet even so we should have to admit that there is an error, and that the editor had been guilty of the oversight of incautiously bringing the two accounts together. And he, as well as the source from which 21 20b-26 is perhaps taken, would still remain open to the reproach of having, under the influence of a tendency of the kind described above (§ 6), ascribed to Paul a repudiation of his principles of freedom from the law. It cannot be too strongly insisted that in as far as Acts, viewed as a homogeneous work, has to be regarded as a tendency writing, it is impossible to free it wholly of this character by distributing the matter among the various sources: the most that can be done is in cases of excessive misrepresentation to put this in a softer light. In general, however, the editor has dealt with his sources in so masterful a manner that an unlucky hit in the selection and arrangement of the pieces has but rarely to be noted. It has been a practice among some of the scholars enumerated above to claim absolute trustworthiness for the whole of an assumed source which they suppose themselves to have made out, irrespectively of the nature of some of the contents, as soon as they have found it trustworthy in some particulars. Such an abuse of discrimination of sources in the interest of apologetics is not only illegitimate; it speedily revenges itself. These very critics for the most part find themselves compelled to attribute to their secondary sources and their editors an extraordinary amount of ignorance and awkwardness. In particular, all theories according to which a single assumed source (of which the 'we' sections form part) is taken as a basis for the whole of Acts must from the outset be looked upon with distrust. There is nothing to suggest that any diary-writing companion of Paul also wrote on the beginnings of the church at Jerusalem, and, even if there were, any assumption that his information on such a subject would be as trustworthy as his assertions founded on his own experience, would be quite unwarranted.

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

13. Trustworthiness of narrative.

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

Ramsay thinks he has discovered such proofs in the accuracy with which geographical names and contemporary conditions are reproduced in the journeys of Paul (*Church*, 1894, 1-168; *St. Paul*, 1895). Some of the most important of these points will be considered elsewhere (GALATIA, §§ 9-13, 22). Of the other detailed instances many will be found to break down on closer examination.

For example, Ramsay goes so far as to say (*St. Paul*, chap. 11, 4): 'Aquila, a man of Pontus, settled in Rome, bears a Latin

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

But it is not necessary to go thus into details which might be adduced as proving the author's accurate acquaintance with localities and conditions. For Ramsay attributes the same accuracy of local knowledge also to one of the revisers of the text, assigned by him to the second century A. D., whose work is now preserved to us in D, and also to the author of one source of the *Acta Pauli et Thecle* (§ 3), assigned by him to the second half of the first century, whose work, however, he declares to be pure romance (*Church*, 2564). If so, surely any person acquainted with Asia Minor could, even without knowing very much about the experiences of Paul, have been fairly accurate about matters of geography, provided he did not pick up his information so late in the second century as to betray himself by his language, as according to Ramsay (2564 [end] 5 [end] 759 83-6; *St. Paul*, see Index under 'Bezan Text') the above mentioned reviser, whose work lies at the foundation of D, has done. In point of fact, Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 239f., 2nd ed. 230 f.; ET 1274f.) thinks that in Acts 13f. the account of the route followed does come from an authentic source, but yet that the contents of the narrative are almost legendary.

Such, for example, are the incidents at Paphos in Cyprus, 13 6-12 (see BARBESSES); also 13 14 46f. 111f., spoken of above (§ 4); the speech in 13 16-41 (see below, § 14); the healing of a lame man, 14 8-10, recorded after the model of 3 1-11; the paying of divine honours to Barnabas and Paul, 14 17-13, after the manner of the heathen fables (*Philemon and Baucis*, in adjacent Phrygia, see *Ov. Met.*, 8 621 657f.); and the institution of the presbyterial organisation, 14 23. In the first main division of the book (1-12), great improbability attaches to the publicity with which the Christian community comes to the front, to the sympathy that it meets with even among the masses, although not joined by them (247 421 513), and to the assertion that only the Sadducees had anything against it, and they only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection (4 1f.), while the Pharisees had given up all the enmity they had displayed against Jesus, adopting a slightly expectant attitude. See, further, BARNABAS, BARBESSES, GIFTS, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, PHILIP, PETER, CORNELIUS, CHRISTIAN, and also, for the journeys of Paul to Jerusalem, and the attempted rearrangement of them, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1.

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

With regard to the speeches, it is beyond doubt that the author constructed them in each case according to

his own conception of the situation. In doing so he simply followed the acknowledged practice of ancient historians. (Thucydides [i. 22] expresses himself distinctly on this point; the others adopt the custom tacitly without any one's seeing in it anything morally questionable.) This is clearly apparent at the very outset, in Acts 1 16-22.

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

which the supposed hearers were using (cp. further THEUDAS, and JUDAS OF GALILEE).

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

A thought like Acts 17 28 is nowhere to be found in the epistles. Paul derives idolatry, not, as in Acts 17 29f., from excusable ignorance, but from deliberate and criminal rejection of God (Rom. 1 18-32). Only in Acts 13 38f. 16 31 20 28, do some really Pauline principles begin to make themselves heard. The most characteristically Pauline utterances come, in fact, from Peter (15 7-11), or even James (15 19); see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 8). The speeches of Paul, especially that in 18 16-41, are so like those of Peter in idea, construction, and mode of expression, that the one might easily be taken for the other. For example, Paul's speech in 13 38f. resembles Peter's in 10 43. Or cp. 3 17 13f. (Peter) with 13 27f. (Paul); 2 25-31 with 13 35-37; or 6 34κατος for 'Christ' in 3 with 22 34, but also with Stephen's in 7 52. For the speeches of Paul, especially 13 16-41, show affinities also with that of Stephen: see 13 17-19 22 as compared with 7 2 6f. 36 45f. In like manner, the apologetic discourses of Paul in his own defence betray clearly an unhistorical origin (see § 7).

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

It has already been repeatedly assumed in the preceding sections that the writer of Acts is identical with

the writer of the Third Gospel. The similarity of language, style, and idea, constantly leads back to this conclusion.

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

The most important divergence between the two books is that according to Acts 13 (cp. 13 31) the ascension of Jesus did not occur till forty days after his resurrection, while according to Lk. 24 13 29 33 50 f., as also the Epistle of Barnabas (150) and probably even Jn. 20 17, it was on the very evening of the resurrection. According to the original view, as indicated by the absence of any special separate mention of the ascension, in 1 Cor. 15 4-12; Rom. 8 34; Heb. 3 13 10 12 12 2; Eph. 1 20 25f. 4 9 f.; 1 Pet. 3 19 22, and perhaps even also in Acts 2 23-35; (see *oἰν* 2 33) the resurrection and the ascen-

¹ Such passages as Mk. 10 17f.; Mt. 13 30 6 5; Lk. 11 20-32; Mt. 16 5-12 11 5f. 12 31f. as contrasted with those in the same gospels which already present secondary reproductions of the same facts—viz., Mt. 19 16f. 12 23 (ἐξουσιον); see below, § 17 1f.) 24 36 13 38 12 40 14 15-24; Lk. 7 21; Mk. 3 26-30.

¹ A detailed discussion by De Witt Burton will be found in the *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1898, pp. 598-632.

² Unless the passage be indeed a legendary development of Mt. 27 53-10.

sion were the same act, and all appearances of the risen Jesus were thought of as being made from heaven. Whether this follows also from 'goeth before' (ἡγορεύει) in Mk. 16.7 and in Mt. 28.7, may be doubted. In any case the forty days indicate a significant development of the idea, already at work in the Third Gospel, that before his ascension Jesus must have continued on earth to maintain intercourse with his disciples, in order that he might instruct them as to matters which he had not been able to take up before his death. A development of this kind in the story of the ascension required time. Even the repetition of the list of apostles in 1.13 from Lk. 6.14-16 marks Acts as a new work. It is, accordingly, very rash to suppose that Lk. 1.1-4 applies to Acts also, or to draw conclusions from this.

As the book is dedicated to Theophilus, *Blass kirchliche Zeitsch.*, 1895, pp. 700-725) that the latter must, according to the custom that prevailed in antiquity, have been named in the title (that the title *πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλοῦ ἄποστόλων* is not original, see above, § 3 n.). The same custom, too, he argues, would require the author to mention his own name in the title. Accordingly as, since the end of the second century, the author has been believed to be Luke (see above, § 9), Blass thinks he is justified in restoring the title thus—*Λουκᾶ Ἀντιόχειας πρὸς Θεοφιλοῦ Ἀποστόλων*. But this pure conjecture cannot overthrow the proof that the book does not come from a companion of Paul. On the contrary, had the title really run thus, it must have been regarded as a fiction. We should have had to suppose that the author, not content with suggesting (by retaining the 'we' of his source (see § 1)) that he had been a companion of Paul on his missionary journeys, desired to make this claim expressly in the title.

The date of composition of Acts thus falls at least some time later than that of the Third Gospel. The latter is now, on account of its accurate allusions to actual incidents in the destruction of Jerusalem (Lk. 19.43 f. 21.20), almost universally set down to a date later than 70 A.D., and on some other grounds, which, however, it must be said, are less definite, even considerably later (see GOSPELS).

16. **Date.** Similar, for Acts, the dying out of all recollection of the actual conditions of apostolic times—in particular, the ignorance as to the gift of tongues (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL) and the approaches to hierarchical ideas (1.7-20 8.14-17 15.28 20.28)—points only in a general way to a late period. Hence the surest datum is the author's acquaintance with the writings of Josephus.¹ For an instance see THEUDAS. Josephus completed his *Jewish War* shortly before 79 A.D., his *Antiquities* in 93 or 94, the work *Against Apion* after that, and his *Autobiography* somewhat after 100. As to the inferior limit, Marcion about 140 A.D. had the Third Gospel, but not Acts, in his collection; but we are not aware whether he rejected it or whether it was wholly unknown to him. As for the Apostolic Fathers, 1 Clem. 18.1, if it have any literary connection with Acts 13.24, can just as easily be the earlier as the later; and as regards the rest of their writings, apart from Polycarp 1.2 (= Acts 2.24), dating from about 150 A.D., we can find traces only of the speech of Stephen, in the Epistle of Barnabas (16.2 9.4 f. 6.11 4.14 13.3=Acts 7.50 51 52 40-43), which, in 16.4, speaks of Hadrian's projected building, about 130 A.D., of a heathen temple in place of the Jewish temple as imminent.² In Justin, about 152 A.D. (not 137; see *Acad.* 1896, No. 1239, p. 98), the points of contact are more marked. If Acts 20.18-35 has many ideas in common with those of the Pastoral Epistles, the indiscriminate use of *πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἐπίσκοποι* (20.17-28) shows that the author has not yet reached the stage in the development of church government which characterizes the First Epistle to Timothy, the latest of the Pastoral Epistles, which wishes to see the bishop, conceived of as a sole ruler and represented in the

person of Timothy as apostolic vicar, set over the presbytery (1 Tim. 5.19). The date of Acts must, accordingly, be set down as somewhere between 105 and 130, or, if the gospel of Luke already presupposes acquaintance with all the writings of Josephus, between 110 and 130 A.D.

The conclusions reached in the foregoing sections would have to be withdrawn, however, and the author

17. **Blass's Theory.** of Acts regarded as an eye-witness, if the views recently put forth by Blass³ should prove to be correct. According to Blass, the markedly divergent readings of D, and those of the same character found in some other authorities,² all came from the author's rough draft of the book (which he calls β), while the ordinary text, α, found in B, N, A, C, etc., comes from the fair copy of this intended for Theophilus, which the author (being a poor man) made with his own hand. In doing so he changed his original—without special tendency or motive—and, still more, abridged it as only authors do in copying their own work. And here, as we have intimated, Blass says, the author can be no other than the eye-witness who can give his narrative in the first person with 'we.'³ To pronounce upon this certainly interesting hypothesis is, however, not nearly so simple a matter as Blass allows himself to suppose.

(a) Blass himself says that D and the additions or marginal readings in Syr. hl. in many cases already exhibit a combination of α and β, and that—as is witnessed by 15.5 18.19, etc., where both sources coincide—this occurred even in the archetype itself from which both (directly or indirectly) are derived.

But there are many cases where Blass ought to have expressly recognised this combination, where, instead of merely simply deleting something in β without giving further explanation. For example, *ἐκθαμβοί* at the end of 3.11 comes from α alongside of *οἱ οὐ θεοφιλοῦ ἄποστόλων* in β; but Blass does not recognise the *ἐκθαμβοί* as *ἐκθαμβοί* in β (i.e., by the process of combination just mentioned). Similarly it is supported by the best witnesses for this text, *πιστεύσαντες ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ* (4.13), coming from α, is an expression parallel to *πιστεύσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ* after *τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς περιετοίαν ἐν β* of the second list of names. Here Blass wrongly questions the well-supported *πιστεύσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ*.

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

For example, in cod. 137 and Syr. hl. after Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνης (21.2), instead of *ἡσυχαστικῶς*, the words *θεοφιλοῦ Ἀποστόλου* Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Σακευκῆς, which call *θεοφιλοῦ* have taken their place in the margin only as a reminiscence of 20.4 and not as a variant. He does well to put such things on one side when trying to reconstruct an old recension β as distinct from α.

¹ *St. Kr.* 1894, pp. 86-110; *Acta Apostolorum*, with philological, crit., 1895, 1. 181, and 2. 174. *Antiquitates* (with notes), 1895, 1. 100-101, Leipzig, 1895. The theory of Blass finds a supporter in Joh. Belsar, *Reise zur Erläuter. d. Ap. gesch. auf Grund der Liasarten des Cod. D. n. seine eigene Version* (Leipzig im Breisgau, 1897); it is argued against by Bernhard Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Ap. gesch.*, 1897, vol. 17 part 1 of Gebb. and Hartung's *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (well worthy of attention, though not comprehensive enough). On Ramsay, see above, § 3.

² The additions and marginal readings of the Hierksian version (Syr. hl.); the Fleury palimpsest (ed. Sam. Berger, 1889); an Old Latin text of Acts 1.1-136 and 28.16-31, inserted in a MS of the Vg. from Perpignan (also edited by Berger; *Un ancien texte latin des actes des apôtres*, 1895, reprinted from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, tome 35, 1. partie); Cyprian and Augustine, and in a secondary degree the composite texts E, 137, Guss. Llibron (ed. Belsar, 1879), Sahid., Irenæus, etc.

³ In his second book Blass no longer calls β the rough draft of Luke himself, but says: 'Actorum primum exemplar postquam Romæ confectum est vel mansit libidem vel Christianis Romanis ab auctore ad describendum commodatum est; altera autem forma orientis ab initio fuit ubi Theophilum in seipsum (i. e. in seipsum) putavit (pp. vii. 2). In support of this, he appeals especially (p. xi.) to the more detailed description in α of the journey on the coast of Crete (Acts 27), which would be more interesting in the East than in Rome, and on the other hand to the greater precision in β with regard to the journey by sea to Malta and to Italy, which would be interesting to people at Rome. This seems, however, to be no improvement on his earlier view, since (to mention no other reason) the dedication to Theophilus is to be found also in β.

¹ The evidence for this has of late been brought together with very great completeness by Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*, 1894); see also the *Fortnightly Rev.* 22.485-500 [177].
² The reference cannot be to the (historically very doubtful) rebuilding of the Jewish temple (about 120-125). The καὶ after *ἐπὶ* must be deleted, according to the best MSS and indeed as the connection demands.

words crept into the text of DA Vg. Gigas, but in E, on the other hand, with skilful avoidance of tautology, was changed to ἀποδησάτων. The case is similar with the addition in 5 21 (found only in D)—ἐψηθήσετ' ἡ ψαύλ—an addition which, moreover, comes in very awkwardly after παρασημαίνοντες τὴν β' ἡρακλίου and αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, instead of ἐπαύσατο. It is possible to say αὐτὸν ἐπαύσατο. Here even Blass asks whether perhaps παρασημαίνοντες may have been wanting in β.

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

(f) Decisive, however, against this appearance, is the fact that precisely the most characteristic of the variations of the text follows inevitably from the hypothesis itself.

Just in proportion to the clearness and pointedness of β and the weakness of α in these respects, is the improbability of the author's having with his own hands obscured and perverted the sense. And here in the meantime we can leave altogether out of account the question whether or not he was also the eyewitness. In any case, after writing in his draft of 27 that it was on account of his wife Drusilla that Felix left Paul bound, he would not have said in his fair copy simply that it was on account of the Jews—even if, as Blass thinks, both statements were correct. If in his draft he had stated that Paul had proclaimed the apostolic decree, not only in the later copies (19 4), but also in the outset of his new missionary journey (15 4), he would not in his fair copy have omitted to state this in the first and therefore more important of the places. In this instance even Blass considers an interpolation in β as conceivable in 15 41, but chiefly because the expression seems to him to be somewhat obscure. In 22 30 f., although the officer is in fear because a Roman citizen has been bound, Paul is not released, according to the text, till the following day. But in β, immediately (παρὰχρησάμενος). Blass himself says (St. Kr. 108): 'one cannot but be astonished at the carelessness of the abridgement in α.' All the more readily might it have occurred to him that it was the writer of β that perceived and corrected the defects of α. In his *Editio philologica* Blass wishes τῆ ἐπιπέσει without any authority either deleted or changed to τῆ ἐπέσει. This would be just as if the words ἦσαν περὶ αὐτὸν in the narrative, even in α, is all of one piece and absolutely to the point. But such critics as Spitta, Clemen, and Jünger have assigned 22 30 and 21 to the transcriptionist. If it is only the addition of ἐπιπέσει which is in question, either 14 2 in the draft that enables us to understand how it was that in spite of the disturbance (or, according to β, persecution) mentioned in 14 2, Paul and Barnabas remained in Iconium, why does the author omit the words in his fair copy? More accurately considered, they are to be regarded as an interpolation, designed to do away with the contradiction, an interpolation which carried with it the further change of ἐσχίσθη δὲ (14 10) into ἐσχίσθησαν and, in 14 50, the interpolation of iterum and secundo. It is not in D, however, that this interpolation occurs, but only in Syr. hl., which elsewhere also smoothes away the evidences of the work of various hands in D—as for example, in 19 4 by the introduction of εἶπε before εἶπε, in 18 6 by the omission of δὲ after ἀντιπροσέειπεν, and in 14 2 by omitting the last two words in the phrase ἐπιπέσει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερέων τῆς συναγωγῆς. If, as Blass supposes, it were necessary to hold that Syr. hl. has preserved the original, whom could we possibly imagine, for example, to have added the words τῆς συναγωγῆς, or omitted the word ἔπειτα, or secundo? But, moreover, in 14 2 the changes mentioned above would not have been at all necessary unless first 14 2 had been wrongly interpolated between 14 1 and 14 3. Even though it may perhaps be a fragment from another source, 14 2 has its immediate continuation in 14 4. Here even Ramsay supposes a 'corruption': only it is 14 3 which he takes for a gloss. Thus we come again upon one of the many cases in which Blass holds β to be the original simply because it is more simple, in 19 4 by the introduction of Acts into version. Similarly, for example, he drops from β, and also even from α, the ἐπὶ of 19 14, which is irreconcilable with the ἀποπέσει of 19 16, on the sole authority of D, without recognising that the omission in D may have been a late expedient for removing the contradiction just as much as the αὐτο for ἐπὶ in Gigas. If the author in his draft had already written, after ἦσαν ἐν 15 1, the words ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιπέσει καὶ τῆς ἐπιπέσει τῶν ἡρακλίου, and in 15 4 had referred to this (by a simple εἶπε), why is it that in the clean copy his first use of the expression is in 15 5, so as almost inevitably to suggest the thought that a piece derived from another source begins at this point? (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 4). If, according to the rough draft (not only in 166 f., but also in 17 15-19 20 3), the journeys of Paul were determined by inspiration, why in his clean copy does the author leave behind the last three of the passages? Here, too, we can see the inapplicability of another of Blass's assertions, viz. that nowhere in α or β is the narrative changed so as to become more interesting or more marvellous. Further, the author of this three-fold mention of divine inspiration has fallen into an oversight—that, namely, of attributing to Paul

(19 1) the intention of making a journey to Jerusalem just after he had returned from that city, without even the slightest reference to what had been said immediately before. Paul is not mentioned to have written Blass's supposition that the journey of 19 1 is identical with that which had been intended by Paul, according to the addition of β in 18 21 (found also in TR). This last was actually carried out (18 21, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1). And even if it had not been, the inspiration which hindered it must have been mentioned in 18 21, and not in 19 1, after he had already got back to Phrygia from Caesarea, which is only a few miles from Jerusalem. Cp further BARJESUS, § 1 b.

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

The addition καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιπέσει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερέων τῆς συναγωγῆς after 15 1, and possibly for τῆς συναγωγῆς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερέων τῆς συναγωγῆς after 15 1, are not mentioned in the *editio philologica* of Blass. In his first edition, the quite similar addition of καὶ Μνασὴν after 11 19 (V 11) in D, Blass, and Clemen, thought to have been introduced from 27 5, but also refused to accept the sequenti autem die which we find in d (21 5) instead of οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς ἐπιπέσει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερέων τῆς συναγωγῆς. On the other hand, in 21 16 the text of α is not materially inferior to that of β, which Blass attaches a very high value; for the imperf. ἀποπέσει of 21 15 does not mean 'we went and arrived at Jerusalem' (this follows in 21 17), but 'we took the road for Jerusalem,' and thus, even according to α, Mnaon may very well be thought of as living in a village between Caesarea and Jerusalem, as is expressly stated in β. The author—in this instance the author of the 'we' source—has here quite naturally taken for granted that the journey from Caesarea to Jerusalem cannot well be made in a single day.

(h) After what has been said, it is clear that there are not many cases in which β might really be held to be the original.

They consist partly of what are simply changes in the construction, or periphraes without changing the sense (for both see the edition of Blass, p. 108), and partly of what are changes expressing the situation which, however, in the cases we have in view, is not more than a merely formal one, introduced by a simple copyist from the adjoining context. Compare, for example, 18 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

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

After having seen that precisely in the most significant passages of the book (see above, e and f) this does not hold, one must further remember that in HLL, and also in K, equally important variations are met with (see above, c). These, like those in β, resemble the variation by which each gospel is distinguished from another. Here, accordingly, transcribers have allowed themselves liberties which are usually regarded as permissible only to the authors of independent works. However surprising this may seem to us, the fact cannot be denied. When in Mk. 3 21, for οὐκ ἐξέστη (a reading which is a stumbling-block to many theologians even of the present day) D substitutes οὐκ ἐξέστη αὐτὸς, 'that he has exalted them,' or at least 'that he has stirred them up,' is not the liberty taken with the text just as bold as Mt.'s in the exactly corresponding place, 12 23 (i.e., just before the reference to a league with Beelzebub, when he changes it to ἐξίστατε? But this freedom of treatment is by no means without analogies elsewhere in the literature of the time. The text of Plato in the *Flinders-Petrie papyri* (*Flinders-Petrie Papyri*, *Albany, 1890*) shows a very similar pronounced deviation from the ordinary text—deviations which, according to Usener (*Vachr. a. Gesellch. der Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1892, pp. 25-50, 181-215), are to be attributed to the copyists of the papyri, perhaps as early as within 120 years after Plato's death. In the papyrus text of Hypereides, *Against Philippus* (*Classical Texts*, 1890, *London*), also, *Mss. Oxon.*, Kenyon, 1891), Blass himself discovers 'very often' a 'interpolation of arbitrary emendation,' and in the third Demosthenes letter published in the same collection, 'extensive variation' (*Jahrh. f. class. Philol.*, 1892, p. 42, and 1894, p. 447).

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

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

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It would be important only if it could be answered in the affirmative for Mt., Mk., and Jn. For, that in these cases also the rough draft should have gone into circulation as well as the clean copy is really very improbable. But the independent variations are too few to warrant an affirmative answer. If the same be the case with the Third Gospel, then, according to Blass's hypothesis, we must assume that the draft of it was not copied; but if they are sufficiently numerous, as Blass has recently declared (*Hermathena*, 21, 1895, pp. 121-143; and 22, 1896, pp. 291-313); *Evangelium secundum Lucam... secundum formam quae videtur Romanam*, 1897; *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898), there is nothing to hinder our applying to them the judgment applied to those in Acts, however that judgment may go.

Neither is it decisive of the question that β is frequently not fuller but briefer than α (e.g., 26 b 74).

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

According to this, there occur in the divergent passages of β (which are by no means of great compass) 64 words never elsewhere met with in Acts or the Third Gospel. If we deduct from these, besides 5 proper names, the 9 vouched for only by the Latin text (although Blass himself has not succeeded in giving them a Greek form that suggests the authorship of Luke), there still remain 50 (not 44, as is stated in Blass's *Editio philologica*, p. 334). After deduction of 4 numbers, and the expressions *στειν* and *στρατοπέδαρχη*, for which no other word could possibly have been chosen, the number stands at 44. So also in his second edition (see the enumeration in his *Evang. sec. Luc.* p. xxvii.), although, from the somewhat different form of text adopted, the words that appear to be peculiar to β are not quite the same.

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

All the same he takes the liberty, according to Blass, of leaving the note out in writing his fair copy. This being so, the omission of the five other details, even if with Blass one carries this back to the author of the book, does not prove that they had formed part of his own experience; he may equally well have obtained them from a written source. Four of them (16:13 20:13 27:13) belong, in point of fact, to the 'we' source. It is not at all easy to see why a transcriber might not have ventured to omit them, with so much else, as of inferior interest. We may therefore thankfully accept them, as well as other data in β which have been shown or may ultimately appear to be more original than α , as contributions to our historical knowledge; but they do not prove more than that there is such a source as has drawn more faithfully from a true source than α has. There remains, accordingly, in favour of the eye-witness as author of Acts, only 11:28, where D (along with, essentially, the Periphan Latin text, and Augustine), instead of *ἀναστάσι δὲ, ἃς ἦν δὲ πολλὰ ἀγαλλύσασθαι συνεστηρομένοις δὲ ἡμῶν ὄψιν*, and then *σημαίνων* instead of *ἐπιμαίνων*. This might possibly be from the 'we' source; but the inference is not that it can only have been by an eye-witness that the 'we' in α was set aside. Or why is it that 'we' is set aside by L in 16:17, by K* (and differently by ABCH in 21:16, by H in 28:16, by P and V in 27:1) (*οὐκ ἔπειτα τὴν Πλάσιον, οὐκ ἔπειτα ἡμῶν*) by HLP in 20:7 21:28 23:16 16:13, by C³ also in 28:1, by D also in 16:13 (*ἐδόκει ἐν ἐνομίῳ εἶναι*)? And why, on the other hand, in 27:19 does it stand only in HLP Pesh.? In all of these cases (except 27:1, see below) Blass has the same reading in β as in α . (In 16:13, that is, in such cases as the *δὲ* mentioned above, but he likewise obtains in α also [by the conjecture *ἐνομίῳ ἐν προσηύξει εἶναι*] a reading in the third person.) He thus acknowledges that it is copyists, not the eye-witness, that allowed themselves to remove the 'we', or to introduce it. Only in 11:28 does Blass assume that it was Luke himself who changed into the third person in the 'we' which he had written in β . So also it is only in one place, and that only in his second edition, that Blass regards the third person in place of 'we' as a reading of β —namely, in 20:5 (on the authority of D), for in 27:1 it is only through a change of the whole of the first part of the verse, rendering *ἡμῶν* impossible, that the third person is introduced. At all events, it is impossible that 11:30 as well as 11:28 can be derived from the 'we' source (see *Council of Jerusalem*, § 4). Even if 11:28 may possibly have been the insertion of a transcriber who knew (with *Exc. H.E.* iii. 46, *Jer. De Vir. Ill. 7*, and the Prologue [earlier than Jerome] to the Third Gospel in codd. Corbeiensis, Colbertinus, Amiatinus, Fuldensis, Aureus, etc.) that Luke was understood to have been a native of Antioch. Or has Blass himself not recognised that Irenaeus also (iii. 14:7), or one of Irenaeus's predecessors, has permitted himself on his own responsibility to say *nos venimus* instead

of *κατέβησαν* in 16:8? The insertion of 'we' in 11:28 would not be bolder than the other infelicitous changes in β . It ought to be noted that Syr. hl. is not implicated in this insertion; and the text of D is by no means in order, for it has *ἐσθῆν* without telling what it was that Agabus did say (in the sense of *ἐλάλει*), while in the whole of the NT it is direct speech, or, as in four isolated exceptions in the case of Paul, at least indirect speech, that is connected with *ἔφη*. In Acts 11:28 the indirect speech depends rather on *σημαίνων*.

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

In his view *ἐθαύωρε* in D (Irenaeus has *αγρῶστας*), instead of *ἠρώσασθε* in 3:14, comes from a confusion of *ἠρώ* (Job 85:16 15:10) and *ἠρώ* in the Semitic source of Acts 1:12 (similarly, before him, Harris, p. 187, but otherwise pp. 162 f.), and in like manner *κόσμος*, instead of *λαός* in 2:47, from confusion of *κόσμος* and *ὄψ* (or in Aramaic *כֹּסְמָא* and *כֶּסְמָא*). In itself considered, all evidence for the existence of a source (now pretty generally conjectured; see above, §§ 10 f.) for Acts 1:12 cannot be otherwise than *we*; or in cod. 137. He thinks he can thus prove that originally all the β readings were united in a single codex, in the copying of which they were partly removed to secure greater agreement with the prevailing text. But the number of β readings used by Chrysostom is insignificantly small when compared with those of which he shows no trace; and of such as do not appear in D, Conybeare has adduced only five. Chrysostom accordingly furnishes no stronger support for Conybeare's thesis than any other witness for β would, for each of them shares some of its readings with D and some with other witnesses for β . But to explain this there is no need of Conybeare's assumption that all β readings are from one hand: it would be explained equally well by supposing them due to the labours of successive copyists (or editors). Conybeare, however, goes much further, and asserts that Luke himself is the author of all these β readings. He ventures to rest this assertion on a single passage—a very small foundation for such a structure. Moreover, it would have been just as easy for another as for Luke to add to 'so natural a phrase' as, according to Conybeare, *συντεκρίτα* is in 19:25.

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

He points out in the *American Journ. of Philology* (172 [1896], pp. 135-171) the most interesting fact that the Greek commentary of Chrysostom, and, to an even greater extent, the many extracts from it in an Armenian Catena on Acts, follow or at least presuppose a series of β readings to be found partly in D (and other witnesses for the β text), partly only in Syr. hl. or in cod. 137. He thinks he can thus prove that originally all the β readings were united in a single codex, in the copying of which they were partly removed to secure greater agreement with the prevailing text. But the number of β readings used by Chrysostom is insignificantly small when compared with those of which he shows no trace; and of such as do not appear in D, Conybeare has adduced only five. Chrysostom accordingly furnishes no stronger support for Conybeare's thesis than any other witness for β would, for each of them shares some of its readings with D and some with other witnesses for β . But to explain this there is no need of Conybeare's assumption that all β readings are from one hand: it would be explained equally well by supposing them due to the labours of successive copyists (or editors). Conybeare, however, goes much further, and asserts that Luke himself is the author of all these β readings. He ventures to rest this assertion on a single passage—a very small foundation for such a structure. Moreover, it would have been just as easy for another as for Luke to add to 'so natural a phrase' as, according to Conybeare, *συντεκρίτα* is in 19:25.

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

18. Estimate of preceding sections of this article. Blass's theory.

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

The value of Acts as a devout and edifying work, cannot be impaired by criticism. Indeed, the book

19. Religious value of Acts.

is helped by criticism, which leads not only beyond a mere blind faith in its contents, but also beyond the unhistorical assumption that one is entitled to impose on the author the demands of strict historical accuracy and objectivity. Its very ideal, in apostolic times unhappily not reached, according to which the company of believers were of one heart and one mind (4:32), shows that the author knew where the true worth of Christianity was to be found. The early Christians pray everywhere with and for one another; they accompany the apostles and take pathetic farewells of them; they distribute their possessions and have all things in common. Particularly beautiful figures are those of Stephen, Cornelius, Lydia, and the jailer at Philippi. The jailer knows that most important question of religion, 'What must I do to be saved?' (16:30), and Peter also (4:12), as well as Paul, expresses the conviction that Christianity alone has a satisfactory answer to give. The writer of Acts is able to rise above all

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

meaning is hidden,' but states also that 'he who despises the letter of sacred Scripture will never rise to its spiritual meanings.' Still the completion of the movement (within certain limits) was reserved for the great exegetes of the Reformation—Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin. Thus Luther explicitly says—'It were better to read mere poetic fables than attach one's self to the so-called spiritual and living sense to the exclusion of the literal; and again, 'We should stay by the dry clear words, except where the Scripture itself, by the absurdity of the simple meaning, compels us to understand some sayings figuratively' (quoted by Diestel, *Gesch. des AT in der chr. Kirche*). This predilection for a grammatical and historical interpretation was closely connected with the revival of classical studies, but had its primary justification in the endorsement which the NT appeared to give to the historical accuracy of the story of Paradise. It is the correctness of the historical acceptance of that story which criticism denies, and before proceeding to consider the results of criticism (see CREATION, § I and PARADISE), Protestant students may ask whether Jesus Christ and the NT writers really attached importance to the story of Eden as a piece of history. Our conclusion will of course have a direct bearing on the interpretation of the other early narratives.

Let us turn to (i.) passages spoken or written from a purely Jewish point of view. (a) In Mk. 106-8 (Mt. 19. 2. NT views. 4-6) we have a combined quotation from Gen. 1.27.24. Jesus passes over the facts of the Paradise story altogether, and fastens attention on the statement that man was from the beginning differentiated sexually, and that, by divine ordinance (so no doubt Jesus interprets Gen. 2.24), the marriage union was to be complete. His silence about the facts may no doubt be explained by the circumstances; elsewhere Jesus appears to many to accept the historical character of the deluge story (Mt. 24.37-39; Lk. 17.26-27). But one must be cautious; the reference to the deluge story presupposes the typical character of the early narratives, a theory which is inconsistent with a strictly historical point of view. (b) In Rev. 2.7.22.214, a literalistic view of the tree of life is presupposed. But these passages are undeniably based, not so much on Gen. 2, as on the apocalyptic description in Enoch 24 f. (c) In Rev. 12.9.20.2 we have a description of Satan (*g.v.* § 6) as 'the ancient serpent,' alluding to Gen. 3.1; it is also said that he will 'deceive' the world as he deceived the first man. It is certain, however, that the writer also draws from a well of popular belief, enriched from a wider Oriental source, to which he gives as implicit a belief as to the biblical statement.

Passing to (ii.) the Pauline writings, we find (d) and (e) in Rom. 5.14 and 1 Cor. 15.22.45 references to details in the story of Adam; but the reference is made in a didactic interest. Paul accepts (as also probably does Luke) the Alexandrian idea of the typical character of the early narratives, and of the double character of a heavenly and an earthly Adam. The latter doctrine, which the Alexandrian theology founded on the two separate accounts of creation in Gen. 1 and 2, Paul professes to base on the language of Gen. 2.7. There are also other anthropological ideas which he supports by reference to the fall of Adam. His real interest is in these ideas, not in the story of Paradise. He did not deduce them from the Eden story, and only resorts to that narrative as containing material which may, by the methods of Christian Gnosis, be made to furnish arguments for his ideas. (f) In Phil. 2.6 we have probably a contrast between the first Adam who thought equality with God an ἀπράγμῳς (an object of grasping) and the second Adam who, thinking far otherwise, humbled himself even to the death of the cross, and thereby actually reached equality with God (Hilgenfeld). Here the story of Eden is only illustrative of an idea, though the illustration is suggested

by the favourite typical view already referred to. (g) In 2 Cor. 11.3 there is a mere casual illustration.

(iii.) Other NT writers. (h) In Lk. 3.38 Adam is the last human link in the genealogy of the Saviour. The evangelist suggests a contrast between the first and the second Adam (see Lk. 3); but, scholasticism apart, what he really values is, not the historical character of Adam, but the universal Saviourship of Jesus. (i) John 8.44 contains a reference to Satan which presupposes the reality of the temptation and fall of the first man, but is simply and solely dogmatic, and belongs to the peculiar dualism of the Fourth Gospel. (k) In 1 Tim. 2.12-14 the social doctrine of the subordination of women is apparently inferred from the story of the first woman's temptation.

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

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

The literal and historical acceptance of the story in Gen. 2.4-8, which strong church authority still considers 'nearer to the truth than any other interpretation as yet propounded,'¹ may be supposed to be required by the phenomena of the narrative itself. Is this the case? First, are the proper names Adam and Eve found in the original story of Eden? The facts are these.

(a) Adam (אָדָם; אַדָּמָא), as a quasi proper name for the first man (cp ENOSH), belongs with certainty only to P₂ (Gen. 5.3-5),² who has used it just before generally, in the sense of 'man' or 'men' (Gen. 5. אֲנָשִׁים וְאָדָם [AL]) followed by אָדָם אַדָּמָא [ib.] (cp 1.26.27). The Yahwist (J) habitually uses the term אָדָם, 'the man.' One, however, if the text be correct,³ we find אָדָם (ādām) used generically for 'man' or 'men' (2.20.6), and once in lieu of a proper name subsequently to the birth of Cain and Abel (4.25), if we should not rather refer 4.25 f. to an editor. The conclusion is obvious. It is a true insight which is expressed in the quaint old couplet in Exeter Cathedral,

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

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

¹ Bp. John Wordsworth, *The One Religion* (Hampden Lectures for 1881), p. 138. So Bp. H. Browne in the *Speaker's Comm.* and Dr. Leathes in Smith's *D.B.*

² In Gen. 3.19-23 B. J. 204, RV has rightly 'the man' (= אָדָם) for אָדָם 'Adam'; so in Dt. 32.8 'children of men' for 'sons of Adam'; so EV mg. in Job 31.35 'after the manner of men' for 'as [like] Adam' (E otherwise 1.20). In E₂ the article is omitted in Gen. 2.19b אָדָם וְאָדָם 3.10 [L] 3.10.4+25 Dt. 32.8 1 Ch. 1.1 (E₂ also in the last two passages).

³ In 2.20.8.17.21 read אָדָם 'for the man' (אָדָם אַדָּמָא [AEL]) with Schr., Dillm., and Kau. HS.

⁴ The present writer can see no probability in the view of Hommel (*PSBA*, 7th March 1893, pp. 244 f.) that Adam in Gen

to that of the Babylonian divine hero Adapa (Sayce, *Crit. and Mon.* 94), or, stranger still, to the Egyptian Atum (Lichtheim, *TSBA* 94) are specimens of equal audacity. The word *ʿaddin* is of course earlier than any developed creation-myth (*sit venia verbo*), though it implies (cp Ass. *admu*, 'child'—i.e., 'one made' by God),¹ the existence of the central element of all such mythic stories (see CREATION, §§ 20 f.).

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

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

4. The Narratives.

(1) The *assess* of the description. The same writer (J), in Nu. 22:8, ascribes the speaking of Balaam's ass to a special divine interference; but the speaking serpent and the enchanted trees in Gen. 2f. appear as if altogether natural. Why? Because the author has no fear of being misunderstood. He knows, and his readers know, that he is not dealing with the everyday world, but with a world in which the natural and the supernatural are one. (2) The idealism of the narratives. The writer chiefly values certain ideas which the narrative is so arranged as to suggest. (3) The total disregard of the contents of these stories in the subsequent narratives of the Yahwist. To these most critics will add (4) the licence which the Yahwist appears to have taken of adding certain features to the primitive story, e.g. at any rate the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. It is not safe to add (5) the poetical form of the story in Gen. 2:4b-3 (Briggs), for all that seems probable is that this story is ultimately based to some extent on lost poetical traditions.

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

5-1: interested from a literary point of view. We have no right to take our critical starting-point in a list given to us only in P; apart from this, the theory that the lists of the patriarchs in Gen. 4 and 5 are derived, as they stand, from Babylonian lists is scarcely tenable (see *UAT*, § 8 4 f.).

¹ To the proposal of Wl. (*AOF* 344, following Stucken) to connect חַוָּה with Ar. *adamā*¹⁰⁰, *adim*¹⁰⁰, 'skin,' Del.'s note on Gen. 2:7 (*Gen.* 2:7) will suggest a possible answer.

² Cp Bth. *Urgesch.* 140, 212 f.; St. *Ad Pp.* 180a, pp. 106 ff.

³ Nöldk. *Wörterb.* (with Wl. [see note *Urgesch.* 154] and St.), thinks that חַוָּה properly meant 'serpent' (Aram. חַוָּה), *ZDMG* 42:17. The Mishnah (*Ber. orb.* 10a, 21, 101 Gen. 3:20) actually compares the same Aram. word, explaining the name thus,

'She was given to Adam to glorify his life, but she counselled him like a serpent.' This hardly favours Nöldk.'s suggestion.

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

rationalism of the last century, has the merit of having forcibly recalled attention to the fact that the narrative of Genesis, even if we do not take it literally, must be regarded as presenting a view of the beginnings of the history of the human race (*Muthmasslicher Anfang der Menschheitsgeschichte*, 1766).

What, then, is the Eden story to be called? It is a problem which there is a growing disposition to solve by adopting, in one form or another, what is called the *mythical* theory. The story cannot indeed be called a *myth* in the strict sense of the word, unless we are prepared to place it on one line with the myths of heathenism, produced by the unconscious play of plastic fancy, giving shape to the impressions of natural phenomena on primitive observers. Such a course is to be deprecated. The story of Gen. 2:4b-3 has been too much affected by conscious art and reflection to be combined with truly popular myths. Hermann Schultz has coined the expression 'revelation-myth'; but this is cumbersome, and may suggest to some an entirely erroneous view of the pre-Deuteronomic conception of revelation (cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 86, 292). The truth is that the story of Eden cannot be described by a single phrase. The mythic elements which it contains have been moralised far enough for practical needs, but not so far as to rob it of its primeval colouring. The parallel story in the Zoroastrian Scripture called *Vendidad* (Fargard ii.) is dry and pale by comparison. In its union of primitive concreteness with a nascent sense of spiritual realities our Eden story stands alone.

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

For a discussion of 'Biblical Mythos' see Schultz, *OT Theol.*, c. 2, and cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 113, 110-127; WRS *ATP* 10-440. On the Avvian parallels, see Deussen, *Die Zoroastrianer*, 103ff. 5, 126 27 ff., and Kohler, 'The Zoroastrian and Gen. 1-11,' *JQR* [90], 223-229. On apocryphal romance of Adam and Eve, see below, *Apocrypha*, § 6, n.c. 1.

ADAMAH (אָדָמָה). 1. One of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali (Josh. 19:36) Ἀδαμᾶθ [B], Ἀδαμ[ε]ῖ [AL].

1. The above article is written on the lines and sometimes in the words of WRS.

Apart from its being mentioned along with Chinnereth and Ramah and Hazor we have no clue to its site (cp *Dn. ad. loc.*). Cp ADAMI.

2, see ADAM, i.

ADAMANT (אֲדָמָנִית, *adamas*; see below, § 4). In modern English poetry and rhetorical prose—for the word is now not otherwise used—*adamant* is simply a term for 'the embodiment of surpassing hardness.' In the EV of OT it can be retained only if understood in the sense in which it is employed by Theophrastus—i.e., in the sense of corundum (see § 2). This is crystallised alumina (Al₂O₃), an excessively tough and difficultly frangible mineral; transparent or translucent; vitreous, but pearly to metallic on basal face. Emery is a compact, crystalline, granular variety—grey to indigo-blue. In a purer state corundum occurs in transparent crystals of various tints of colour—red (Ruby), blue (Sapphire), green (Oriental Emerald), yellow (Oriental Topaz), purple (Oriental Amethyst), colourless (White Sapphire)—little inferior to the diamond in brilliancy, though they do not disperse rays of light to the same extent.

The term *adamas*, which is not known to Homer, was applied by the Greeks to that substance which from time to time was the hardest known. In **2. *adamas* to the Greeks.** Hesiod it means hardened iron or steel, and the adamantine bonds by which Prometheus was fastened to a peak of the Caucasus (Æsch. *Pr. 6*, 64) must have been of this material, for the manufacture of which the tribes near the Caucasus, such as the Colchians and the Chalybes, were famous. The *adamas* of Theophrastus, however, though it is not included in his list of twelve stones used for engraving on, nor mentioned as employed in the art of engraving—was (1) a stone and (2) probably the white sapphire (a corundum). This is probable from the fact that a particular kind of carbuncle (ἀσθαλας) found near Miletus and described as hexagonal (γωνιώδης ἐν ᾧ περ καὶ τὰ ξάγωνα) was compared to it. For noble corundums (sapphires, rubies, oriental topaz, and oriental emerald) are, as a matter of fact, found as hexagonal prisms. It is most unlikely that Theophrastus meant the true diamond (see DIAMOND, § 1), though Pliny (*NH* xxxvii. 415) confuses with this his *adamas*, which—being hexagonal (whereas the diamond would be rather described as octohedral, or a double pyramid)—was, like that of Theophrastus, the white sapphire. As, however, Manilius (1st cent. A.D.) knows the real diamond—he says 'sic adamas, punctum lapidis, pretiosior auro est' (*Astronom.* iv. 926)—it is quite possible that Jerome (in the *Vg.*) meant by *adamas* the actual diamond; though in that case he was almost certainly wrong (see DIAMOND, § 1).

In the three places where *Vg.* uses *adamas*, *adamantinus*, it is to render the Hebrew *shāmīr*, a word which may mean either 'sharp-pointed' or 'tenacious.' In each passage the reference is not to a brilliant gem but to something extremely hard: 'harder than flint' (Ezek. 39); parallel to 'a pen of iron' (Jer. 17); similarly *Zech.* 7.12. In the *Pesh.* *shāmīr* appears in the Syr. form *sāmīrā*. Although the Arabic forms *sāmīr* and *sāmīr* are identified by the native lexicographers with 'almās, 'diamond,' the Syriac *sāmīrā* is used not only of *adamas* as the 'hardest stone'—employed in cutting others (Bar Bahlūl, *Lex.* col. 39 l. 14, col. 863 l. 1), or in similes, for something hard (Isaac of Antioch, ed. G. Bickell, 2 62, l. 39)—but also definitely as *σμάρις* or *σμάρις* (Duval-Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, 2 9, l. 5). There is some probability, therefore, in Bochart's suggested connection of *שָׁמִיר* with *σμάρις* (whence the English emery), which meant both corundum itself and granulated corundum, emery. Diosc. (v. 166) says:—'*σμάρις* is a stone with which gem-engravers polish gems,' and Hesychius

(s.v. *σμάρις*), 'a kind of sand with which hard stones are polished.' The *σμάριτης λίθος* of Ⓞ (Job 41.7 [13] [B&C]; -τος λ. [A]) = *רָז קוֹרֵף* of MT = 'a close seal' of EV, v. 15) is the same as the *σμάρις* of Dioscorides, by which he meant corundum in mass. Hesychius plainly means corundum in grains—i.e. emery. The latter, called *Naxium* by the Romans (Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 710) from the island of Naxos, where it is still produced in great quantities, was much used by the Greek engravers of the fourth century B.C. Indeed corundum and emery were the only means of cutting gems known to them up to that time. For Theophrastus (*Lap.* 44), writing in 313 B.C., speaks of it alone as used by the engravers. He identifies it with the stone from which whetstones were made, and says that the best came from Armenia. Both corundum and emery are found in many places in Asia Minor, as well as in several of the Greek islands.

EV renders *shāmīr* by *adamant* only in Ezek. 39 and *Zech.* 7.12. In the remaining passage, Jer. 17, it is less **4. The versions.** happily renders it *diamond*. The word *adamant* occurs also in Eccles. 16.16 AV; but RV, following Ⓞ^{88A}, omits the passage.

Vg. and *Pesh.* have been already dealt with (§ 3). Ⓞ in Ezek. 39 (δία σμαρις [BAQ]) and *Zech.* 7.12 (ἀσθαλα [B&AQT]) represents another reading, while in the case of Jer. 17 it omits the whole passage (B&RQ) (though the verses appear in the Compl. Polygl. and, following Orig. and Theod., on the mg. of Q, where *שָׁמִיר* is rendered by [σμάρι] ἀδαμαντίνου). With *Zech.* 7.12 cp 4 Macc. 16.13. Strangely Ⓞ renders *שָׁמִיר* by *adamas* in Am. 7, EV PLUMBLINE. In the Targum *שָׁמִיר* is identified with *שִׁלְטִין* (see FLINT), although the Talm. regards it as a worm, about which extraordinary legends are told (see ref. in Buxt. *Lex.* or Levy (*NH* II-3 s.v.)) and Paul Cassel in a monograph (59) tried to show that *שָׁמִיר* was an excessively fine, dust-like substance. W. R.

ADAMI. See below, ADAMI-NEKEB.

ADAMI-NEKEB (אֲדָמִי נֶקֶב), i.e. or more correctly, ADAMI-HANNEKEB (אֲדָמִי הַנֶּקֶב), the pass Adami, on the frontier of Naphtali, Josh. 19.37; cp *Vg.* *Adami quæ est Nekeb*. AV makes two names, 'ADAMI, NEKEB.' So Ⓞ, ἈΡΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΒΩΚ [B], or ἈΡΜΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΚΕΒ [A]; L, however, ἈΔΕΜΑΗ ἈΝΝΕΚΕ. The Jer. Talm. (*Meg.* 11) also divides the expression, Adami being represented as *Dāmin*, and Hannekeb as *Caidalah*. Neub. (*La Géog. du Talm.* 222) and G&Sm. (*HG* 396) identify Adami with Dānich, 5 m. W. of Tiberias, the site which the PE Survey proposes for the 'fenced city' Adamah of v. 36 (*Mem.* 1384). This, however, seems much too far S. when we consider that the 'tree of Bezananim' (see BEZAANANNIM) was close to Kedesh, while JABNEEL (*q.v.* n. 2) appears to have been a north Galilaean fortress. These are the two localities between which Adami-nekeb is mentioned in Josh. 19.37. It is probable that the name Nkbu in the Karnak list of Thotmes III. (*RP*² 547) means the pass Adami. T. K. C.

ADAR, RV, more correctly, ADDAR (אָדָר; [etc] *צַרְפָּדָא* [B], *ΔΕΛΔΑΡΑ* [AL]), an unknown site mentioned after HEZRON (*q.v.*) as one of the points on the southern frontier of Judah (Josh. 15.37).

ADAR (אָדָר [Aram.], *Ezra* 6.15; אָדָר [Heb.]), *Esth.* 3.7, 13 8.12 9.1-19; 1 Macc. 7.43 49; 2 Macc. 15.36). See MONTH, §§ 3, 5.

ADASA (אֲדָסָא [ANV]), the scene of the victory of Judas the Maccabee over Nicanor (1 Macc. 7.40 45), lay, as is implied in the narrative, not very far from Beth-horon. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 10.5) makes its distance from Beth-horon 30 stadia, and Jer. and Eus. call it a village near Gophna (*OS*, 93 3 220 6). Gophna being obviously the modern *Jifna* between Jerusalem and Shechem, it is reasonable to identify Adasa with the ruin 'Adaseh, on a bare shapeless down, 8 m. S. of that place (*PEP*

1 Cp Leopold Löw, 'Graphische Requisiten u. Erzeugnisse bei den Juden' (70), pp. 181-83, in *Beitr. z. jüd. Alterthums-kunde*, Bd. 1 of the Leipzig 'Institut zur Förderung d. israel. Literatur.'

Ment. 3:16). The remark of Eus. that Adasa belonged to Judah, at which Jer. expresses so much surprise, rests on a confusion between *adasa*, the C^{A} reading of HADASHAH (*q.v.*) in Josh. 15:37, and the place of like name in the passage before us.

ADBEEL (אֲדַבְעֵל, אֲדַבְעָחָ [AEL in Gen., A in Ch.]; אֲדַבְעָחָ [D in Gen., B in Ch.]; אֲדַבְעֵלָה [L in Ch.]; אֲדַבְעֵלָה [Jos. *Ant.* i. 124]; cp. Sals. 227N; see Ges.-Bu. *s.v.*), one of the twelve sons of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13; 1 Ch. 1:29†). Doubtless the Ambian tribe Idbil'i, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. (*ABZ* 2:20 l. 56) with Tema, Sheba, and Ephah, but distinct from the Idbil'ilu named in inscriptions of the same king, who was a *kīpu*—i.e., not 'warden of the marches' but 'governor' (of the N. Arabian land of Musri. See MERRIMAN II. [4]). Cp. We. *Akk.* *Inschr.* 25. For a slightly different view, see ISHMAEL, § 4:134.

ADDAN (אֲדָן, § 57, connected with the divine name Addu; see HADAD, ADONIKAM), the name, or part of the name, of an unidentified town or district in Babylonia, mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9): אֲדָן אֲדָן [BAL.] = Neh. 7:54. אֲדָן אֲדָן [BA] = 1 Esd. 5:6, where אֲדָן is represented by *adar*, *-adan* of AV CHARATHALAR, RV CHARATHALAN (i.e., אָדָר [B]. [A]† אָדָר [A]). . . . אָדָר [L]. Cp. CHERUB, ii.

ADDAR (אֲדָר), Josh. 15:3† RV, AV ADAR (*q.v.*).

ADDAR (אֲדָר), 1 Ch. 8:3†. See ARD.

ADDER. The details are given under SERPENT (§ 1, nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). The Hebrew names are:

1. אֲדָר, *'akub* (Ps. 140:3 [4]†), generally believed to be a kind of adder. See SERPENT, § 1 (4).

2. אָדָר, *pehen* (Ps. 58:4 [5] 91:13, AV mg. 'asp,' like AV elsewhere), also believed to be some species of adder or viper. See SERPENT, § 1 (5).

3. אֲדָר, *siph'oni* (Pr. 23:32; mg. like text elsewhere, AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' $\text{C}^{\text{P}}\text{MA}$, *keráptnrs*; also Is. 11:8 59:5 EV mg.), likewise some kind of viper. See SERPENT, § 1 (7).

4. אֲדָר, *serpha* (Is. 14:29 EV mg.). See SERPENT, § 1, no. 6.

5. אֲדָר, *serphiphān* (Gen. 49:17†, AV mg. 'arrow-snake,' RV mg. 'horned snake'), the *cerastes*. See SERPENT, § 2 (2).

ADDI. 1. The sons of Addi in 1 Esd. 9:3† (*addew* [B], אֲדָדִי [A], אֲדָדָה [L]) appear to take the place of the b'ne Pahath Moab of Ezra 10:39; but the name probably represents ADNA (*q.v.*, no. 1), the first in the group. In C^{A} the missing name is restored, but without C^{B} 's usual *ḥy. m. c. s. s.* (see P'ATH-MOAB).

2. Twenty-fourth in the ascending genealogical series, which begins with Joseph, Manu's *h. m. s. s.* in L. 3:29:29 (אֲדָדִי [TI. WH following BBA]). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

ADDO (אֲדָדָה [A], etc.), 1 Esd. 6:1. See IDDO, ii. 3.

ADDON (אֲדָן), Neh. 7:61 = Ezra 2:99, ADDAN.

ADUŠU. 1. The sons of Adūsu, one of the groups added in 1 Esd. 5:34 [BA] (*addōus*, see Swete; perhaps corresponding to אֲדָרָה [L]) to the 'sons of the servants of Solomon' (see LEVITES) in the great post-exilic list, Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5; see EZRA, ii. § 8.

2. 1 Esd. 5:38. RV JADDUS. See BARZILLAI, 3.

ADER (אֲדָר), 1 Ch. 8:15†, RV EDER (*q.v.*, ii. 1).

ADIDA (אֲדִידָה [A]). 1 Macc. 12:3 13:13. See HADID.

ADIEL (אֲדִיעֵל, § 38, 'God passes by?'—cp. Adaiah).

1. One of the Simeonite chieftains who dispossessed the Meunim (see RV), 1 Ch. 4:36† (*ediyā* [A], אֲדִיעֵל [L], perhaps אֲדִיעֵל [B]). See GEDOR, 2, and HAM, ii.; and cp. AMALEK, § 4.

2. A prince in the genealogy of Maasai (1 Ch. 9:22† אֲדִיעֵל [BA]).

3. Ancestor of ΑΔΜΑΨΗΘ, *q.v.*, ii. 4 (1 Ch. 27:25† אֲדִיעֵל [BA]).

4. See ADEEL.

ADIN (אֲדִין, § 57, perhaps shortened from אֲדִינָיִמִי, 'Yahwe is pleasant,' cp. ITHOAFDAN, EIO 8:1; אֲדִין [BA], אֲדִין [L], אֲדִין).

The b'ne Adin, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9): Ezra 2:13 (under B), אֲדִין [A], אֲדִין [L]—Neh. 7:54 (under BBA) = 1 Esd. 5:34 (under C) = 59:11 [B], אֲדִין [A]. EV Adinim. A band of five males of the family name *ad-* with Ezra; Ezra 2:13 = 1 Esd. 5:32 (ΑΔΜΑΨΗΘ [L], *Adm*, Adm and Esd), the names of their head. The family was represented among the signatories to the covenant, Neh. 10:16 [17] (אֲדִין [BA], אֲדִין [L]). See EZRA, i. § 7.

ADINA (אֲדִינָה, § 57, 'blessful,' cp. under ADIN; אֲדִין [BA] [BAL]; אֲדִינָה), a Reubenite chieftain in David's service (1 Ch. 11:42†). See DAVID, § 11 A, ii.

ADINO, 'the Ezuite,' is appended unexpectedly in EV of 2 S. 23:8 to the description of David's principal hero.

The readings of C^{A} are: אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ [B], אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ [A], with the *q. r. s.* אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ (to be, though not in the original Ch. 11:3 [PMA], where *AD* is *adino* . . . C^{B} , however, gives the single rendering [of a different text], אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ).

A comparison of *r.* 18 shows that what is required to make sense is 'brandished his spear,' אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ, and these words are actually given in 1 Ch. 11:11 in lieu of אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ, the words out of which *AD* (reading אֲדִינוֹ) and its followers including EV vainly attempt to extract sense. Modern critics (except Klo.) correct MT in accordance with 1 Ch.

Klo.'s correction, 'He is our pride, he is our terrible one' (after which he ventures to render אֲדִינוֹ 'because of') אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ אֲדִינוֹ, words which are supposed to be a quotation from a warlike song referring to this hero, is too ingenious. The words might, it is true, be viewed as a misplaced marginal quotation relative to *David*; but then we should still have to supply some verb as a predicate to complete the account of David's warrior. See *INTRODUCTION*, JESUS CHRIST.

ADINU (אֲדִינוֹ [A]), 1 Esd. 5:14 RV; AV, RV mg. ADIN.

ADINUS, RV IADINUS (אֲדִין [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:4 = Neh. 8:7, JAMIN.

ADITHAIM (אֲדִיתַיִם, § 107; אֲדִיתַיִם [L]; BA om., but in *r.* 34 A has אֲדִיתַיִם and B has אֲדִיתַיִם for 'Tappuah'), an unknown site in the Shephelah of Judah, apparently somewhere in its NE. portion (Josh. 15:36†).

ADLAI (אֲדִלַי, § 57; אֲדִלַי [BA]; אֲדִלַי [L]; אֲדִלַי; 1 Ch. 27:29†), see SHAPHAT, 5.

ADMAH (אֲדָמָה, אֲדָמָה [BAL]) and Zeboim (Hos. 11:8 EV, Gen. 10:19 AV, Dt. 29:23 [22] AV), or, as in Gen. 14:28 EV and everywhere RV except in Hos., **Zeboim** (Hos. 11:8 Kt. אֲדָמָה, probably = אֲדָמָה [see below]; Gen. 10:19 Kt. אֲדָמָה; 14:28 Dt. 29:23 [22] all Kt. אֲדָמָה; Kr. everywhere אֲדָמָה; אֲדָמָה [BAL]; Samar. text om. both names in Gen. 10:19; אֲדָמָה [F. in Gen. 14:2]), are mentioned together in passages of the Pentateuch and in Hos. 11:8. In Gen. 14:28 they are stated to have had kings of their own (see SHIN-AB) who joined in the revolt of certain southern peoples against Chedorlaomer king of Elam; in Dt. 29:23 [22] (אֲדָמָה [A]) to have shared the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. In Gen. 10:19 (אֲדָמָה [A]) they are mentioned in the definition of the boundaries of Canaan proper—i.e., the land W. of the Jordan. Except in Hos. 11:8 the names Admah and Zeboim are always preceded by those of Sodom and Gomorrah. Of the Pentateuch passages all except Gen. 10:19 are certainly post-exilic, and it is very possible that Kautzsch and Socin are right in regarding the mention of Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim in Gen. 10:19 as interpolated. In this case we have no right to assume it as certain that Admah and Zeboim were among the cities which an early Hebrew tradition stated to have been destroyed by brimstone and fire out of

heaven. Hos. 118 (imitated perhaps in Is. 15⁹) only implies that Admah and Zeboim had suffered some terrible destruction. As to the mode of their destruction and as to their locality no information is given. It is, in fact, not at all likely that the least famous of the 'cities of the plain' should have been selected by Hosea as representatives; Amos (4¹¹) and Isaiah (19¹⁰) mention only Sodom and Gomorrah. It is possible that there was once some distinct legend respecting the destruction of Admah and Zeboim. Possibly, too, Zeboim was not a town, but the name of the district in which Admah was situated. Against this we must not appeal to Gen. 14.2, since the names of the kings there given are probably unhistorical. Nor can one help conjecturing that (if, as Rödiger, in *Ges. Theol.* suggests, אֲדָמָה = צָבִיעִים) Hosea alludes to a story which accounted for the dreary character of the Valley of Zeboim (now the *Wady el-Kelt*; see ZEBOIM, 1), analogous to that connected with the valley of ACHOR. Such stories of overturned villages are not uncommon. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

T. K. C.

ADMATHA (אֲדָמָתָא), one of the 'seven princes' (cp Ezra 7¹⁴) at the court of Ahasuerus (Est. 1¹⁴ + [BAN, L om.]). According to Marquart, however, these seven names have arisen from an original three (cp the three satraps, Dan. 6¹ f.) of which CARSHENA (*q. v.*) is one, Shethar and Tarshish are corrupt variations of the second (see SHETHAR), and Meres and Marsena corruptions of the third (see MARSENA). Admatha (or rather אֲדָמָתָא) would then be the father of Haman, and for אֲדָמָתָא (cp note to MEMUCAN) should be substituted אֲדָמָתָא (the designation applied to Haman). See, further, *Fund.* 68 ff. Cp ESTHER, § 3.

ADMIN (אַדְמַיִן [BN]), a link, in the genealogy of Joseph, between Aminnabad and Arni (Aram), in Lk. 3³³ RV mg. and W & H. See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

ADMINISTRATION. See GOVERNMENT.

ADNA. 1. (אֲדָנָה [Ginsb. *q. v.*, עֲדָנָה [Bä.]) One of the b'ne PAHATH-MOAB in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 *end*), EZRA 10²⁹ (אֲדָנָה [B]. *ed.* [B⁹], אֲדָנָה [A], אֲדָנָה [L combining with next name, which in 1 Esd. 9¹¹ (1) is אֲדָנָה], אֲדָנָה [N = Adna + following name, CHELAL] = 1 Esd. 9¹¹ (אֲדָנָה [A], ADDI, 1. With this name should be compared Hadauna, a Jewish name of the fifth century B.C., mentioned by Hilprecht as found at Nippur (cp Hazitu = אֲדָנָה).

2. (אֲדָנָה [Ginsb. Bä.], priest temp. Joiakim (see EZRA, ii. §§ 68, 11), Neh. 12¹⁵ (אֲדָנָה [N⁹ = אֲדָנָה *inf.*], om. [B⁹*A], אֲדָנָה [L]).

ADNAH (אֲדָנָה): אֲדָנָה [BA], -NAC [L], a captain in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch. 17¹⁴).

ADNAH (אֲדָנָה) [Ginsb. Bä.], other readings אֲדָנָה, אֲדָנָה; אֲדָנָה [BANL], *Ednas*. A Manassite, who deserted from Saul to David (1 Ch. 12²⁰ [21]). See DAVID, § 11 *a* iii.

ADONAI (אֲדֹנָי). See NAMES, §§ 119, 109 n.

ADONI-BEZEK (אֲדֹנִי-בֶזֶק) in v. 7 with *makkef*; אֲדֹנִי-בֶזֶק [B.M.] Judg. 1:7; *Q* has אֲדֹנִי-בֶזֶק also in Josh. 10:13 where MT has Adoni-zedek; a third variation is אֲדֹנִי-בֶזֶק [os. Procop. *Q*^{cond.}]; the change may be accidental or harmonistic, a Canaanite king whom Judah and Simeon, invading southern Palestine, encountered and defeated at Bezek. Adoni-bezek fled, but was overtaken, made prisoner, and mutilated. He was afterwards carried to Jerusalem, where he died (Judg. 1:7). The name Adoni-bezek is commonly interpreted 'Lord of (the city) Bezek'; but such a

¹ *Q* closes this verse thus, καὶ τὸ κατὰσποντὸν Ἀδῶνα [BNA; *μ* sup. ras. N], i.e., 'and the remnant of Admah.' This may possibly be correct (see Duhm, *Jes.* 105, Ch. *Int.* 12, 97). Moab may be figuratively called Admah, just as Jerusalem is figuratively called Sodom (Is. 1:10).

formation is entirely anomalous. In similar compounds (Adoni with proper name) the second element is regularly the name of a god, never of a place (there are, in fact, no Hebrew or Canaanite proper names of persons in the OT thus compounded with the name of a locality); nor is 'adon used of the sovereign of a city or country. In Jos. 10:1 ff., which, in spite of radical differences, is based on a source closely akin to that of Judg. 1, if not identical with it, the head of the native kings who first made front against the Israelite invasion of the S. is Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem (see ADONI-ZEDEK); and it is to Jerusalem that Adoni-bezek is taken (? by his own servants) to die (Judg. 1:7). Hence the conjecture offered under ADONI-ZEDEK appears very probable. See also BEZEK.

G. F. M.

ADONIJAH (אֲדֹנִיָּהּ, 2 S. 3:4; 1 K. 1:57:18 2:8; 1 Ch. 3:2; Neh. 10:16 [17], elsewhere אֲדֹנִיָּהּ; 'Yahwè is lord,' § 36; cp Phoen. אֲדֹנִיָּהּ; אֲדֹנִיָּהּ; אֲדֹנִיָּהּ [BA], ΟΡΝΙΑ [L]).

1. David's fourth son (in 1 Ch. 3:2 אֲדֹנִיָּהּ [BA; so also in 2 K. 2:21 ff., ορνιας [L]). Nothing is known of his mother, Haggith. Like Absalom, he was born at Hebron (2 S. 3:4; ορνια [B], -vias [A]); like him he was conspicuous by his graceful presence, while like all David's sons he never felt the constraint of his father's authority. Absalom's death left him heir to the throne, and 'all Israel,' as he said himself, 'expected that he would become king' (1 K. 2:15). He therefore, in the manifest failure of the old king's faculties, thought it time to assume a semi-royal state, like Absalom before him (1 K. 1:5). On his side were the old and tried servants of David—Joab, the commander of the forces, Abiathar, who represented the old priestly family of Eli, and had been the companion of David's wanderings—followed by the people as a whole (see 1 K. 2:15). The 'new men,' however, Benaiah, captain of the body-guard, and Zadok, a priest of origin comparatively obscure, looked with evil eyes on his pretensions, and with the powerful aid of the prophet Nathan espoused the cause of the son of Bathsheba. The chance of each party, unless David's death was to be followed by civil war, lay in a sudden stroke which would put their claimant in possession and overawe his opponents.

The story is graphically told, though perhaps with a secret sympathy with Adonijah. Nor can we doubt that, like the other narratives of the same writer, it is in the main trustworthy. Adonijah made the first move. He invited all the royal princes save Solomon, together with Joab and Abiathar and 'all the men of Judah,' to a sacrificial feast at a well-known sacred stone (see ZOHELETH) close to Jerusalem (1 K. 1:9 ff.). They had left the weak old king, however, exposed to the machinations of their enemies, while the fortress was in the hands of Benaiah and his trained soldiers. Nathan was quick to seize the opportunity. By the help of Bathsheba, and with a presentation of facts which may or may not have been perfectly accurate,¹ he obtained from David an order for the immediate enthronement of Solomon. Adonijah's banquet was disturbed by news that Solomon reigned by his father's will, and was protected by Benaiah and the foreign guard. The company broke up in dismay, and Adonijah sought an asylum at the horns of the altar. The clemency of Solomon, however, spared his life, and but for an ill-timed revival of his ambitious dreams he might have remained in a happy obscurity. The cause of his ruin was a petition to be allowed to marry Abishag, for which he obtained the support of Bathsheba. Apparently the queen-mother did not detect his secret political

¹ The question is whether the promise of Solomon asserted by Nathan in 1 K. 1:24 is a clever fiction of Nathan, or not, and whether the description of the doings of Adonijah is, or is not, exaggerated. The former point is the more important of the two. We (*CH* 261 n.) and Ki. (*Hist.* ii. 180 f.) take different sides. We's reply is, of course, to us the less palatable one; but we must consider Semitic craftiness, and the improbability of a merely private promise of Solomon. See 1 K. 1:12-13.

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

Compare the narrative of Stade (*Gf i. bk. v. c. 2*), with the somewhat different treatment of the matter by Kittel (*Hist. ii. c. 4*).

W. E. A.
2. A signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7). Neh. 10:16 [17] (אֲדוֹנִיָּאם [ADONIKAM] (through the names are otherwise divided), אֲדוֹנִיָּאם [ADONIKAM] [1]). In the great post-exilic list, EZRA 2:2 = Neh. 7:7 = Est. 5 (see EZRA, ii. § 9), and in the list (EZRA) of those who came with EZRA, the name appears (Ezr. 1:3 18 14 13 respectively) perhaps more correctly (so Gray, *HPN* 137, n. 2) as ADONIKAM (q.v.).

3. A Levite, temp. Jehoshaphat; 2 Ch. 17:8 (אֲדוֹנִיָּאם [BA], -מָא [1]).

4. See ABANAH.

5. See ABANAH.

ADONIKAM (אֲדוֹנִיָּאם); 'the Lord is risen up,' cp **ADIKAM**; אֲדוֹנִיָּאם [ADONIKAM] [BAL].

The b'ne Adonikam, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, 3v). In the great post-exilic list, EZRA 2:2 = Neh. 7:7 = Est. 5 (see EZRA, ii. § 9), and in the list (EZRA) of those who came with EZRA, the name appears (Ezr. 1:3 18 14 13 respectively) perhaps more correctly (so Gray, *HPN* 137, n. 2) as ADONIKAM (q.v.).

3. A Levite, temp. Jehoshaphat; 2 Ch. 17:8 (אֲדוֹנִיָּאם [BA], -מָא [1]).

4. See ABANAH.

5. See ABANAH.

ADONIRAM (אֲדוֹנִירָם, § 40, 'the Lord is high'; אֲדוֹנִירָם [ADONIRAM] [BAL]; **ADONIRAM**), chief receiver of tribute under David (2 S. 20:23), Solomon (1 K. 4:6; 5:14 [28]), and Rehoboam, on whose deposition he was stoned to death by the Israelites (1 K. 12:18; 2 Ch. 10:18 אֲדוֹנִירָם. HADORAM, אֲדוֹנִירָם [A]).

In 2 S. 20:24 (אֲדוֹנִירָם [1]) and 1 K. 12:18 (אֲדוֹנִירָם [ADONIRAM]), it is incorrectly (cp We. Dr. *TSB*) written ADONIRAM (אֲדוֹנִירָם). Hilprecht (*PEF Qu. St.*, Jan. '98, p. 55), indeed, attempts to explain the form by connecting it with Adduiramu ('Addu is high'), a Jewish name on a tablet from Nippur; notice, however, that י is not expressed and that ADONIRAM reads 'Adoniram.'

ADONIS only in the phrase מְנַטְיִים אֲדוֹנִיָּאם (a double plur., Is. 17:10 RV mg. 'plantings of Adonis'¹ (EV has 'pleasant plants'). In justification of

1. OT reference. the rendering see Che. Is. (2) 1:108, Kittel in *Dl. Is.* (6). To Ewald (*17te Aufl.* 2:110, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* 7:18, n. 3) and still more to Lag. (*Semítica*, 1:31, *Uebers.* 205, n. 1) is due this important correction of the rendering. Clermont-Ganneau should also be consulted (*Études d'archéol. orientale* 1, 1880, pp. 26 ff.), also WRS *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1887, p. 307; but cp We. *Ar. Heid.* (1) 7 n. Na'anam (= pleasant, gracious) was doubtless a title of the 'Lord' (Adon, whence Adonis), and Adonis-worship seems to have penetrated under this title into Syria and Palestine, as we gather from the OT name NAAMAN (q.v.), from the names Numāna and Nāmāna in S. Palestine in pre-Israelitish times (Thotmes III.), and from the *Nahr Na'mān* (N. of Carmel), which seems to be the Belus of the ancients. That Adonis-worship flourished in Palestine when Isaiah wrote can easily be believed. The N. Israelites were at this time specially open to Syrian influences. They 'forgot' Yahweh because he seemed unable to protect them. So Isaiah indignantly exclaims, 'Therefore, though thou plantest (little gardens with) shoots of Adonis, and stockest them with scions (dedicated) to a foreign god. . . the harvest shall vanish in a day of sickness and desperate pain.' The phrase 'shoots of Adonis' points to the so-called 'gardens of Adonis,' baskets containing earth sown with various plants, which quickly sprang up and as quickly withered. In reality they were symbols of the life and death of Adonis; but Isaiah takes the withering as an image of the withered hopes of Israel. On these 'gardens' see Frazer, *Golden Bough* 1:24 f.; WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 414; Ohnefalsch Richter, *Kypros* 132 f.; and cp Che. 'Isaiah,' in *SBOT* (Eng.), 146.

Adonis was one of those local gods who live with and in nature, who suffer in summer's drought, die

¹ ὁ φύτεμα ἀπίστον [DRA] (Q1).

with the winter, and live again with the early spring. Legend, however, explained the death of the god as

2. Legend and cult. an event of far-off times. Adonis, it said, was killed whilst hunting the boar in Lebanon, and accordingly in the heat of summer was solemnised the great mourning festival (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 411), at which his corpse was exhibited resting upon a bed of flowers—the quickly fading Adonis-garden. Far up in Lebanon, near the fountain of 'Afka, death suddenly overtook him; whereupon the spring became red with his blood. By 'Afka was an ancient temple of the goddess Aphrodite (so Luc. *Dea Syr.* 9; Eus. *Vit. Const.* 355, Sozom. *HE* 2 5), of which the ruins still remain; probably it contained the grave of the god. This legend, and the cult connected with it, must be very ancient. Indeed, in a source as early as the papyrus Anast. I., mention is made of the goddess of the 'mysterious' city of Byblus. In its origin it was distinct from the Babylonian legend of the loves of Ištar and Tammuz, though at an early date both this legend and the Egyptian story of Osiris were combined with it (*Plut. de Is.* 15, Luc. *Dea Syr.* 7; cp Apollodor. ii. 1, 3, 7, etc.). The cult spread through all the Phœnician colonies, especially to Cyprus, whence in the seventh century it was imported into Greece. Adonis, however, is not to be taken as the true name of the god; every god can be called 'Adon,' lord, just as every goddess is entitled to be called Rabbath, 'the lady.' At Byblus (see GERAL, i.) the favourite of the goddess of Byblus was invoked as the 'lord' *par excellence*, and thus it was that the Greeks came to call him Adonis. What his real name was we do not know; for the name Tammuz, which he also bears, is Babylonian, and it is doubtful whether it ever became naturalised in Phœnicia.

Possibly his name survives, unsuspected, among the many divine names. Or perhaps the recollection of his sad fate may have hindered the formation of proper names derived from his; nor is it impossible that in the worship he never received a real name at all.¹ For in point of fact Philo, who never mentions Adonis, says of a certain Elinū (ἑλίνοϋ—φύστος, that he lived with a woman named Erut in Byblus, that he was slain by wild beasts, and was afterwards deified, and that 'his children brought him libations and offerings.' This seems to be the euhemistic version of the Adonis legend. Now in 'Abdat in the neighbourhood of Byblus, where doubtless the village Saarna lay, there has been found an altar Διὸς ἀδωνίου ἡδύστον Σααρναίου ἐρημίου (Renan, 234), and although such attributes are of frequent occurrence in Syria, Renan is probably right in recognising in this 'highest god' the Elinū of Philo, and Adonis. Moreover, according to Philo (ii. 10), the god ἄδωνιος ἦ' ἄγροτος, 'the farmer,' whose brother is called ἄγρος, 'field' (i.e., πεδῆ)² and who had a sacrosanct image and a temple carried about Phœnicia on wheels, was honoured in Byblus as θεὸν ὁ μέγιστος. He also recurs in the Greek inscriptions. In Byblus a temple was erected under Augustus Διὸς ἡδύστον (Renan, 223; cp 232 θεῶν Διὸς . . .) and the same god had a temple deep in the recesses of the mountains near Kālat Fakra to the SE. of Byblus (*CGO* 452, cf. 459, 460) (Elymas, θεῶν ἀδωνίου). The Phœnician name represented by ἄδωνιος is unknown. See TAMMIZ.

LXX. C. § 1000:106 § 2.

ADONI-ZEDEK, or rather **Zedek**, as RV (אֲדוֹנִי־זְדַק), 'Šedek is lord,' cp MELCHIZEDEK, though to later readers the name very probably meant 'lord of righteousness'; אֲדוֹנִי־זְדַק [BAL]; **ADONISEDEK**, a king of Jerusalem at the time of the Israelitish invasion. See Josh. 10:1 ff., where he leads a confederation of five kings of S. Canaan. According to Josh. 10, Joshua came from Gilgal to the relief of the Gibeonites threatened by the coalition; surprised and completely routed the army of the Amorite kings near Gibeon; captured the five kings in the cave of Makkedah; put them to death and impaled their bodies; then, turning back, razed Lachish, Eglon, and Hebron, with many other cities in the region. This story stands in a narrative of the

¹ The inscription from the district of Hippo Diarrhytus (*CIL* viii. 11211) *σωτηριος ἀδωνιο* (ADON) proves nothing as to the cultus-name of the god; Adonis has here, as among the Greeks, become a proper name.

² From the time of Scaliger it has been assumed that this name arose from a corruption or misunderstanding of זֶדֶק (see SHADDAI). This is possible, but very far from certain.

conquest of all Palestine by Joshua in two great campaigns (Josh. 10, f.) which cannot be historical. A much more credible account is to be found, though in an abridged form, in Judg. 1 (see JOSHUA, § 8; JUDGES, § 3). Here Adoni-bezek is the king who opposes the first resistance to the advance of the tribes of Judah and Simeon against the Canaanites of the S. It is therefore in Budde's opinion (*ZATW* 7, 148 ['87]) not improbable that the **G** reading 'Adoni-bezek, king of Jerusalem' in Josh. 10:13 is correct, especially as Judg. 1 may be understood as saying that his own followers carried Adoni-bezek to Jerusalem, and so as implying that that city was his capital. The objection to this view is that the second element in Adoni-bezek ought to be a god, and we know of no god named Bezek. Hence it is very possible that Adoni-bezek in Josh. 10 (**G**^{HAL}) is a scribe's error, and that the original narrative of Judg. 1 had not Adoni-bezek, king of some nameless city, but Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem (see ADONI-ZEDEK). W. R. S. — G. F. M.

ADOPTION (ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ). *Rev.* 8:13; 9:4; *Gal.* 4:5; *Eph.* 1:5. See FAMILY.

ADORA (see below) or **Adoraim** (אָדוֹרַיִם); on form of name see NAMES, § 107; אֲדוֹרַיִם [A]. W [A] and *Jos. Ant.* viii. 10:1, -PAM [L]; *ADORAUM*, mentioned with Mareshah, Ziph, and Lachish among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11:9†). The sites of all these places having been securely fixed, there can be no hindrance to identifying Adoraim with the modern *Dura*, which is 5 m. W. by S. from Hebron, and is described by Robinson (2:215) as 'one of the largest (villages) in the district.' The site is well adapted for a town, being 'on the gradual eastern slope of a cultivated hill, with olive groves and fields of grain all round' (cp *PEF. Mem.* 3:304). Under the new Egyptian empire an Adoraim is perhaps mentioned twice (*WMM. As. u. Eur.* 167, 174); but it is not clear that Rehoboam's city is intended. At any rate, Adoraim is doubtless the Adora or Dora of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 154 and elsewhere) ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀδωρα, ἡ πόλις ἡ Δωρα and the Ἀδωρα of I Macc. 13:20 (ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀνωρα [ANW]). In the latter, Adora is a point on the route by which Tryphon entered Judaea; in the former, it is usually coupled as an Idumean city, with Marissa (Mareshah), the fate of which it shared, being captured by John Hyrcanus and compelled to accept circumcision and the Jewish law (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 9:1; *Bibl.* 2:6). T. K. V.

ADORAM (אָדוֹרַם), 2 S. 20:24; 1 K. 12:26†. See ADORAIM.

ADRAMMELECH (אֲדַרְמֶלֶךְ, אֲדַרְמֶלֶךְ [BL], Ἀδραμελεχ; *Jos.* λεγόντι, ἀναδρωμαίος).

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

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

2. A son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who, according to 2 K. 19:37 (ἀδραμελεχ [A]) and Is. 37:38 (ἀδραμελεχ [BN¹AOQ]), ἀδραμ. [S¹], in conjunction with his brother NISAEZER (q.v.), slew his father while he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch at Nineveh, and thence escaped into Armenia. In the Babylonian Chronicle mention is made of this revolt, in which Sennacherib met his death; but the only trace of the name Adrammelech hitherto found is in Abḏēnu under the form Adramelus, and in Polyhistor under that of Ardu-masanus. Scheil however thinks that ADMELK and Adramelus are corruptions of Aššur-MU-NI-İK (or -GAL), the idiographic reading of the name pronounced Ašur-šum-usābī. This is the name of a son of Sennacherib for whom his father erected a house amidst the gardens of Nineveh. For analogies cp the royal name Sammuḡhes = Šamaš-MU-GI-NA. The Ardu-masanus of Polyhistor may be a corruption of the phonetic form given above, just as Σασσοδοχινοσ is Šamaš-šum-ukin, the phonetic reading of Šamaš-MU-GI-NA. (See Scheil, *ZA* 12:1; *Rev. bib.*, April 1897.) Cp ESAR-HADDON, NISROCH.

ADRAMYTIUM (Ἀδραμύτιον or ἄτρ., the adjective, which alone occurs in the NT, is, as in some cursive MSS of Acts, Ἀδραμύθιον or ἄτρ.; neither inscriptions nor coins give the form -ΤΤΗΝΟΣ of Tisch. following NB⁹; W & H -ΥΝΤΗ, after AB¹). A seaport of Mysia, which gave, and still gives, its name to the gulf, a great triangular indentation along the S. foot of Mt. Ida, whence it was called also the 'Idæan.' Adramyteum, in the E. recess of the gulf, was always important. It would profit by the trade in timber from Ida. There were also copper mines in the neighbourhood, and iron mines at Andeira not far to the NW. Strabo (p. 606) describes it accurately as 'a colony of Athens, a city with a harbour and roadstead'; but its importance goes back to a much earlier epoch if, as Olshausen asserts (*Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* '53, p. 322; cp Hazar-maveth), the name points to foundation by the Phœnicians. Of necessity Adramyteum was intimately connected with the road system of NW. Asia. The coast road from Ephesus and the inland road from Pergamus converged to Adramyteum, whence they diverged, on the one hand, across the Mysian peninsula to Cyzicus on the sea of Marmora, and, on the other, to Assos, Troas, and the Hellespont. Consequently, it became an assize town, or head of a *conventus juridicus*. Adramyitan coasters such as that in which Paul performed the first stage of his journey to Rome (Acts 27:7) must have been familiar visitors to Cæsarea and the Syrian harbours. *Adramyti* (*Edremid*), which preserves the old name, is 5 m. from the sea. Thus, Kiepert is perhaps right in putting the ancient town on an eminence by the sea, 8 m. SW. of the modern Adramyti (*Z. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, 1889, 292 f.). Nevertheless, Edremid is heir to the importance of Adramyteum. Silver mines are now worked in the hills behind the town. W. J. W.

ADRIA (ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ, Acts 27:7 [BNA], ἄδρια; 'stony sea,' *Wiclif*), the division of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily and Malta on the W. and Crete on the E. So the name is applied by Paus. v. 25:3 (speaking of the straits of Messina), ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίων καὶ

ἐξ ἑτέρου πελάγους ὁ καλεῖται Τυρσηνόν. Cp. id. viii. 543. Procopius considers Malta as lying on the boundary (11' i. 14: Γαύλω τε καὶ Μελίτη προσέσχον, αἱ τὸτε Ἀδριατικόν καὶ Τυρρητικόν πελάγους διορίζουσαν). Ptolemy distinguishes between the Adriatic sea and the Adriatic gulf. Acts reproduces the language of the sailors. For this extended application of the name cp Strabo, who, writing about 19 A.D., says that the Ionian Sea is 'part of what is now called Adrias' (p. 123). This implies that the ancient use of the word had been more limited. In medieval times the name was still more widely extended, being practically = 'Levant,' as opposed to 'Ægean' (cp Ram. Paul 298. See MYRA). The question is connected with the identification of the island upon which Paul was cast (Acts 28:1) after fourteen days' drifting in Adria (see MELITA). We may compare the shipwreck of Josephus 'in the middle of the Adria' (κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδριαν): he was picked up by a ship sailing from Cyrene to Puteoli (Vit. 3).

W. J. W.

ADRIEL (אֲדִרְיֵל, not 'God's flock,' but either (a) miswritten for אֲדִירְיֵל, 'God is helper' [cp forms of name in 5, 2 S. 218 below]; or (b) the Aram. form of Heb. אֲדִירְיֵל. The former view is adopted in NAMES, § 28; the latter by Nestle, ZDPV 15:257; cp BARZILLAI; see also H.P.V. 266 n. 1, 309 n. 8). Son of BARZILLAI (q.v., n. 4) the Melohathite, to whom Saul married his daughter MERAB (q.v.); 1 S. 18:19 (om. B; ὄνα [usually = ἠρα] ἄλ [A], ἐδμηλ [L], 2 S. 21:3 (σερεῖ [B], ἠδμή [A], ἐρεῖ [L]).

ADUEL (אֲדוּגַחַל [B], נֶאֱדַחַח [A]; אֲדוּגַחַל), the great grandfather of Tobit (Tob. 1:1). No doubt another form of ADIEL (q.v.).

ADULLAM (אֲדוּלַאִם, אֲדוּלַאִם [BAL], אֲדוּלַאִם [B, 2 Ch. 1; Barid, Mi.; A. 1 S. 1], אֲדוּלַאִם [A, Josh. 15:35], אֲדוּלַאִם [I. 4b.]; אֲדוּלַאִם, variants אֲדוּלַאִם, אֲדוּלַאִם, אֲדוּלַאִם, אֲדוּלַאִם), gentilic אֲדוּלַאִם. **Adullamite**, אֲדוּלַאִמִּי [E], אֲדוּלַאִמִּי [ADEL], אֲדוּלַאִמִּי, אֲדוּלַאִמִּי [E], a town in the Shephelah (Josh. 15:35), with a changeful history. For a considerable time it seems to have remained Canaanitish. We still have a legend in Gen. 38:1 f. (J) which describes the fusion of Judahite clans with a Canaanitish clan whose centre was Adullam. This fusion had apparently not been accomplished in David's time, for Adullam was still outside the 'land of Judah' when David took refuge there (1 S. 22:1; cp v. 5). We cannot therefore accept the editorial statement in Josh. 12:15 (cp v. 7) that Joshua 'smote' the king of Adullam. The Chronicler speaks of Rehoboam as having fortified Adullam (2 Ch. 11:7). He names the place in conjunction with Soco (Shuweikeh), which harmonises geographically with Micah's combination of it (Mic. 1:5, if the text be correct) with Mareshah (Merāsh). It is included in the list of cities which are stated to have been occupied by the Jews in the time of Nehemiah or Zerubbabel (Neh. 11:30; so B¹ & mg. inf. L; B² & A om.); but the list in Neh. 11:25-36 appears to be an archaeological fiction of the Chronicler. Judas the Maccabee, at any rate, in a raid into 'Idumæa,' occupied Adullam and kept the sabbath there (2 Macc. 12:38).

The chief interest of Adullam, however, lies in its connection with DAVID (q.v., § 3). Here, not in some enormous cave (such as that fixed upon by tradition at Khareitūn),² but in the 'stronghold' of the town, David on two occasions found a safe retreat (1 S. 22:1; 2 S. 5:17; cp 23:13).

Where was Adullam? The authority of the Pales-

tine Survey has led many recent writers to adopt the identification of Adullam with 'Id-el-mā, proposed in 1871 by M. Clermont-Ganneau. This is the name of a steep hill on which are 'ruins of indeterminate date,' with an ancient well at the foot, and, near the top, on both sides, caves of moderate size. The site is in the east of the Shephelah, about 3 m. SE. of Soco, and 8 from Mareshah; and, though it is much more from Bethlehem, 'the journey would be nothing for the light-footed mountaineers who surrounded David' (Clermont-Ganneau, PEFQ 177 [75]). The identification, however, is only conjectural. The caves are unimportant (1) because the MT (cp Jos. Ant. vi. 12:3) speaks of a single cave, and (2) because with We., Ki., Bu., and Kau. we should correct קָוָה, 'cave,' in 1 S. 22:1 2 S. 23:13 1 Ch. 11:15, into קָוָה, 'stronghold'; cp 1 S. 22:4 f. 2 S. 23:14. Nor does the position of 'Id-el-mā exactly agree with that assigned to Adullam in the *Olmasticon*. On the very slight resemblance of the name to Adullam no reliance can be placed. Other sites are quite possible. Cp GASm. HG 229 f. See MICAH, § 2 a, n. T. K. C.

ADULTERY. See MARRIAGE, § 4.

ADUMMIM, The Ascent of (אֲדוּמִים מְעַלָּה); Josh. 15:7 אֲדוּמַמִּים [B], אֲדוּמַמִּים [A], אֲדוּמַמִּים [I. 1]; 18:17 אֲדוּמַמִּים [B], אֲדוּמַמִּים [A], אֲדוּמַמִּים [I. 1]; אֲדוּמַמִּים, a point marking the position of the frontier between Judah and Benjamin. The sharp rise near the middle of the road from Jericho to Jerusalem appears to be intended; the name (connected with אָדָם, 'red') was perhaps suggested by the ruddy hue of the chalk rocks in that neighbourhood, to which appears to be due the name of the khān el-Ahmar ('the red'), the traditional 'inn' of the Good Samaritan, and that of *Tal'at ed-Dam* ('the hill of blood'), NE. of the khān. With the latter spot the ascent of Adummim has been plausibly identified (PEF. Mem. 3:172).

ADVERSARY. The word so translated in 1 S. 16:7 (הַיָּבֵשׁ *yāra*, RV 'rival,' אַנְתִּיזְחָלוֹס [L],¹ cp Lev. 18:18 [B.A.]) is the technical term for a fellow-wife, answering to Ass. *yirritu*, Ar. *qarratun*, Syr. *artha* ('arva'). All these forms are dialectal variations of a single Old-Semitic word. Similarly, in Lev. 18:18 the words 'to vex her' are better rendered by RV 'to be a rival to her.' The words that follow may be rendered, interpreting the metaphor, 'marrying the second sister, in addition to the first, in the lifetime of the latter.'

The sense of the metaphor is given by the Arabic *litākūna qarratāha*. See Dr. FRS, *ad loc.* and especially Lag.'s *Mittheilungen* 1:125 f. (GG.V, 1882, no. 13).

W. K. S.

ADVOCATE (ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ), 1 Jn. 2:1, see PARACLETE.

AEDIA (ΑΗΔΙΑΣ [B]), 1 Esd. 9:27 = Ezra 10:26, RV ELIJAH, 3.

ÆNEAS (ΑΙΝΕΑΣ [BNA]), a paralytic at Lydda healed by Peter (Acts 9:33). The form of the name, Æneās, not as in Homer *Ænēas*, is noteworthy. It is met with in Thucydides, Xenophon, and Pindar.

ÆNON (ΑΙΝΩΝ [Ti. WH]), Jn. 3:23 f. See SALIM. **ÆSORA** (ΑΙΣΩΡΑ [BA], etc.), Judith 4:47 RV = AV ESORA (q.v.).

AFFINITY. See FAMILY, KINSHIP.

AGABA, RV ACCABA (ΑΚΚΑΒΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:30 = Ezra 2:46, HAGAB.

AGABUS (ΑΓΑΒΟΣ [Ti. WH]; § 68), one of the 'prophets' who came from Jerusalem to Antioch at the time of the dispersion from Jerusalem 'upon the tribulation that rose about Stephen' (Acts 11:19, cp 8:4). He predicted a great famine over all the world, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius' (Acts 11:27-28). The reference, doubtless, is to the great dearth which visited Judæa and the surrounding districts—especially Jerusalem—between 44 and 48 A.D. (Jos. Ant. xx. 26; 52;

¹ The text of BA differs.

¹ The word is found both with *ad* and with *on* Aramaic seals; e.g. *ad-on* (CS 2, no. 124) but *ad-on*. 'Horus is a help' (*ibid.* 77).

² The Magharet Khareitūn enters history, not with David, but with an ascetic named Chariton, who, after having been taken by robbers on the way to Jerusalem, founded one of his two lauras here, and died in the cave about 470 A.D.

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

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

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

AGAG (אַגַּג, אֲגַג, cp Ass. *agagu*, 'be powerful, vehement, angry'; *Igigi*, the spirits friendly to man, Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 634; אַגַּר [BAL]), a king of the Amalekites, so celebrated in early tradition that the Yahwist makes Balaam say, by an obvious anachronism, of the future Israelitic kingdom, 'His king shall be higher than Agag' (Nu. 247; אַגַּר [BAL], following Samar. text). Saul, after his successful campaign against the Amalekites, exempted Agag from the general doom of devotion to the deity by slaughter, and brought him to Gilgal, where Samuel heved him in pieces before Yahweh—i.e., at the great sanctuary where festival sacrifices were offered (1 S. 158 *f.* *of.* 32 *f.*). Making allowance for the endeavour of the narrator to harmonise an old tradition with later ideas (see SAUL, § 3), and throwing ourselves back into the barbarous period which begins to pass away under David, we cannot doubt that the slaughter of Agag was a eucharistic sacrifice (see SACRIFICE), akin to that of the *naki'a* (lit. 'victim rent in pieces'), which was in use among the Arabs after a successful fray, and which might be a human sacrifice (WRS *RS*² 491, cp 363; We. *Ar. Heid.* 112 [87]).

AGAGITE (אַגַּגִּי; for Greek readings see below), a member of the family of Agag; a title applied anachronistically to Haman (Esth. 3:10 835). Haman, as an Amalekite, is opposed to Mordecai, the descendant of Kish (Esth. 25). Neither description is to be taken literally (see ESTHER, § 1, end). The meaning is that there is an internecine struggle between the Jews and their enemies, like that between Saul and Agag of old. Similarly, Haman is called a 'Macedonian' in the Greek parts of Esther; 126 (μακεδονα [L^a]; but βουγατος [BNAALβ]; AV Agagite; RV ΒΟΥΓΑΤΗΣ [BNAALβ]; EV Macedonian; μακεδων [BNAALβ]; but βουγατος [L^a]), and the name has made its way back into 924 (μακεδων [BNAALβ]); cp ESTHER, § 20. Elsewhere the reading is βουγατος [BNAALβ] (only in 3:85 [N^a 886]), perhaps a corruption of Γουγατος (in Nu. 247, the same version has Γωγ for Αγαγ).

AGAR (אַגַּר [BA]). 1. The sons of Agar, Bar. 3:23 RV; AV *Agarenes*. See HAGAR, § 2, n. 2. Gal. 4:24. RV HAGAR (*q.v.*, end).

AGATE (אַגַּתִּי, אֲגַתִּי, אֲגַתִּי [BNAALQ]; אֲגַתִּי, Ez. 27:16 [Ba. Ginsb.], γοργος [BQ], κοργος [A], etc.; אֲגַתִּי, אֲגַתִּי [BAL]) occurs four times in AV, twice for Heb. *kadkod*, RV 'rubies' and twice for *shēbē*. On the identification of these stones, see CHALCEDONY. On the question whether the

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

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

AGGABA (אַגַּבָּא [B ab^{sup} Ag A]), 1 Esd. 5:59† RV = Ezra 2:45. HAGABAH.

AGGZEUS, AV Aggeus (*Aggei* [ed. Bensly]), 1 Esd. 6:17, 3 Esd. 1:4†. See HAGGAI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See PALESTINE for details in GEOLOGY (§ 3), Physical Divisions (§ 4), Hydrography (§ 13), Climate and Vegetation (§ 14).

² See however Fraas, *Aus dem Orient* 199.

³ There is no Hebrew word corresponding to our term *farming*. Tilling the soil is *עבד הארצה*; husbandman is *עבד*, etc.; field is *קרי*.

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

The *team* (מִטְרָה, מִטְרָה) would, as now, often consist of oxen (Am. 6:12), but sometimes of cows (Job



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

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

The *furrows* were called תֵּמֵם, תֵּמֵם (פְּנֵינָה). They are now sometimes very carefully drawn (קֶס, Ps. 129:3), and are some nine to ten inches apart.

Irrigation (מִטְרָה, מִטְרָה; see GARDEN) must have been one of the processes used by Israel.² Palestine, indeed, differed from Egypt (Dt. 11:10 f., on which see EGYPT, § 34, n.) in having a copious supply of rain and in having natural springs

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

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



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

gardens, and there may have been districts under cultivation which were entirely dependent on it. It would not be safe to assign an early date to the elaborate methods and regulations of Mishna times; and it is difficult to determine whether by the streams that were so highly prized (Dt. 8:7; Nu. 24:6, Cant. 4:15),⁵ and without which a garden could not live (Is. 1:30), artificial canals are meant, and whether, e.g., the bucket (בֵּרֵי, Is. 40:15; Num. 24:7) was used in irrigation. The Mishna has regulations concerning *manuring* (מַנְיָה), and there may be a reference to it in such passages as Ps. 83:10 [11] (רִבְחָה) or Is. 25:10 (Kithib). In NT times, at least, manure was used for trees (Lk. 13:8; βάλω κόπρια), as now for figs, olives, etc.; it was worked in at the last yearly ploughing, which was after the first winter rain. For grain crops the use of manure is exceptional (e.g., at Hebron). Remains show that in the hilly country *terracing* (מַנְיָה, Cant. 5:1:?) was used even more than now, especially for vine cultivation; but the wider terraces are still used for grain, the clearing of the soil being called *maqā*.

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

1 Vogelstein argues from *Kelim*, 96 that this is the name of the metal head.
 2 Cp. *homoser*, Del. in Ps. 129:3, *Gen.-Bull. sub voc. etc.*
 3 See now the account in Vogelstein, § 4.
 4 Cp. *R.S.* 298.
 5 The prophets delight to speak of the copious supplies of water that will refresh even the most unlikely places in the ideal future (see Cheyne on Is. 30:25).

yards (Is. 5; Ecclus. 28:8), where hedges (מִנְיָה Is. 5:5) were also in use; and there was sometimes a border, e.g., of *fitches* (see FITCHES, 2) (Is. 28:25). Between grain-fields, however, the commonest practice was to set up *stones* to mark the line of partition (מִנְיָה Hos. 5:10); on the strong sentiment that prevailed as to the unrighteousness of tampering with these, see below (§§ 12, 14).

Whether the various words used for sowing the seed were technical terms we cannot tell. מִנְיָה is a word of general significance.

6. Sowing.

In Is. 28:25 three words are used in one verse: מִנְיָה and יָרַק of scattering יָרַק (see FITCHES, 1) and cummin with the hand; מִנְיָה of setting wheat and barley in the straight furrows.² Nowadays a drill is sometimes used. The common practice is, whether the land has been already ploughed or not, to plough in the seed.³ This protects it from ants and from dryness due to intermission of the early rain.⁴ As to protection from man and beast, see HUR.

To reap is קָצַר. Two names of implements have been preserved (מִנְיָה only in Dt. [169; 23:26]; מִנְיָה only in Jer. [50:16; AV mg. scythe⁵] and Joel

7. Reaping.

[3 (41):3]; δρέπανον); but whether they refer to the same thing or to varieties, we do not know. Perhaps the commonest method was to pull up by the root (see fig. 5), a practice confined in ancient Egypt to certain crops, but still followed both in Egypt and in Palestine. The use of *sickles* in Canaan in very early times is, however, proved by the finding of sickle flints⁶ at Tell-el-Hesi in the earliest and all succeeding layers, while the use of iron sickles by the Jews in at least pre-Hellenistic times is proved

by the finding of the specimen represented in fig. 7. By putting together different allusions,⁷ we can follow the various steps. The reaper (קָצֵר) filled his hand



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

1 In Am. 9:13 מִנְיָה is used of the process of sowing.
 2 It is not unlikely that מִנְיָה is to be dropped, with We. Ch. and Du. (agnosca Dt.), מִנְיָה.
 3 According to Strabo, this was done also in Babylon (cp above, col. 78, n. 2), and in ancient Egypt the seed was sometimes, especially in the Old Empire, trodden in by sheep (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, ET 429; not goats), in the time of Herodotus by swine.
 4 On the stages and accidents of growth cp Vogelstein, § 10.
 5 For מִנְיָה, which AV mg. thrice renders 'scythe,' EV has, more correctly, PRUNING-HOOKS (p. v.).
 6 The method of setting the sickle flints is shown by the specimens found by Dr. Petrie in Egypt (*Illahun*, etc. pl. 7 no. 27; see above, fig. 6).
 7 E.g., Ruth 2:23; Ps. 129:7; Is. 17:5; Job 24:24; Jer. 9:22 [21].

(עָר) with ears (שֵׁבִילִים) of the standing corn (קָמָה), and with his arm (רֶגֶל) reaped them (קָצַר). The stalks (קֶנֶף) were, in Egypt, and still are, in Palestine, cut pretty high up (Anderliind; knee high). They must sometimes have been cut, whether at this or at a later stage, very near the ear (רֶגֶשׁ שֵׁבִילָה Job 24:24). The armfuls (עֲמִיר) would fall (Jer. 9:22 [23]) in a heap (עֲפָרָה) behind the reaper, to be gathered, to be gathered by the reaper, in his bosom (בְּשֵׁמֶרֶת) and tied (מָצִיט) into sheaves (שֵׁבִילִים) and set in heaps (הֲמִילָה) ¹

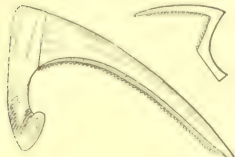


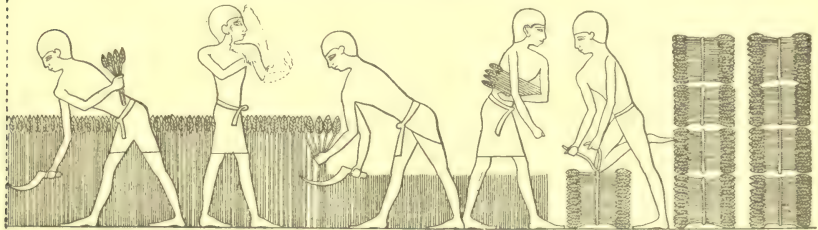
FIG. 6.—Sickle with cutting edge of flints found at Lilian. After Petrie.

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



FIG. 7.—Iron sickle found at Tell of Hes. After PEFQ.

supposed ² that already in Amos's time the bundles (עָר) may sometimes have been heaped into a heavy



8.—Sickling and bundling. After Lepsius.

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

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

¹ It is hardly possible to determine how many of these terms are practically synonyms. According to Vogelstein *op. cit.* 61 ff., the loose עָרָם were tied into אֲרָפִים and piled into עֲרָם, while עָרָם (see *Excurs. I.*) is an entirely distinct word meaning hay.

² E.g., by Wellhausen.
³ So, e.g., Hoffman and Wetzstein in *ZATW.*

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

The threshing then seems to have been done in two ways: either (b) by driving cattle round the floor on the loosely scattered stalks till their hoofs gradually trampled (עָרַם) out the grain (עָרָה), for which purpose oxen ⁴ were used (Hos. 10:11), ⁵ or (c) by special implements. ⁶

The instruments mentioned, which were drawn usually by oxen, are (a) חֲרִיבָה (חֲרִיבָה), חֲרִיבָה (חֲרִיבָה); ⁷ (b) עֲרָה with אֲוֶן ⁸ (wheel) prefixed (Is. 28:27), and perhaps alone (Am. 2:13; see, however, *W. ad loc.*). These two sets of expressions probably correspond pretty closely to two instruments still in use in Palestine, and a description of them and their use will be the nearest we can come to an account of their ancient representatives.

a. The Syrian *nōrag* (חֲרִיבָה) is a wooden drag ⁹ (see fig. 10) with a rough under-surface, which when drawn over the stalks chops them up. The illustration needs few explanations. The roughness is produced by the skilful insertion in holes, a cubic inch in size, of blocks of basalt (מַטֵּיִת Is. 41:15) which protrude (when new) some inch and a half. The sledge is weighted by heavy stones, or by the weight of the driver, who, when tired, lies down and even sleeps, or sits on a three-legged stool.

β. The *Hilān* of Northern Syria, called in Egypt by ¹ חֲרִיבָה, ² K. חֲרִיבָה. ³ But in 1 K. 22:11 חֲרִיבָה is probably distinguished by עָרָם. ⁴ So written, without dagesh, by Baer. ⁵ It is not clear how the horses of Is. 28:28 are supposed to be used. Du. proposes to read חֲרִיבָה as a verb. ⁶ In Egypt in later times oxen were so used, three in a line, with their heads bound together at the horns by a beam (see fig. 9), or in the ancient empire, donkeys, ten in a line; so in modern Syria, the line being called a *ḥaran*. ⁷ Just as several rods are used together in method (a), so there could be duplicates of *ḥaran* (b), or of implement (c), or mixtures of (b) and (c) used simultaneously, as now in Ḥaurān. ⁸ Threshing-wain, Job 41:30 [31] RV. ⁹ Clearly some kind of sharp instrument of iron (2 S. 12:31 = 1 C1; 20:3), E.V. "harrow," Hoffman, *ibid.* חֲרִיבָה חֲרִיבָה.

¹ Perhaps by a gloss we have here independent names for one thing (Is. 41:15). By חֲרִיבָה (Judg. 8:7, 16), which some would add here, the Talmud (with חֲרִיבָה [once]); *ḤḤAL* (once) translates understands "thistles": a view that is confirmed by the existence in modern Egyptian Arabic of a word *berkūn* as the name of a thorny plant. See BIERER, 1.
² *Op. cit.* alone = (threshing) wheel, Prov. 20:26 RV
³ Some 7 ft. x 3 ft. x 2 in.

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



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

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

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

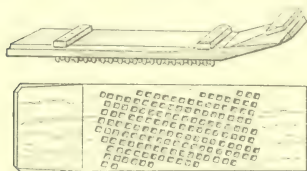


FIG. 10.—Syrian threshing-sledge. After Benzinger.

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



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

handle of the winnowing instrument, or even with a special two-pronged fork (*deiḡal*, δειγέλλα)—the mixed mass (*daris*) of grain (*habb*), chopped straw (*tibn* תבן), and chaff etc. (*tayyār*), is formed into a heap (*'arama*), to make room for a new *tarha*.

¹ The Mishna seems to assume the practice in *Kelim* 107 טל תבן—טל. טל תבן. It is doubtful whether the preceding phrase referring to a practice, reported by some travellers, of bandaging the eyes of the oxen in threshing. Philological considerations would give the preference to Maimonides's explanation: 'Saccus pellicus in quem colligunt stercus jumentis ne possint trivivum dum trivivatur.'

The process of winnowing (רר) is often mentioned. Two names of instruments are preserved, the *nōra* (EV 9. Winnowing, 'fan') in Is. (30²⁴) and Jer. (15⁷), and the *raḡ* (EV 'shovel') in Is. alone (30²⁴).¹ They seem to refer to different things: perhaps to

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

In modern Syria the *midrā* (see fig. given in Wetzstein, *op. cit.* below, § 17) is a wooden fork almost 6 ft. in length, with some at least of its five or six prongs separately inserted, so that they are easily repaired. The prongs are bound together by fresh hide, which on shrinking forms a tight band. The *raḡ* is a kind of wooden shovel (see fig. in Wetzstein, *l.c.*), with a handle 4 ft. long. It is used chiefly for piling the grain, but also for winnowing leguminous plants and certain parts of the *daris* that have had to be re-threshed. The winnowers stand to the E. of the *'arama* heap, and (sometimes first with a two-pronged fork called *sha'ul* and then), with the *midrā*, either toss

the *daris* against the wind or straight up, or simply let it fall from the inverted fork, according to the strength of the evening W. breeze. While the chaff is blown away some 10 to 15 ft. or more, the straw (*tibn*) falls at a shorter distance, and is preserved for fodder; the heavy grain, unbruised ears, and joints of stems, fall almost where they were, ready for sifting.

Strange to say, in the case of sifting it is the names of the implement that are best preserved. The *nōra* is called *Kēḡhārāh* (רזרז, ³ Am. 9²¹) and *ḡāḡ* (רז, Is. 30²⁸). In the former case probably the good grain, in the latter probably the refuse, passes through. In modern Syria there are



FIG. 12.—Winnowing. After Erman.



FIG. 13.—Sifting. After Lepsius.

probably the good grain, in the latter probably the refuse, passes through. In modern Syria there are

¹ Ⓞ omits these words; but πρῶτον occurs repeatedly in the NT.
² Fleischer denies any philological connection between *Ar. raḡ* and *רז*, regarding the former as a Persian word, borrowed in the sense of *tool*.
³ But Ⓞ ἄκωος.

two main kinds of sieve used on the threshing-floor. They are made of a hoop of wood with a mesh-work of strips of camel-hide put on fresh, and become tight in drying. The coarser meshed *kirbāl* is like the *kebhārah* of Amos. When the winnowed heap is sifted with it, the grains of wheat pass through, while the unbruised ears etc. remain in the sieve,¹ and are flung back into the *tarha* to be re-threshed. The finer meshed *ghirbāl* is like the *מַנְהַל* of Is. 30:28; all dust, bruised grains, etc. pass through, but none of the good wheat.

When the grain has been finally separated, it is heaped with the *raht* in hemispherical piles (*sobba*), which probably represent the *ārema* (עֵרְמָה) of the metaphor in Cant. 7:3 (Heb.). By this Boaz slept (Ru. 3:7), as do the owners still, while (as a further precaution) private marks are made on the surface, and a scarecrow is set up.

Storage.—In Jer., Dt., Joel, Ps., 2 Ch., there are names of places for keeping stores of grain;² but we do not know anything about them.³ In the dark days of Gedaliah corn and other stores were hidden in the ground (Jer. 41:8); dry cisterns hewn out of the rock are still so used. For a representation of an ancient cistern see ZDPV 8, opp. p. 69. The mouth is just wide enough to admit a man's body, and can be carefully covered over. Grain will keep in these cisterns for years.

2. Next falls to be considered the dependence of agriculture on the general condition of the people, a dependence that is very obvious from the present state of agriculture in Palestine.

In the days of Israel's greatness, when agriculture was the chief occupation of the people, the population,

11. **General conditions.** whatever may have been its numerical strength, was certainly enough to bring the country, even in places that are now quite barren, into a state of cultivation. The land would be full of husbandmen tilling their fields by day, and returning to their villages at night. Yet, down to the end of the monarchy, the old nomadic life still had its admirers (Jer. 35), who, like the Bedouin of to-day, would despise the settled tiller of the soil. At the other extreme also, in such a society as is described, e.g., by Amos and Isaiah, there was an aristocracy that had little immediate connection with the land it owned. Slave labour would doubtless, as elsewhere, be a weak point in the agricultural system, tending to lower its status (Zech. 13:5; Ecclus. 7:15 [16]); though this would not preclude the existence, at some period or other, of honourable offices such as those attributed by the Chronicler to the age of David (1 Ch. 27:25-31). After making allowance for homiletic colouring, we are bound to suppose that agricultural enterprise must have suffered grievously from a sense of insecurity in regard to the claims of property, and from the accumulation of debts, with their attendant horrors. Civil disturbances (such as those abounding in the later years of Hosea) and foreign wars would, in later times, take the place of exposure to the inroads of nomadic tribes. The burden of taxation and forced labour (1 S. 8:12) would, as now in many eastern lands, foster the feelings that find expression in the narrative of the great schism (1 K. 12:4) and in some of the accounts of the rise of the kingdom (on the 'king's mowings,' Am. 7:1, see MOWINGS and GOVERNMENT, § 20).

The existence of an effort to ameliorate evils of the kind to which allusion has just been made, and of a consciousness of their inconsistency with the true national life, is attested by the

12. **Laws.** inclusion in the Pentateuchal codes of a considerable number of dicta on agricultural matters, in which we see

¹ For מַנְהַל is most likely *stones*.

² מִקְדָּשֵׁי, מִקְדָּשֵׁי, מִקְדָּשֵׁי, מִקְדָּשֵׁי, מִקְדָּשֵׁי, NT ἀποθήκη.

³ In Egypt corn was stored in buildings with a flat roof reached by an outside stair. There were two openings, or sets of openings, near the top, for pouring in the grain, and near the bottom, for withdrawing it (see model in Brit. Mus.).

how religious sanctions became attached to traditional agricultural practices.

Already in the *Book of the Covenant* a fallow year (Ex. 23:11), once in seven, is prescribed for the sake of the poor and the beast, and a day of rest (v. 12), once in seven, for the sake of the cattle and the slave; while the principle is laid down that for damage done to a neighbour's field reparation must be made (Ex. 22:5 f. [4 f.]). In the *Deuteronomic Code*, if there is already the precept against sowing in a vineyard two kinds of seed (22:9), or ploughing with an ox and an ass together (22:10), and the requirement of a tithe (14:22), there are still such maxims as the sacredness of property (19:14, landmarks; = Prov. 22:28 = 23:10a [cp Job 24:2], and, in the form of a curse, Dt. 27:17) on the one hand, and, on the other, generous regard for the needs of others (23:25 [26], plucking ears; 24:19, sheaf; 20, olive; 21:23-24 [23], grapes), even of beasts (25:4, muzzle), with a provision against abuse of the privilege (23:25 [26], no sickle; 23:24 [25], no vessel); while an effort is made to moderate the damage done to agriculture by war (20:7, exemption from conscription; 20:19 f., preserve trees). In the *Priestly Code* there is still, in the remarkable collection preceding the last chapter of Leviticus, a further development of the provision for the poor at harvest time (19:9, corners = 23:22), with a repetition of the charitable maxims (19:9 f.); but there is on the whole an emphasising of such prescriptions as non-mixture of seeds (19:19), defilement of seed (11:37 f.), uncircumcision of fruit-trees (19:23-25), strict calculation of dates of agricultural year (23:16); while the Jubile year makes its appearance. Here we are appreciably nearer the details of such discussions as those in *Zera'im* etc. Of course, the question how far such maxims made themselves felt in actual practice, or even as a moral directive force, is not answered by pointing out their existence in literary form.

III. We pass now to the consideration of agriculture as a factor in the life of the people.

That agriculture was an important element in popular life is very evident. Land was measured by yokes

13. **Common life.** (1 S. 14:14; Is. 5:10) and valued by the amount of seed it needed (Lev. 27:16).

Time was measured by harvests (Judith 22:7), and places were identified by the crops growing on them (2 S. 23:11, lentils; 1 Ch. 11:13, barley). Tilling the soil was proverbially the source of wealth (Pr. 12:11; 28:19); implements not needed for other purposes would as a matter of course be turned to agricultural use (Is. 2:4)—and so on. That work in the fields was not confined to slaves and people of no culture is evident, not only from the existence of such narratives as that of Joseph's dream, but also from what is told of Saul (1 S. 11:5), and Elisha (1 K. 19:19), and Amos (7:14) before they appeared on the stage of history. On the other hand, the narrator of the story of Ruth seems to represent neither Boaz himself nor his deputy as doing more than overseeing and encouraging the labourers (Ru. 2:5); and in the time of the writer of Zech. 13:5 (RV) a tiller of the soil seemed to be most naturally a purchased slave, while the ideal of the writer of Is. 61:5 is that ploughmen and vine-dressers should be aliens.

At all times, however, even the rich owner entered naturally into the spirit of the agricultural life. If it was perhaps only in the earlier times that he actually ploughed or even followed the oxen, he would at all times be present on the cheerful harvest field and visit his vineyard to see the work of the labourers (Mt. 20:8), his sons included (Mt. 21:28), and give directions about the work (Lk. 13:7), when he would listen respectfully to the counsel of his men (Lk. 13:8 f.). It was not derogatory, in the mind of the Chronicler, to kingly dignity to interest one's self in agriculture (2 Ch. 26:10).²

¹ The text of 2 S. 23:11 is very beautiful; cp Dr. *ad loc.*

² The meaning of Ecclus. 5:9 [8] is obscure.

and a proverb-writer points out the superiority of the quiet prosperity of the husbandman to an insecure *chaulem* (Prov. 27 23-27).

Not unnaturally it is the life of harvest-time that has been most fully preserved to us. We can see the men, especially the younger men (Ru. 29), cutting the grain, the young children¹ going out to their fathers (2 K. 4:18) in the field, the jealousies that might spring up between the reapers (Gen. 37), and the dangers that young men and maidens might be exposed to (Ru. 29 perh. Hos. 9:1 f.), the simple fare of the reapers (Ru. 2:14), and the unrestrained joviality of the evening meal (Ru. 37) after the hot day's work (2 K. 4:10), the poor women and girls gleaning behind the reapers and usually finding more than they seem sometimes to find nowadays, beating out the grain (Ru. 2:17) in the evening and carrying it away in a mantle to the older ones at home (Ru. 3:15), not only the labourers but also the owners sleeping by the corn heaps at night (Ru. 37), so that the villages would, as now in Palestine and Egypt, be largely emptied of inhabitants. The Egyptian monuments could be drawn on for further illustrations.

Such a mode of life had naturally a profound effect on the popular sentiment, the religious conscience, and, in time, the literary thought of the people; and, to complete our survey of the subject, a few words must be said here on these matters.

That the agricultural mode of life was regarded as originating in the earliest ages is evident from Gen. 3 and 4;² but it was sometimes regarded as a curse (3:17 f.), or at least as inferior to pastoral life (4:3 f.), while at other times nomadic life was a curse (4:12), instead of being a natural stage (4:20). These two sides are perhaps reflected in the glowing descriptions in which certain writers delight—e.g., Dt. 33:28: a tilled land of corn and wine and oil (Dt. 87-9), a pasture land flowing with milk and honey (Ezek. 206). This land, which is lovingly contrasted with other lands (Ezek. 206:15), was felt to be a gift of Yahwè to his people, and specially under his watchful care (Dt. 11:12). The agricultural life was, therefore, also of his appointment (Gen. 3:23; Ecclus. 7:15 [16]), and indeed lay as the basis of his Torah. From him the husbandman received the principles of his practice (Is. 28:26), as also, he depended absolutely on Yahwè for the bringing into operation of the natural forces (Dt. 11:14) without which all his labour would be in vain (v. 17). This, however, was only a ground of special security (Dt. 11:12), for no other god could give such blessings as rain (Jer. 14:22), and Yahwè did give them (Jer. 5:24). If they were not forthcoming, therefore, it was because Yahwè had withheld them (Am. 4:7), and this was because of his people's sins (Jer. 5:25), which also brought more special curses (Dt. 28:38-40). The recognition of Yahwè had, therefore, a prominent place in connection with the stages of agricultural industry (see FEASTS, § 4), the success of which was felt to depend on the nation's rendering him in general loyal obedience (Dt. 11:8-17); the land itself was Yahwè's; the people were but tenants (Lev. 25:23); and the moving of the ancient landmarks, though not unknown, was a great wrong (Job 24:2). Some of the moral aspects of agricultural life have been already sufficiently touched on. It is probable that many of the maxims referred to were widely observed, being congruent with the better spirit of the people. Thus Amos records it as an outrage on the ordinary sentiments of common charity, that even the refuse of the wheat should be sold for gain (Am. 8:6). Other maxims, again, can be little traced in practice.

In this description of Hebrew ideas we have taken no note of the differences between earlier and later times. Deuteronomy and the prophets have been the main

¹ Several children may sometimes now be seen weighting and driving the threshing-sledge.

² Cp also Gen. 1:28 f. and WRS *R52*: 307.

authority. In the public consciousness, however, there lived on much of the old Canaanitish popular belief, in which the *Bd'ālim* hold the place here assigned to Yahwè, so that, e.g., the fertile spot is the Baal's plot of land, who waters it from unseen sources, underground or in the heavens (see BAAL, § 1)—a mode of expression that lived on into Mishna times, although its original meaning had been long forgotten.

The influence on Hebrew literature was very deep. The most cursory reader¹ must have observed how much

15. Literature. the modes of expression reflect the agricultural life. Prophetic descriptions of an ideal future abound in scenes conceived in agricultural imagery.² Great joy is likened to the joy of harvest (Is. 16:6 f.); what is evanescent is like chaff that is burned up or blown away; something unexpected is like cold (Pr. 25:13), or rain (Pr. 26:1), in harvest—and so on. Lack of space prevents proof in detail of how, on the one hand, figures and modes of speech are drawn from all the operations and natural phenomena of agriculture, while, on the other hand, every conceivable subject is didactically or artistically illustrated by ideas and expressions from the same source. It is a natural carrying forward in the NT of this mode of thought, to find Jesus publishing his epoch-making doctrines of the 'kingdom' so largely through the help of the same imagery. No doubt the commonest general expression is 'kingdom'; but even this often becomes a vineyard, or a field, or a tree, or a seed; and it is extended by sowing etc. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject farther. The whole mode of thought has passed over into historical Christianity, and thus into all the languages of the world.

16. Historical. We shall now in closing give some fragmentary notes towards a historical outline of the subject.

The traditional account of the mode of life of the ancestors of Israel in the earliest times introduces agricultural activity only as an exceptional incident. Agriculture must be rudimentary in the case of a nomadic people. That Canaan, on the other hand, was for the most part well under cultivation,³ when the Israelites settled in the highlands, there can be no doubt. The Egyptian Mohar found a garden at Joppa,⁴ and of the agricultural produce claimed by Thotmes III. at the hands of the Rutennu⁵ some at least must have been grown in Palestine. Israel doubtless learned from the Canaanite not only the art of war (Judg. 3:2), but also the more peaceful arts of tilling the soil, which, as the narratives of Judges and Samuel prove, were practised with success, while it is even stated that Solomon sent to Hiram yearly 20,000 Kor of wheat and 20,000 Bath of oil (1 K. 5:11 [25] Var. Bible). Later, Ezekiel (27:17; see Cornill) tells us how Judah bartered wheat with Tyre,⁶ as well as honey, oil, balm, and *zib* (see PANNAG); which illustrates the tradition in 1 K. 20:34 (see COT) that there were bazaars (see TRADE; STRANGER, § 2) for Israelitish merchants in Damascus, and for those of Damascus in Samaria. It is strange, but true, that in the very period to which this last notice refers, there arose a popular reaction against the precious legacies of Canaanitish civilisation (see RECHABITES). The Assyrian conquest of Samaria naturally checked for a time the cultivation of the soil (2 K. 17:25, lions), the colonists introduced by Sargon and Āsur-bāni-pal being imperfectly adapted to their new home. In Judaea under Gedaliah the Jews 'gathered wine and summer

¹ Even of the English version, which sometimes hides such metaphors as, e.g., 'ploughing evil'—translated 'deviseth,' Prov. 6:14.

² Am. 9:13 f.; Hos. 14:6 f. [7 f.]; Mic. 4:4; Jer. 31:12; Zech. 8:12; Mal. 3:11.

³ The implements found at Tell-el-Hesi appear to carry us back to the earliest days.

⁴ Cp *RP* 180-181; 2:113.

⁵ *Ibid.* 23 and cp Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* (91), p. 167.

⁶ Cp a similar relation in the time of Herod (Acts 12:20).

fruits very much' (Jer. 40, 12), and had stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey, carefully hidden in the ground (Jer. 41, 8). In Is. 41, 15 mention is for the first time explicitly made of a threshing instrument with teeth (מַסְבֵּי); but whether this was of recent introduction it is impossible to determine. On the fall of the Babylonian power the old relations with Tyre were doubtless renewed (Ezra 3, 7; cp Is. 23, 15, 18). The imperial tribute, however, is regarded as heavier than the agricultural resources of the country could then well bear (Neh. 5, 3 f.). This tribute may have been partly in money (5, 4), but also apparently to a considerable extent in produce (Neh. 9, 37, אֲבוּרֵי). In Joel, of course, there is a description of agricultural distress, but in such a way as to imply that agriculture was in general receiving full attention. In Eccles. (25, f.) there is acquaintance, as in other things, so in agriculture, with several artificial contrivances. To go into the detailed accounts of the Mishna is beyond the present purpose.

For complete bibliographies see the larger Cyclopaedias, Biblical and Classical. Of special treatises may be mentioned that of vol. 29 of the *Thes.* of Ugolinius; of special articles, see *agrippa* in *Encyclopaedia generalis*, in *Mod. Palestine*, Anderlin, ZDPV 9, 1 ff.; Klein, *ib.* 3, 100-115, 638-641, but especially 1, 27-34.; *Prosk. PEF.* 1881, p. 119, B.; on the passage, Schumacher, ZDPV 12, 157-161.; on *sikkles*, F. C. J. Spirell in *Archaeolog. Journ.* 49, no. 193, 1892, p. 54 ff. and Plate I., fig. 1; on *threshing sledge*, Wetstein, *Z. f. Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 270 ff.; on *winnowing*, Wetstein in *Del. Isa.* 28, 703 f.; on the *silver*, Wetstein, ZDPV 14, 1 ff.; on *place in OT literature*, O. Ungewitter, *Die landwirtschaftlichen Bilder u. Metaphorn i. d. Ant.*, *Büch. d. AT* (Königsbg., 1885); on *later usage*, Hermann Vogelstein, *Die Landwirtschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Mischna*, I. (Berlin, 1894), a dissertation that did not reach the writer till this article had been written. H. W. H.

AGRIPPA (אַרְיִיפָּא), Acts 25, f. + See HERODIAN FAMILY, 7.

AGUR (אָגוּר; so Pesh.; אָגוּר; but C and Vg. translating, φοβηθητι [BAM]; *Conjunctivus*), b. Jakeh, an author of moral verses (Prov. 30, 1). His name is variously explained as 'hiring' of wisdom (Bar Bahlul) and 'collector' of words of Torah (Midr. *Schemot R.*, par. 6). Such theories assume that Solomon is the author of the verses, which (see PROVERBS) is impossible. All the description given of him in the heading is 'the author of wise poems' (read, not אָגוּרֵי, but אָגוּרֵי, with Grätz, Cheyne, Bickell). Very possibly the name is a pseudonym. The poet who 'takes up his parable' in v. 5 expresses sentiments very different from those of Agur; he seeks to counteract the bold and scarcely Israelitish sentiments of his predecessor.

See *Ew., Salom. Schriften* 250 ff.; *Che., Job and Solomon* 149 ff.; *Jewish Rel. Life*, Lect. V.; *Smeid, AT Rel.-gesch.* 479 f.; and, with caution, *Dillon, Scriptures of the OT*, 131 ff. 269 ff. Cp also PROVERBS; ITHIEL II.; LEMUEL. T. K. C.

AHAB (אַחָאב; § 65, 'father's brother', cp Ahiam and the Assy. woman's name, Ahat-abüsu, and Wi. ZA, 1898, Heft 1; also אַחָאב [for אַחָאב] on an inscription from Sata *Journ.*, As. 1881, 19, 493 f.). 1. אַחָאב [BAI], -אָאָ [A once]; *Achab*; Assy. *Ahabbu*.) Son of Omri, and king of Israel (875-853? B.C. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 32, and table in § 37). The importance of this king's reign is shown by the large space devoted to it in the Book of Kings.

1. Sources. To obtain a just idea of his character, however, is not easy, the Israelitish traditions being derived from two very different sources, in one of which the main interest was the glorification of the prophets, while the other was coloured by patriotic feelings, and showed a strong partiality for the brave and bold king. To the former belong 1 K. 17-19 and 21; to the latter, chaps. 20 and 22.² Both groups of narratives are very old; but the former is more difficult than the latter to understand historically. In chaps. 20 and 22 we

seem to get nearer to the facts of history than in chaps. 17-19, 21; at the same time we must remember that even here we have to deal, not with extracts from the royal annals, but with popular traditions which are liable to exaggeration, especially at the hands of well-meaning interpolators.¹ The story of Ahab in his relation to Elijah has been considered elsewhere (see ELIJAH, § 1, f.). We can hardly deny that the writer exalts the prophet to the disadvantage of the king. Ahab

2. Ahab's policy. was not an irreligious man, but his interests were mainly secular. He wished to see Israel free and prosperous, and he did not believe that the road to political salvation and physical ease lay through the isolation of his people from all foreign nations. The most pressing danger to Israel seemed to him to lie in its being slowly but surely Aramaised, which would involve the depression and perhaps the ultimate extinction of its national peculiarities. Both under Baasha and under Omri, districts of Israelitish territory had been annexed to the kingdom of Damascus, and it seemed to Ahab to be his life's work to guide himself, not by the requirements of Yahwé's prophets, but by those of political prudence. Hence he not only maintained a firm hold on Moab, but also made himself indispensable as an ally to the king of Judah, if he did not even become, in a qualified sense, his suzerain (see JHOSIAPIAH, 1). Besides this, he formed a close alliance with Ethbaal, king of Tyre (Jos. *Ant.*, viii, 13, 1), whose daughter Jezebel (Baalzebel?) he married. The object of this alliance was doubtless the improvement of Israel's commerce. The drawback of it was that it required on Ahab's part an official recognition of the Tyrian Baal² (commonly known as Melkart), which was the more offensive because the contrast between the cultus even of the Canaanitish Baalim and that of the God of Israel was becoming stronger and stronger, owing to the prophetic reaction against the earlier fusion of worships. Ahab himself had no thought of apostatising from Yahwé, nor did he destroy the altars of Yahwé and slay his prophets. Indeed, four hundred prophets of Yahwé are said to have prophesied before him when he set out on his fatal journey to Ramath Gilead. His children, too, receive the significant names of Athaliah, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.

We can understand Ahab's point of view. But for its moral dangers, we might call it thoroughly justifiable. It was of urgent importance to recover the lost Israelitish territory and to secure the kingdom of Israel against foreign invasion. If Israel were absorbed by Damascus, what would become of the worship of Yahwé? To this question Elijah would have given the answer which AMOS (v. v., § 18) gave after him: 'Perish Israel, rather than that the commandments of Yahwé should be dishonoured.' Jezebel's judicial murder of Naboth and Ahab's tame acquiescence showed Elijah what might be expected from the continued combination of two heterogeneous religions. It was for the murder of Naboth that Elijah threatened king Ahab with death.³

¹ We must begin, however, with an analysis of the narratives. Van Doornik (*U. v. l.*, 1896, pp. 271-274) has made it highly probable that the narrative of the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek in 1 K. 20 has received many interpolations tending to make the deliverance of the Israelites more wonderful, in addition to those already pointed out by We. (*U. v. l.*, 1896, p. 271) and Kautz. (*U. v. l.*, § 25, n. 10).

² Of Baalath, the female counterpart of Baal, the Hebrew tradition makes no mention. It is an interpolator who has introduced into 1 K. 18, 10 the words 'and the prophets of the Ashera, 400,' which are wanting in the MT of v. 22, though supplied in *Chil.* [Chil. omits 400 in v. 22] (cp WRS, *RS* 189; We. *U. v. l.* 281; Klo. *Sa.* *As.* 367; Ki. in *Kau.* 115). Of course, Baalath may have had her cultus by the side of Baal, but not in such a way as to strike Israelitish observers. Nor could either Baalath or Astarte (Jezebel's father) had been a priest of Astarte, Jos. *c. A. J.* 18 (Jezebel was called 'the Asherah' by a contemporary writer).

³ Note that 1 K. 21, 23, 26—in which (1) the whole house of Ahab is threatened, and (2) the punishment is connected with Ahab's religious policy—forms no part of the old narrative (see Ki. in *Kau.* 115).

¹ Cp Nöldeke, 'Verwandschaftsnamen als Personennamen' in *Kleinigkeiten zur semitischen Onomastologie* (*WZKM* 6, 307-316 [1902]).

² See KINGS, § 8, and cp Ki. *Gesch.* 2, 134-136 [ET. 2, 214-216].

and it was probably for this, or for other unrecorded moral offences of Ahab and the partizans of Baal, that the uncourtly prophet Micaiah 'never prophesied good concerning Ahab, but evil' (1 K. 228).

To what precise period of Ahab's reign his encounters with Elijah belong, we are not told. Nor is it at all certain to which years the events recorded in 1 K. 20 are to be referred. To the popular traditions further reference is made elsewhere (see ISRAEL, HISTORY OF, § 29). Suffice it to say here that they show us Ahab's better side; we can understand from them that to such a king much could be forgiven. Our remaining

3. Mesha space will be devoted to the two inscriptions relative to episodes in the life of Ahab. The earliest record comes from MOAB (*q.v.*).

Inscription. King Mesha informs us in his famous inscription (*l. 8*) that Moab had been made tributary to Israel by Omri, and that this subjection had continued 'during Omri's days and half of his son's days, forty years,' after which took place the great revolt of Moab.¹ How this statement is to be reconciled with that in 2 K. 1:34 need not be here considered. It is, at any rate, clear that the loss of the large Moabitish tribute, and of the contingent which Moab would have to furnish to Israelitish armies, must

have been felt by Ahab severely. The

4. Shalmaneser II.'s second mention of this king occurs in the Monolith Inscription of SHALMANESER II. (*l. 27-8*). In the list there

given of the allied kings of Syria whose forces were defeated by Shalmaneser at the battle of Karkar (near the river Orontes) in 854 B.C. occurs the name of Ahabbu Sir'lai, which, as most scholars are now agreed, can only mean Ahab² of Israel³ (or, as Hommel thinks, of Jezreel). Two important questions arise out of this record. (1) Did Ahab join Bir'idri

5. Why was Ahab at Karkar? (Benhadad I.) of Damascus of his own accord, jealousies being neutralised by dread of a common foe?

or was he a vassal of Bir'idri, bound to accept the foreign policy of his suzerain and to support it with (or at any rate through) his warriors on the field of battle? The former alternative is adopted by Kittel⁴ and M'Curdy; the latter by Wellhausen and Winckler. To discuss this here at length is impossible. The remarks of Wellhausen will seem to most students very cogent. 'If feelings of hostility existed at all between Ahab and Benhadad, then Ahab could not do otherwise than congratulate himself that in the person of Shalmaneser II. there had arisen against Benhadad an enemy who would be able to keep him effectually in check. That Shalmaneser might prove dangerous to himself probably did not at that time occur to him; but if it had, he would still have chosen the remote in preference to the immediately threatening evil. For it was the political existence of Israel that was at stake in the struggle with Damascus.'⁵ Cp BEN-HADAD, § 2.

It does not follow, however, that we must give Wellhausen's answer to the second question, which is (2) Are the events related in 1 K. 20:22, with the exception of the contest for Ramath Gilead, to be placed before or after the battle of Karkar (854 B.C.)? It is, no doubt, highly plausible to suppose that

¹ For a somewhat different view, see CHRONOLOGY, § 20, n. 1.

² Against Kamph's view, that Ahab is mentioned by a mistake of the Assyrian scribe instead of Joram, cp Schr. *AGF* 290.

³ The form Sir'lai may be illustrated by the vocalisation אֲחָב אֲשֶׁר לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, 1 Ch. 4:16, which Lag. (*Uebes.* 132) thinks may represent the original pronunciation rather than אֲחָבִי.

⁴ Ki., however, after adopting this view of the course of events in his narrative, turns round, and with some hesitation indicates his preference for the view of Kamph. (*Chronologie der Hebr. Kön.* 80), held also formerly by We., according to which the Assyrian scribe confounds Ahab with his son Jehoram (*Hist.* 2:273). On the whole question cp Schr. *AGF* 356-371.

⁵ *Hist.* (61). So the conservative critic Köhler (*Bibl. Gesch.* 379). On the other side, see M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1:277 ff.

Ahab took advantage of the blow dealt to the power of Damascus at Karkar to shake off the suzerainty of Benhadad: so far, at least, it seems reasonable to follow Wellhausen. But it is not likely that, considering the threatening attitude of Assyria, Benhadad would have thought it prudent to fritter away his strength on those 'furious attacks' on Israel to which Wellhausen refers;¹ it is not likely, in short, that the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek are to be placed after 854 B.C. It may be asked, if they are not placed thus, where are we to find room for them? In 1 K. 20:23-34, Ahab is represented as gaining the mastery over Benhadad, who has to make most humiliating concessions to him. After such a success, how can we account for Ahab's enforced presence at Karkar as vassal of Benhadad? The answer is that tradition selects its facts, and that the facts which it selects it idealises as an artist would idealise them. We may admit that Ahab, in his obstinate and patriotic resistance to Damascus, was not unvisited by gleams of good fortune; but the fact, which tradition itself records, that he was once actually besieged in his capital, cannot have stood alone. Of Ahab's other misfortunes in war tradition is silent; but we can easily imagine that the power which was too strong for Omri was at last able to force his son to send a large contingent to the army which was to meet Shalmaneser at Karkar.

That the siege of Samaria, at any rate, was before 854 B.C. is rendered probable by the criticism given elsewhere (see JEHORAM, 1, § 2) of the narrative in 2 K. 7. In particular, the kings of the Hittites and of *Musri*, who are referred to in v. 6, are just those with whom Benhadad would have to deal before 854 B.C., while Shalmaneser was still occupied at a distance.

The above solution of the historical problem is that of Winckler, which unites elements of Wellhausen's view and of that of Kittel.

The last-named critic deserves credit for an ingenious explanation (*Gesch.* 2:232) of the magnanimity attributed to Ahab in 1 K. 20:31-34. It will be remembered that, according to Kittel, Ahab sent forces to Karkar of his own accord, not as a vassal of Benhadad. This enables him to suggest that the king of Israel may have spared his rival's life in order to enlist him in a coalition against Assyria, the idea of which (according to this hypothesis) was Ahab's. It must be confessed, however, that this view ascribes more foresight to Ahab than, according to Amos (*q.v.*, § 5), was possessed by the Israelites even at a later day, and it was certainly unknown to the compiler of our traditions, who makes no mention of the battle of Karkar.

We may regard it, then, as highly probable that the battle of Karkar was fought at some time in the 'three (?) years without war between Syria and Israel' mentioned in 1 K. 22:1.

The numbers of the force assigned by Shalmaneser in his inscription to Ahab (2000 chariots, 10,000 men),

7. Ahab's army. as compared with those assigned to other kings,² deserve attention. It is possible, no doubt, as Winckler suggests, that contingents from Judah and Moab were reckoned among the warriors of Ahab.³ This does not, however, greatly diminish the significance of the numbers. After all, the men of Judah were southern Israelites. Even if Moabitish warriors were untrustworthy against a foe such as Benhadad, there is no reason to doubt that the men of Judah would sooner see Israel free from Benhadad than swallowed up by its deadly foe. Ahab was

8. His death. certainly no contemptible antagonist in respect to the number of warriors he could bring into the field. He himself, like David (2 S. 18:3), was 'worth ten thousand,' and the dread with which he inspired the Syrians is strikingly shown in the account of his last campaign. We read that

¹ *J.H.* 80: 2nd and 3rd ed. p. 71.

² Bir'idri (Benhadad) has 1200 chariots, 1200 horsemen, 20,000 men (Schrader, *COT* 1:186).

³ That Jehoshaphat's military support of Ahab was not altogether voluntary is surmised by We. and positively asserted by Wl. That it only began at the expedition to Ramath Gilead is too hastily supposed by Ki. (*Gesch.* 2:232 [ET, 2:272]).

down for himself. It is more important, however, to notice that this time, apparently, the tribute for Assyria was provided without any increase in the taxation. Isaiah, we may suppose, would have approved of this.

Isaiah's forecasts were verified, not, indeed, to such an extent as much modern speculation about the prophetic books demands, but as far as his own generation required. Damascus fell in 732; Samaria had a breathing time till 722; and, according to Sennacherib, there was a partial captivity of Judah in the next reign. It was after the first of these events that Ahaz first came in contact with an Assyrian king. In 734 the name of Jauhazi of Judah occurs among the names of the kings who had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser; but we have no reason to suppose that he paid it in person. It was in 732, after the fall of Damascus, that he paid homage in person to his suzerain. On this occasion he 'saw the altar that was at Damascus' (2 K. 16. 10), and, on aesthetic grounds, liked it better than the bronze altar which had hitherto been used at Jerusalem for burnt offerings. It was probably an Assyrian altar, for the Assyrians on principle introduced their own cultus into conquered cities. So Ahaz sent a model of the altar to the chief priest Uriah (cp Is. 8. 2), who at once made an altar upon the pattern, and transferred the old altar to a new position. This was, doubtless, against the will of Isaiah, who in his earliest extant prophecy so strongly denounces the love of foreign fashions. Possibly at the same time Ahaz borrowed the sun-dial (if EV rightly paraphrases the expression, 'the steps of Ahaz'; see, however, DIAL). Nor is it likely that Ahaz paused here.¹ A suggestive allusion to the addition of Ahaz to foreign worship is traceable in 2 K. 23. 12; but there is a textual difficulty in the passage (see Kamphausen's note in *Kau. IHS.*)²

The reign of Ahaz was inglorious, but on the whole peaceful. It was a severe blow to the commerce of Judah when Rezin, on the accession of Ahaz, attacked and captured Elath (on the Arabian Gulf), and restored it to its former possessors, the Edomites; but at the close of Ahaz's reign Isaiah was able to contrast the peace enjoyed by 'the poor of Yahwè's people' with the chastisement by Assyria on the restless Philistines.³

Other readings of אֶחָז are אֶחָז [B. often, *Alte Entz. 2* 100, 101, once, Qa once], אֶחָז [A twice], אֶחָז [A, 2 Ch. 18]. In Jer. 22. 15 אֶחָז 'Ahaz' takes the place of the true reading 'Ahab' of אֶחָז (see *Archiep. 1* 100).

2. אֶחָז [A]; אֶחָז [L.D. a descendant of Saul]; 1 Ch. 8. 37 (20x) [B]; 24. 10 (1x); EV MT אֶחָז; but originally inserted by G. P. B. 242 (אֶחָז) [B]. See BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. 3.

T. K. C.—W. E. A.

AHAZIAH (אֶחִיָּזָה, אֶחִיָּזָה, 'he whom Yahwè supports'; אֶחָז[ע]יָזָח [BAL]; for other readings see end of no. 2). 1. Son of Ahab and Jezebel, and king of Israel (853-851? B.C. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28 and table in § 37). A poor successor to the heroic Ahab. Once more Israel must have been dependent on Damascus, while Moab (see AHAB, § 2) continued to enjoy its recovered independence. The single political action reported of him is his offer to JEHOSEPHAT (*q.v.*, 1) to join in a trading expedition to Ophir (1 K. 22. 50). The close of his life is described in a prophetic legend of very late origin (see ELIJAH, § 3). He fell through the lattice of an upper room in his palace in Samaria, and though he lingered on a sick-bed for some time, did not recover. The story (2 K. 1. 2-17) is a painful one, and was used by Jesus to point the contrast between the unchastened zeal of his disciples and the true evangelical spirit (Lk. 9. 54-56). The one probably historical element is the consultation by Ahaziah of the oracle of Baal-zebub of Ekron. To most of Ahaziah's contemporaries his

action would have seemed quite natural' (cp 2 K. 5. 87 ff.).

2. Son of Jehoram (or Joram) and Ahab's daughter Athaliah, king of Judah (843-842? B.C. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28 and table in § 37). He was only twenty-two when he ascended the throne,² and only one event in his brief reign has been recorded—the part which he took with Jehoram king of Israel in a campaign against Hazael of Damascus. The kings of Israel and Judah laid siege to Ramah in Gilead (the place before which Ahab lost his life in battle) which was still held by the Arameans. Jehoram withdrew wounded. Ahaziah also went to his home, but afterwards visited his sick kinsman at Jezreel. During this visit JEHU (*q.v.*) revolted, and the two kings (equally obnoxious to Jehu) went forth in their chariots to meet him. Ahaziah saw his uncle Jehoram pierced by an arrow, and took to flight. As he fled in the direction of BETH-HAGGAN (*q.v.*; 2 K. 9. 27, C) Jehu dashed after him with the cry, 'Him too.' At the ascent of Gur by Ibleam, on the road to Jerusalem, he too was struck by an arrow. Thereupon he turned his horse northwest, and reached Megiddo, but died there of his wound. He was buried in the royal cemetery at Jerusalem. The conflicting account in 2 Ch. 22. 9, from whatever late source derived, is of no historical value.

(Other readings: 2 K. 9. 27 אֶחָזִיָּזָה [B]; 2 K. 14. 13 אֶחָזִיָּזָה [B]; once [A], 1 Sam. 1; 1 Ch. 22. 9 אֶחָזִיָּזָה [B]; once [A]. In 2 Ch. 22. 9 he is called Jehoram, and in 22. 9 אֶחָזִיָּזָה, 20x JERUSALEM.)

AHBAN (אֶחְבָּן, § 45, meaning obscure, for form cp Eshban, 'brother of an intelligent one' [B] [B], or less improbably 'brother has given heed,' so Gray, *III*, V 83, n. 2, who suggests the vocalisation אֶחְבָּן, i. e. Jerahmeelite family name, 1 Ch. 2. 20 (אֶחְבָּן) [B], OZA [A], נֶאֱמָר [L. cp *Ev. 2* 100]).

AHER (אֶהֶר; אֶהֶר [B], אֶהֶר [A], om. [L Pesh.]; *AHER*), a very doubtful Benjaminite name (1 Ch. 7. 12†). See II. SHIM, 2; DAN, § 9; BENJAMIN, § 9 B. a.

Be. (*in loc.*) explains the name as meaning 'the other one,' and conjectures it to be a euphemism for Dan, the express mention of the name of this tribe seeming in more than one instance to have been omitted. (See *Benjamin* 1 100, § 9.) On the other hand אֶהֶר reads 'his son' for 'the sons of' (12 for 12), and the name is entirely wanting in B1 and Pesh., the former (but perhaps originally also the latter) connecting Hushim (אֶהֶר, *hūšū*) with what goes before (see IR). See also AHARAH.

AHI (אֶהִי, § 52, probably abbrev. from AHIJAH).

1. In genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5. 15† (Vg. wrongly translated, *fratris generis*; Pesh. and B. om.). B. om. with the preceding name *fratris generis* [B]; אֶהִי אֶהִי [A].

2. In genealogy of ASUBER (1 Ch. 8. 14, 7. 47). B. 1, AHIAH being part of the following name (see I. AHIAH), produces אֶהִי אֶהִי [A], or אֶהִי אֶהִי [B]; but B. has 777.

AHI, NAMES WITH. See ABI, NAMES WITH.

AHIAH, frequently in AV and once (Neh. 10. 26 [25]) inconsistently in RV. See AHIJAH, 1 f. 4.

AHIAM (אֶהִיָּם, § 63, for which we should probably point אֶהִיָּם, 'mother's brother' [cp AHAB], analogous to the Sab. pr.n. אֶהִיָּם, 'sister of his mother'; cp *III*, N 64, n. 2, once in David's list, b. S. 23; אֶהִיָּם [B], om. [L]; 1 Ch. 11. 34† אֶהִיָּם [B], אֶהִיָּם [A]). See DAVID, § 11 2 f.

AHIAN (אֶהִיָּן, § 65, 'relative, cousin,' cp אֶהִיָּן; אֶהִיָּן [B], אֶהִיָּן [A], אֶהִיָּן [L]; *Archiep.*, a Mish. name (1 Ch. 7. 19†). See SHEMIDA.

AHIEZER (אֶהִיעֶזֶר, § 44, 'the [divine] brother is help,' cp Abiezer, Eliezer; אֶהִיעֶזֶר [BAF1]).

1. b. Amishaddai, chief of the Danites, temp. Moses (P) (Nu. 1. 12 22x; Ex. 17; 7. 40 10 05).

2. One of David's archers (1 Ch. 12. 5†). See DAVID, § 14 10.

1. *Shemid.*, of *P. Rel. 2* 100, 101.

2. So 2 K. 8. 26. In 2 Ch. 22. 3 his age is given as forty-two (2 Ch. 20); but this is clearly miswritten for twenty-two (so B1; cp 21. 50).

¹ Schr. *COT* 1 249 255; Wl. *GBA* 234.

² For אֶחָז read אֶחָז; cp the קָרִיב אֶחָזִיָּזָה for אֶחָזִיָּזָה.

³ The heading of Is. 14. 28-32 is probably correct. See Che. *Intr.* Is. 30. f.; but cp Duhm *ad loc.*

αχιασαμ [A. am. sup. ras. A¹]. cp v. 18; 2 Sam. 22 (αχισουου [BA]). 32 (αχισουου [B]); 1 Ch. 3†.

AHIO (אִיּוֹ), §§ 24, 43, possibly if MT is correct, 'brother of Yahwé,' or 'Yahwé is brother.' The analogy of other names ending in *o* seems against this view; JASTROW, *IBL*, 1894, p. 101.

v. b. Ahimadab, brother of UZZAI (*g. v.*, 1, 2 S. 6:3; 1 Ch. 13:7 has 'his brethren,' and We. reads אִיּוֹ, 'his brother'; see Dr. in each case, however, אִיּוֹ בְּרֵאֵי אֲדֵלֵפוֹי אֹתוֹ, i.e., אִיּוֹ, in 2 S.).

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), one of the sons of Beriah, who had to fight the inhabitants of Gath, 1 Ch. 9:1 (ἀδελφοί αὐτοῦ, 'his brother' [B], of ἀδελφοί αὐ., 'his brethren' [A], of δ. αὐτῶν, 'their brethren' [L]; Be. and Kau. אִיּוֹ; We. אִיּוֹ [De Gent. f. 29]; Ki. אִיּוֹר).

3. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), son of Jehiel, the 'father of Gihon'; 1 Ch. 8:1 (ἀδελφοί αὐτοῦ [B], φῶς αὐ. [A], οὐ δὲ. αὐ. [I])—9:37† (BA om. αὐτοῦ).

AHIRA (אֲחִירָא; אַחִירָא [BAFL]; אַחִירָא); **AHIRA**. A Naphtali family-name reported in P (Nu. 1:5 2:20 7:28 8:10 27:1). The old interpretation 'my brother is evil' must be abandoned. Either *y* is miswritten for *z* (see the Palmyrene characters), in which case we get the good Heb. name Ahiram,¹ or we have here a half-Egyptian name meaning 'Ra' (or Re—i.e., the Egyptian sun-god) is brother or protector' (so Che. *Isa.* 2:44). The latter view is quite possible (cp the Egyptian name Pet-baal). The Canaanites, who were strong in the territory of Naphtali, were very receptive of foreign religious influences.² Cp ASHUR, HUR, HARNEPHER. The reading of Pesh. (uniformly Ahida') is no doubt either merely a natural variant, or a copyist's substitution of a more normal for a rarer form; cp AHIDA. T. K. C.

AHIRAM (אֲחִירָאָם; אַחִירָאָם [BAFL]; אַחִירָאָם); **AHIRAM**. 1. In the genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 i.); Nu. 26:38 (where we have also the gentilic **Ahiramite**; אַחִירָאָם; אַחִירָאָם [I], ea. . . יעי [B], אַחִירָאָם [A], -אירָאָם [F])=Gen. 46:21, where 'Ahiram, Shephupham' ought no doubt to be read for 'Ehi and Rosh, Muppim' (עֲשֵׂה־שֵׁפְחָם for עֲשֵׂה־רוֹשׁ), cp ROSH. In the similar list in 1 Ch. 8 we find in v. 1 AHARAB [*g. v.*] (אֲחָרָב), and in that in 1 Ch. 7:6 ff. in v. 12, AHER [*g. v.*] (אֲחָר), cp HUSHIM, 2; DAN, § 9.

2. Perhaps we should read Ahiram also for AHIRA (*g. v.*) in Nu. 15, etc.

AHISAMACH (אֲחִישַׁמַּח; אַחִישַׁמַּח [BAFL]; אַחִישַׁמַּח); **AHISAMACH**. 1. In the genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 i.); Ex. 31:6 (אַחִישַׁמַּח [B]) 35:34 35:23 [P]. See DAN, § 9 n.

AHISHAHAR (אֲחִישַׁחָר; אַחִישַׁחָר [BAFL]; אַחִישַׁחָר); **AHISHAHAR**. 1. In the genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. a.), 1 Ch. 7:10†. See JEDIAEL, 1.

AHISHAR (אֲחִישָׁר; אַחִישָׁר [BAFL]; אַחִישָׁר); **AHISHAR**. 1. In the genealogy of the palace (1 K. 4:6†). The name, however, is suspicious.

2. Gives the double rendering, אַחִישָׁר וְאֲחִישַׁמַּח, and אַחִישָׁר וְאֲחִישַׁמַּח, and perhaps even a third rendering אַחִישָׁר וְאֲחִישַׁמַּח וְאֲחִישַׁמַּח, and may be the true 2 reading. But MT (אֲחִישַׁמַּח) has yet to be accounted for. For אֲחִישַׁמַּח we should probably read אֲחִישָׁר, Zabud, who has just been mentioned, is described as not merely a priest but 'the officer (placed) over the palace' (so Klo.). See ZABUD, 1. T. K. C.

AHITHOPHEL (אֲחִיתּוֹפֵל; אַחִיתּוֹפֵל [BAFL]; אֲחִיתּוֹפֵל); **AHITHOPHEL** [BAL], -לוֹס, Jos.), a Gilonite (see GILON), a counsellor of David much esteemed for his

¹ *Agypte* in 3 K. 2:46b [B] answers to Adoniram (cp 1 K. 4:6) of MT.

² On names of foreign deities in Israelite names, see under ELIDAD, and NAMES, §§ 42, 81, 83.

unerring insight (2 S. 15:12 16:23). His son ELIAM (*g. v.*, 1) was, like Uriah, a member of David's body-guard (2 S. 23:34; cp DAVID, § 11 2 3), and since Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, is described as the daughter of Eliam (2 S. 11:3), it has been conjectured that Ahithophel was her grandfather, and that indignation at David's conduct to Bathsheba led Ahithophel to cast in his lot with Absalom's rebellion. This, however, is a mere possibility, and ambition would be a sufficient motive for Ahithophel's treason to David, just as the slight involved in Absalom's preference of Hushai's counsel to his own was certainly one chief cause of his final withdrawal from Absalom. At first, indeed, he had full possession of the ear of the pretender. It was by his advice that Absalom took public possession of his father's concubines, and so pledged himself to a claim to the throne, from which there was no retreat (2 S. 16:20 ff.). Ahithophel was also eager in his own person to take another bold and decisive step. He wished to pursue David with 12,000 men and cut the old king down in the first confusion and entanglement of his flight towards the Jordan (2 S. 17:1-4). This plan was defeated by Hushai, whereupon Ahithophel, seeing that all hope was gone, went to Giloh and strangled himself.

In 1 Ch. 11:36 'Ahithophel the Gilonite' has been corrupted into 'Ahijah the Pelonite' אֲחִיָּה הַפֶּלִיטִי for אֲחִיתּוֹפֵל הַגִּילֹנִי; cp Klo. *Sines*, *ad loc.* (אֲחִישָׁרָא [BAFL]), and see GILON, *omd.* W. E. A.

AHITOB (אַחִיתּוֹב [B], etc.), 1 Esd. 8:2 RV, 4 Esd. 1:1 RV. See below, AHITUB, 2.

AHITUB (אַחִיתּוֹב; אַחִיתּוֹב [BAFL]; אַחִיתּוֹב); **AHITUB**. 1 S. 14:3 22:9 20; § 45; cp Ahitubai אֲחִיתּוֹבַי 5, no. 1144 אַחִיתּוֹבַי [BAFL].

1. A member of the family in which the priesthood, first at Shiloh, then at Nob, appears for some generations to have been hereditary. He was grandson of Eli, son of Phinehas, and elder brother of Ichabod (1 S. 14:3; cp 4:19-21). His son, Ahijah, is mentioned as priest in 1 S. 14:3; another son, Ahimelech, appears as priest in 1 S. 22:9 11 12 20. It is unnecessary with Thenius and Bertheau to identify Ahimelech with Ahijah; but that Ahitub, the father of Ahimelech, is identical with Ahitub, the father of Ahijah, is clear from 1 K. 2:27, which implies that Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech (1 S. 22:20), was of the house of Eli. Nothing further is directly told of Ahitub; but, if Wellhausen's suggestion that the destruction of Shiloh (Jer. 7:12) took place after the battle of Aphek (1 S. 4) be accepted, the transference of the priestly centre from Shiloh to Nob (1 S. 22:9-11), will have taken place under him.

The description of Ahitub as father of Zadok (2 S. 8:17 = 1 Ch. 18:16, 1 Ch. 6:8 [Dn] 5; 1 Ch. 18 due to an uncorrected *לְעֵזֶר* corruption of the text in Samuel, which originally ran 'Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, and Zadok were priests' (see the uncorrected text in We. 7:20 22:20)).

2. Father of a (later) Zadok, mentioned in 1 Ch. 6:17 f. 2 and 2, and in pedigree of Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 1) Ezra 7:2 = 1 Esd. 8:2 = 2 Esd. 11 (in the last two passages AV ACHITON, RV AHITON) and a priest, father of Meraioth and grandfather of Zadok, in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA, ii. § 5 [δ], 15 [1] δ), 1 Ch. 9:11 Neh. 11:1 (αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν [B], αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν [A]). These references, however, are probably due to intentional or accidental amplification of the original genealogy, and do not refer to any actual person. Kyle, apparently takes another view; see his notes on Ezra 7:15, and Neh. 11:11.

4. Ancestor of Judith; Judith 8:1 RV, AV following אַחִיתּוֹב אַחִיתּוֹב, Achitob; so also It., Syr.; om. B. G. B. G.

AHLAB (אֲחִלָּב; אַחִלָּב [BAFL]; אֲחִלָּב); **AHLAB**. 1. e. e., אַחִלָּב (Clermont Ganneu points out the place-name Mahaleb, N. of Tyre (*Rev. Crit.* 1897, p. 503)), a Canaanite town claimed by Asher (Judg. 1:31), and referred to probably in Josh. 19:29, at the end of which verse there appears to have been originally a list of names including (by a correction of the text) Ahlab and Achbiz.¹ See HELBAH.

¹ Josh. 19:29 ends thus, אַחִלָּב וְאֲחִיבִּיז, which AV renders 'at the sea from the coast to Achbiz,' and RV 'at the sea by the

occupied by Benjamites; Ezra 2:28 (אֵיָא [BA])=Neh. 7:32 (אֵיָא [BA], אֵי [A])=Esd. 5:24 (אֵיָא and אֵיָא om.; גַּא [L]). In the time of Eusebius (OS 181, 76, Αγγαί) it was once more deserted; but its situation was still pointed out. Its name was prophetic of its history. Or had it some other name before its destruction by Joshua?

2. (אָ; without article; Γαι [Q]; Symm. ἡ Ἰαχίβ) an Ammonite city, if the text in Jer. 49:3† is correct (SBOT omits; Rothstein in Kau. HS and Co. in SBOT, after Graf, read 'Ar אָ'). T. K. C.

AIAH, more strictly Ayyah (אֵיָא, 'falcon'). 1. An Edomite tribal name (Hebrew), Gen. 36:24 (AV AIAH; ΔΙΕ ΑΙΔ, N. 1E; N precedes), ΔΙΔΙ L. 1) = 1 Ch. 1:40 (ΔΙΘ [B], ΔΙΔ [AL]). The tribe seems to have broken off from that of Zibeon, and to have been less important than that of ANAH (q.v.). To identify this insignificant Aiah with the 'goodly land' in which Se-nuhyt the Egyptian exile found a home, according to the old story (so Maspero, RP² 2:1723; PSBA 18:106 [96]) is unsafe. On the Iaa (Maspero, Aia) of the story of Se-nuhyt, see WMM AS. u. Eur. 47.

2. Father of Saul's concubine Rizpah (2S. 37, αὐλὸν φορτὴ αἰᾶ B*, αὐλὸν φορτὴ αὐλ [B], Ἰολ. A, Σαῖα L, Σαῖαρος [Jos.]; 218 ff. Aa BA, Ασαία L.). To draw a critical inference (with Mez, Der Bibel des Jos. 35 f.), from L's Σαῖα in 37 seems unwise. We must not assume that Ziba is the original reading rather than Aiah. α and γ could very easily be confounded, and from Σια to Σαῖα was but a step. The name of one of Rizpah's sons was Mephibosheth (Meribaal), and the son of Jonathan, whose steward was Ziba, was also called Mephibosheth (Meribaal). The question as to the source or sources of the passages in which RIZPAH (q.v.) is referred to, remains therefore where it was.

AIATH (אֵיָת), Is. 10:28†. See AI, 1.

AIAJA (אֵיָיָא), Neh. 11:31. See AI, 1.

AIJALON, or (Josh. 10:12 19:42; 2 Ch. 28:8†, all AV)

less correctly AJALON (אֵיָלֹן from אֵלֹן 'hart'; ΔΙΛΩΝ [BAL]).

1. A town in the Shephelah, assigned to Dan in Josh. 19:42 (אֵיָלֹן B, אֵלֹן A, אֵל. L.); but with אֵלֹן v. 43 for Eilon], and named as a Danite Levitical city in 21:24 [Eilon] (אֵלֹן [A])=1 Ch. 6:69 [54] (corrected text, see Ball *ad loc.* in Ellcott's Bible; עֵלָאָם [B], ηλῶν [A]). It is the modern Yāḏ, situated on a ridge on the south side of the broad level valley of Ajjalon, well known from Joshua's poetical speech (Josh. 10:12; αἰλῶν [L]), and now called Merj (the meadow of) Ibn 'Umar. It is about 5 m. from Lower Beth-horon, and 14 from Jerusalem. In the time of the Judges it was still in the hands of the Amorites (Judg. 1:35; apparently misread αἰ ἀρκοῖ [BAL], and translated a second time μαραίνων [B], which, however, stands for HERES in L), but was afterwards occupied by Benjamites, 1 Ch. 8:13 (αἰλαμ [B], αἰμα [A], αλων [L]); cp. 2 Ch. 11:10. The Chronicler states that Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch. 11:10, αἰλῶν [B], αἰαλων [AL]), and that Ahaz lost it to the Philistines (2 Ch. 28:18, αἰλῶ [B]), on whose territory it bordered. In 1 S. 14:31, the occurrence of the word is doubtful. For 'to Ajjalon' Klost. and Budde (SBOT) read 'until night.' SBOT omits altogether. Some fresh references to Ajjalon are derived from Egyptian sources. For instance, Shishak (Sheshonk I.) mentions Aiyurun—i.e., Ajjalon—among the conquered cities of Judah in his Karnak list, and there is an earlier mention still in the Amarna tablets, where Aialuna appears as one of the first cities wrested from the Egyptian governors. A vivid sketch of the battle-scenes of the valley of Ajjalon will be found in GASM. HG 210-13.

2. (Judg. 12:12; and Αἰλωμ [B], Αἰεμ [AL]), a locality in Zebulun, the burial-place of ELON (q.v., ii. 1 f.).

Its name ought probably to be pointed אֵיָלֹן (Ēlōn), and etymologically connected with אֵלֹן or אֵלָא, 'oak' or 'terebinth' (see TEREBINTH, § 1), indicating a sacred spot. Cp ALLON, 2. T. K. C.

AJELETH-SHAHAR, UPON, RV 'set to Ajeleth hash-Shahar (הַשְּׁהָרִים הַיְהוּדִים, ἰσὴρ) τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῆς ἐσθραῖος ΒΑΝΑ; Αἰ. ἰσὴρ τῆς ἐσθραῖος τῆς ἡλιμῶνις, Ps. 22, title. If we consider the tendency of the phrase, 'Upon ALAMOTH (q.v.), to get corrupted, it seems highly probable that 'Ajeleth' should rather be read 'Alamoth' (א and y confounded), while Shahar should perhaps rather be שִׁיר שִׁיר, 'a new song.' (The article prefixed to Shahar may be in the interests of an exegetical theory.) The latter corruption has very probably taken place in Ps. 57:9 (see Che. Ps. 57). A 'new song' would be a song upon a new model.

AIN (אֵין). 1. If MT may be followed, this is the name of a city in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15:32) assigned to Simeon (197; cp 1 Ch. 4:32). According to Josh. 21:16 it was one of the priests' cities; but the parallel list in 1 Ch. 6:59 [44] probably correctly substitutes ASHAN (q.v.) which is mentioned in Josh. 19:7 [MT SBOT] alongside of Ain as a distinct place. The name being thus removed from this list, Ain always appears in close conjunction with Rimmon, and Mühlah (HWB 20:5.v. 'Ain') suggests that the two places may have lain so close together that in course of time they joined. Hence he would account for the EN-RIMMON (עֵין רִמּוֹן; om. BNA; κ. εν ριμμων Νεστωρ. int.; κ. εν ριμμων L.) of Neh. 11:29. But if we consider the phenomena of א (see below), and the erroneous summation (if MT be adhered to) in Josh. 15:32, it becomes evident that Bennett's thorough revision of the readings in his Joshua (SBOT) is critically justified (cp ASHAN), and that the real name is EN-RIMMON¹ (q.v.).

How, indeed, could a place dedicated to the god Rimmōn (Rammān) have been without a sacred fountain?

Josh. 15:32, καὶ ριμμωθ [B], καὶ ριμμων [AL, καὶ αἰν καὶ ριμμων [L]; Josh. 19:7, αἰν κ. ριμμωθ [A], αἰν κ. ριμμων [L], but ριμμων [B]; Josh. 21:16, αἰν [L] which favours γῶν 'ASHAN' (γῶν), αἰν [AL, ραερ [L], which harmonise with MT. In 1 Ch. 4:32 (κ. ριμμων [B], κ. ηρ [L], [P. sup. 145] followed by αἰν καὶ αἰ; κ. ριμμων [L]) we should also, with Kt., read Rimmōn.

2. (אֵין), the article being included; (עֵין) πηγάς [BAL]; Yg. (contra) fontem Daphnim; Tg. Onk. as MT; for the rest see below.) A place mentioned in Nu. 34:11 to define the situation of one of the points on the ideal eastern frontier of Canaan: 'to Harbel on the east side of Ain' is the phrase. Though both AV and RV sanction this view of עֵין, it is more natural to render 'the fountain,' and to find here a reference to some noted spring. Jerome thought of the spring which rose in the famous grove of Daphne, near Antioch; in this he followed the Targums of Ps. Jon. and Jerus. which render '(the) Riblah' (רִיבְלָה) by 'Daphne,' and 'the fountain' (פְּעֵין) by 'Ainūthā. Robinson² and Conder prefer the fountain which is the source of the Orontes. Both these views rest on the assumption that Riblah on the Orontes has just been referred to, which is a pure mistake (see RIBLAH). The fountain must at any rate be not too far N. of the Lake of Gennesaret which is mentioned at the end of the verse. Most probably it is the source of the Nahr Hāshāny, one of the streams which unite to form the Jordan (see RIBLAH). From this fountain to the 'east shoulder' of the Lake of Gennesaret a straight line of water runs forming the clearest of boundaries. If, however, we place Baal-gad at Bānias, we shall then, of course, identify 'the fountain'

¹ Except of course in Josh. 21:16 (see above). In Zech. 13:10 the first half of the name is omitted (see EN-RIMMONS).

² See BR 4534. Rob.'s view (p. 393) on the Daphnis of Yg. (connecting it with the spring at Diftnei, near Tell-el-Khady) seems erroneous.

with that which springs from the famous and romantic cavern at the southern base of the Hermon mountains. It should be added that it is not impossible to alter the pointing and read אירוס (eastward) of IJON, Ijon being mentioned elsewhere as on the N. frontier of the land of Israel. But then why did the writer introduce it merely incidentally?

T. K. C.

AIRUS (ΑΙΡΙΟΥΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 5:31 AV = Ezra 2:47 REATAH, 3.

AJAH (אִיָּה), Gen. 36:24† AV = RV MAH (y. v., 1).

AJALON (אִיָּלוֹן), Josh. 19:42 AV = RV AJALON, 1.

AKAN (אִיקָן), Gen. 36:27 = 1 Ch. 1:42 AV JAKAN.

AKATAN (ΑΚΑΤΑΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8:38† RV = Ezra 8:12 HAKKATAN.

AKELDAMA (ΑΚΕΛΔΑΜΑΧ [B]), Acts 1:19† RV, AV ACELDAMA.

AIKOS (ΑΙΚΩΣ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:38† RV = Ezra 2:61 HAKKOS, 1.

AIKUB (אִיקוּב), 'posthumous,' but the name seems corrupt; ΑΙΚΟΥΒ [BA], AIK [L], 1. E. ΕΙΣΟΜΑΙ, six generations removed from Zerubbabel; 1 Ch. 3:24 (αἰκουβ [B], ακουβ [A], ακου [L]).

2. The fine Aikub, a group of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 6†; Ezra 2:45 (αἰκουβ [BA], ακου [L]) = Neh. 7:25 (αἰκουβ [BA], αἰκουβ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5:38 (ΑΙΚΟΥΒ; RV ACUDA; αἰκουβ [A], ΑΙΚΟΥΒ [B]). Aikub is a pointer in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 6 § 8 [1 Esd. 5:38, 39] = Neh. 11:20 (αἰκουβ [B]) = Neh. 12:25 (αἰκουβ [B]) = 1 Esd. 9:25 (where, however, the name is omitted between Shelumai and Terebith). He is mentioned also in Neh. 12:25 (αἰκουβ [B] = 1 Esd. 9:25; see B⁹ A).

3. An expounder of the Law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 [L]; cp i. § 8, ii. § 8 § 10 [L], 15 [L]). Neh. 8:7 (αἰκουβ [L], om. B⁹) = 1 Esd. 9:48 (EV, ΑΙΚΟΥΒ; αἰκουβ [A], αἰκουβ [L]).

4. The fine Aikub, a family of NETHINIM (y. v.) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, Ezra 2:45 (αἰκουβ [B]) = Neh. 7:25 (αἰκουβ [A], αἰκουβ [B]) = 1 Esd. 5:38 (ΑΙΚΟΥΒ [BA]; AV ACUA; RV AIKUB).

AKRABATTINE, RV; AV incorrectly ARABATTINE 1 Macc. 5:3†, Jos. Ant. xii. 8†; ΑΚΡΑΒΑΤΤΙΝΗ [NA]; -ΑΤΤΑΝΗ [N^a V]; AKRABATTINE [Cod. Am.]; אַקְרַבַּתִּינָה, cp Judith 7 18, below), a district where Judas the Maccabee fought against the Edomites, situated 'in Idumæa' [NV Jos.] or 'in Judæa' [A]. The district intended is no doubt that to the SE. of Judæa, in Idumæa (see AKRABBIM). There is no sufficient ground for the opinion of Ewald that the Edomites had settled as far N. as another Akrabatta, a toparchy or district in Central Palestine, to the N. of Judæa (Akrabatta, ακραβητα, etc. [Jos. BJ iii. 3 § 5; Pl. HN v. 14 iv. 9 § 4]; ακραβητειν [Eus. OS² 2146†]), apparently represented by the modern 'Akrabeh, 8 m. SE. of Nāblūs. (The reading ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ in 1 Macc. must therefore be rejected.) See Schür. Hist. 1220 n. 2, 3 158.

Doubtless, however, we should identify with 'Akrabeh the ΕΚΡΑΒΕΛ (εργρηβηλ), ΕΚΡΕΒΗΛ [A]; אַקְרַבַּתִּינָה, near Chusi, on the Brook Mochmur (Judith 7:18†), the names being almost the same in the Syr. (= Talm. אַקְרַבַּתִּינָה).

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AKRABBIM, Ascent of, so always in RV; also Nu. 34:4 in AV, which has in Judg. 1:36 'going up to Akrabim,' in Josh. 15:3† mg. '... to ACRABBIM,' text MAALAH-ACRABBIM (מַעְלֵה עַקְרַבִּים), i. e., 'ascent of Scorpions,' [ΠΡΟΣ]ΑΝΑΒΑΘΙΣ² ΑΚΡΑΒΕΙΝ [BAL]; ascentus scorpionum), mentioned in Josh. 15:3 (ΑΚΡΑΒΒΕΙΜ [sup. ras. A¹ vid.], ΕΚΡΑΒΕΙΝ [L]) as one of the localities marking the southern frontier of Judah.

It must have been one of the passes leading up from the southern continuation of the Ghôr into the waste mountain country to the west. Knobel identifies it

1 Cp ΒΑΚΥΚ.

2 εναυω for αρω ηνω αναβασις in Judg. 1:36 [AL; Lag. points ἐν εναυω].

with the pass of es-Safā, leading up towards Hebron out of the W. el-Fikreh on the road from Petra. Robinson (B⁹ 2180 f.) describes this pass as being 'as steep as a man can readily climb.' 'The rock is in general porous and rough, but yet in many spots smooth and dangerous for animals. In such places a path has been hewn in the rock in former days; the slant of the rock being sometimes levelled, and sometimes overcome by steps cut in it. The vestiges of this road are more frequent near the top. The appearance is that of a very ancient pass' (B⁹ 2291). Robinson, however, identifies this Nakb es-Safā with Zephath or Hormah, and not with Akrabim (see also HALAK, MOUNT). Scorpions are of frequent occurrence throughout this neighbourhood.

AKUD (ΑΚΟΥΔ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:30 RV = Ezra 2:45 AKKUB, 4.

ALABASTER (ΑΛΑΒΑΣΤΡΟΝ [accus. Ti WH] Mk. 14:3, also with art., ΤΗΝ Δ. [W & H after B⁹], ΤΟΝ Δ. [Ti. after N^a A], ΤΟ Δ. [Tr after G, etc.; also F in Lk. 7:37]; cp Ο ΑΛΑ. [B], ΤΟ ΑΛΑ. [A] 2 K. 21:13 [for πηλός 'dish,' 'cup'] was found in large quantities in Mesopotamia, and from it are made the huge bulls which are to be seen in the British Museum and in the Louvre. The alabaster of the ancients was a stalagmitic carbonate of lime hence called by mineralogists 'Oriental alabaster' to distinguish it from the modern alabaster, which is the sulphate of lime. See EB⁹, s.v. ALABASTER. In Greek the word ἀλάβαστρος or ἀλβάστρος is frequently used of vases or vessels made to hold unguents, as these were generally fashioned out of this material, which was thought by many (cp e.g., Pl. HN xiii. 3) to preserve the aroma of the ointment: Theocritus (Id. 15 114) is able to speak of 'golden alabasters.' Many alabaster vases have been found in Egypt, and the specialised sense given to πηλός in the Egyptian Greek version of Kings (see above) is natural enough. The town of Alabastro, near the famous quarries of Hat-nub¹ (cp Erman, Anc. Eg. 470, n. 3), was well known for the manufacture of such articles (in fact it seems to have derived its name from the material).² Many of these go back to nearly 4000 B.C. and often show fine workmanship. Similar articles have been found in Assyria dating from the time of Sargon (8th cent. B.C.).

Such a vessel was the 'alabaster cruse' which was emptied upon Jesus's head by the woman at the house of Simon the Leper at Bethany (Mt. 26:7 = Mk. 14:3 Lk. 7:37†). The expression 'brake' in Mark does not refer, it would seem, to the breaking of a seal or of the neck of the vessel; the object was to prevent profanation of the vessel by subsequent use for any commoner purpose (cp Comm., ad loc.).

ALAMETH (עֲלֵמֶת), 1 Ch. 7:8 AV, RV ALEMETH.

ALAMMELECH, RV ALLAMMELECH (אֲלַמְמֶלֶךְ [Bā.], אֲלַמְמֶלֶךְ [Gi.], אֲלַמְמֶלֶךְ [v. d. Hooght]; ελεμμελεχ [B], ελεμλεχ [L; om. A]), a place in Asher on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19:26†), the name of which is possibly echoed in that of the Wady el-melech, which drains the plain of the Buttaf (Asochis), and joins the Nahr el-Mukattā' (Kishon). So Di., Buhl. The pointing of the Heb. is peculiar: אֲלַמְמֶלֶךְ is usually explained as if אֲלַמְמֶלֶךְ, 'sacred tree of Melech'; but n can hardly have been assimilated to m, nor is this the best reading. Possibly the real name was אֲלַמְמֶלֶךְ (אֲלַמְמֶלֶךְ), El Melech; cp El Paran. The authors of the points may have wished to avoid confusion with the personal name Elimelech. Or the name might be a corruption of ēlamāk (see ALMUG TREES), if Solomon was able to naturalise this tree.

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¹ Near Tell el-'Amāra (see PSBA 1674 [194]).
² The reverse supposition is sometimes held, viz. that the material is derived from the place-name. The ultimate origin of the word is unknown.

ALAMOTH, UPON (עַל־עֲלֹמֹת), a technical musical phrase of uncertain meaning; cp MUSIC, § 6.

(a) Ps. 46 title (1) (עַל־עֲלֹמֹת קְרֹפְיִים [BARK] אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם; om. A; אֲשֶׁר־עַל־הַיַּם אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם; Symm. עַל־עֲלֹמֹת אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם); (b) Ch. 15:90 (עַל־עֲלֹמֹת [B], . . . אֲשֶׁר־[R], . . . אֲשֶׁר־[A], עַל־עֲלֹמֹת קְרֹפְיִים [L]; two anonymous GK versions have עַל־עֲלֹמֹת אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם [L] and עַל־עֲלֹמֹת אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם [L]); (c) Ps. 9 title (1) (עַל־עֲלֹמֹת קְרֹפְיִים [BARK]; אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם; Symm. עַל־עֲלֹמֹת אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם; Th. Quint. עַל־עֲלֹמֹת קְרֹפְיִים; Sept. עַל־עֲלֹמֹת קְרֹפְיִים); (d) in Ps. 48:14 (13) (עַל־עֲלֹמֹת אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם; apparently E; [B] om. A; אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם; Symm. עַל־עֲלֹמֹת אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם); it appears in the corrupt form אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם, which Tg. takes to be אֲשֶׁר־עַל־יָם 'youth' (C).

Thus we find it three times forming part of a heading of a psalm (for עַל־יָם in d should be restored as עַל־יָם) from its present position to the heading of Ps. 49, on the analogy of Ps. 46). Of the two half-translations of AV and RV respectively ('upon Alamoth', 'set to Alamoth'), the former presupposes that the phrase denotes the particular instrumental accompaniment; the latter, that Alamoth is the name of a tune. Most moderns explain 'for sopranos', 'Alamoth having the constant meaning 'maidens.' Whether soprano voices would be suitable for Ps. 46, the musical reader may judge. Grätz and Wellhausen suppose a reference to some *Elamite* instrument. There is, however, a more probable solution. See PSALMS, and cp MUTHLAGGEN, MAHALATH, NEHILOTH, and AHELETH-SHAHAR.

ALCIMUS (ΔΑΚΙΜΟΣ [AN], occasional forms ἸΝ, -ΕΙΜ, -ΧΙ, [A], -ΙΜ, [B]); in several cursive MSS of 1 and 2 Macc., and in Jos., in *Ant.* xii. 97 with add. [ΚΑΙ Ε Ο Κ, [I]Ω]ΑΚ[Ε]ΙΜΩC; in *Ant.* xx. 103, and one cursive at 1 Macc. 7:4 simply [I]Ω]ΑΚ[Ε]ΙΜΩC; i.e., אֱלִיכִים or יהויאכִים, for which he adopted the like-sounding Greek name by which he is known; cp NAMES, § 86), a priest 'of the race of Aaron'¹ (*Ant.* x. 103, admitted by the inimical² writer of 1 Macc.; 'of the seed of Aaron,'³ 7:14), i.e., a Zadokite, though not of the family of Onias ('not of this house,'⁴ *Ant.* x. 103).

(*Ant.* xii. 97, indeed equates 'another house' (ἑτέρου οἴκου) with 'not of the stock of the high priests [at all]' (οὐκ ἄντι τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέων γενέσεως); but the source here followed by Jos. is on other grounds apparently inferior, and we may conclude that Alcimus was really more eligible⁵ to the high priest's office than his enemies the house of Hasmon, who were ordinary priests.

When, therefore, the victorious king of Syria, DEMETRIUS I. (q.v., 1) determined (1 Macc. 7:9) to support his claim to the high priest's office (v. 5) with force, Alcimus was accepted, not only by the Hellenising party but also (v. 13) largely by the legitimist party, the Assideans (q.v.).

The treaty (1 Macc. 6:9) of Lysias (and the youthful Antiochus V. Eupator) in 162 B.C., which satisfied the aims of the Assideans and made it unnecessary for them further to identify themselves with the 'friends of Judas' (1 Macc. 9:26; cp 28), had been immediately followed, if we may trust *Ant.* xii. 97, by the execution of the now 'impossible' high priest MENELAUS (q.v., 1 Macc., our most important source, not having mentioned Menelaus at all, says nothing of what took place between his tenure of office and the effective appointment (ἑστρέφωσ ἀνδρῶν τ. ἱερωσύνης, 7:9; cp 2 Macc. 14:13 καταστρέφωσ) of Alcimus by Demetrius). According to the same passage in Jos., which states also that a young Onias, son of Onias III., made his way to Egypt on the death of his father (on which, however, see ONIAS, ISRAEL, § 69), Alcimus became (γένετο) high priest on (ὑπὲρ) the death of Menelaus, the office being indeed bestowed (δίδωσκ) on him by the king (Antiochus V., according to the present context). According to 2 Macc. 14:3, too, Alcimus had been at some time high priest before his appointment by Demetrius. We know really nothing certain about the events of this short interval. We first reach firm ground with the intervention of Demetrius.

Demetrius did not mean to resume the hopeless policy of his uncle Epiphanes (or the Assideans would have

held aloof); but he wanted Alcimus and his friends to help him in crippling the Hasmonean party of political independence.

There would be a special reason for Alcimus being active against the Hasmoneans: if he was allowed success he himself (what we now know) that their ultimate goal must be the high priesthood. (On the other hand the 'calumny' [v. 27] put into his mouth by the author of 2 Macc. 14:4 (that Isidore had already been made high priest seems historically impossible; it is due only to the distorted story of 2 Macc., see next note.)

Bacchides (q.v.) was the agent selected for the task.¹ At first the presence of Alcimus was a great help; his legitimacy was a source of strength.

This would have special weight if his predecessor Menelaus is really to be regarded, with 2 Macc. (84+42) as a 'Benjaminite,' and with Wellhausen (*IJG* 200, n. 1, 2nd ed. 235, n. 1) as one of the Tobidae (see, however, LUCIUS, *Der Essenzismus* 77, and cp ISRAEL, § 69). If we could trust the Talmud there would be a special point in his favour in his connection with Jose b. Jozer, leader of the Sanhedrin (his uncle, *Ber. Rabba*, ch. 65; his father, *Bab. Bathra*, 133 a).

The mass of the people seem to have followed the Assideans in accepting Alcimus (1 Macc. 7:13 'first'; cp *We. Phar. u. Sad.* 84, n. 2); but the severity of the measures taken by the representatives of Demetrius,² sixty men (perhaps those that had been till now much implicated with the Hasmonean party)³ being slain in one day (1 Macc. 7:16), in face of solemn pledges of peaceable intentions, entirely changed the situation. Fear and dread fell on all the people (1 Macc. 7:18). After some further severities Bacchides considered his task accomplished and returned to Antioch. The late severities, however, had turned the heart of the people again to Judas, who was trying to strengthen his position (1 Macc. 7:24), and Alcimus judged it prudent to withdraw (*Ant.* xi. 25). He had of course no difficulty in bringing forth other incriminating charges against Judas (*ibid.* and *Ant.* xii. 103). This time NICANOR (q.v.) was entrusted with the task of restoring Alcimus. During the various exciting incidents of the next interval,—the diplomacy, battles, and death of Nicanor,—we hear nothing of Alcimus⁴ (1 Macc. 7:26-50).

Of course in the rejoicings over Nicanor's day and the recovery of the Maccabean party he had no part; perhaps he was absent. (It is at this point, indeed, that *Ant.* xii. 106 makes Alcimus die⁵ but this belongs to the story there followed of Judas's succeeding to the high-priesthood, on which see MACCABEES, i. § 4 and cp below.)

When Bacchides came a second time (1 Macc. 9:1) to carry through what Nicanor had been unable to accomplish, Judas failed to find adequate support and fell (160 B.C.), and the Maccabean party were without a leader. Alcimus was once more installed, and probably accepted by all except the Maccabees, who ere long chose Jonathan as successor to his brother.

How far the Hellenistic tendencies of Alcimus carried him we do not know. At his death (159 B.C.⁶) he seems to have been engaged on some changes in the temple enclosure, the nature and even the object of which we do not know with any certainty.

According to Josephus he had 'formed the intention of pulling down the wall of the temple' (ἐπιπέμψεν σκοπέωσιν τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἕξω τὴν ἐκκλῆσιαν, 1 Macc. xii. 106 b.). 1 Macc. states (9:5) that it was the wall of the inner court of the temple (τὸ τ. τῆς εὐχῆς τὸν ἕξω τὴν ἐσωτέρας) that he commanded (ἐπέταξεν) to pull down, adds that he pulled down the works (τὰ ἔργα) of the prophets, and then appends the peculiar statement that he began the pulling

¹ So 1 Macc. 7:1; on the distorted account in 2 Macc., where 14:2 has to do duty for both 1 Macc. 7:8 and 7:26, see KOSTERS, *Th. T. 12:533-535*, and on the displacement of Bacchides to 2 Macc. 8:30, *ib.* 504 f. (cp the place of Bacchides in Jos. *B. J.* 1:2).

² How far these transactions are to be attributed directly to Alcimus (so apparently 1 Macc. 7:14 ff. 23), and how far they were due to Bacchides (so apparently *Ant.* xii. 102; cp 1 Macc. 7:19) we cannot say.

³ His uncle being, according to *Ber. Rabba* and *Baba Bathra* (*l.c.*), of the number.

⁴ On the motive of the author of 2 Macc. in representing Nicanor as untrue to his master (2 Macc. 14:28-35) and thus bringing Alcimus again on the scene (v. 26) see KOSTERS, p. 535.

⁵ And when he was dead the people bestowed the high-priesthood on Judas, who, hearing of the power of the Romans, etc. (= 1 Macc. 8).

⁶ Josephus assigns him variously three years (*Ant.* x. 103) or four years (*ib.* xii. 106) of office.

down. It seems rash to assume that this confused account is in its original form. If the last clause is not an interpolation (and there is cursive MS authority for its omission, see H & P), and even perhaps if it is, should we not perhaps read 'to pull for the pulled (עשהוהוה for עשהוהוה)?'

The much discussed question what the wall (τείχος) referred to was, we have really not the means of determining. Its identification with a low barrier in the Herodian temple beyond which Gentiles must not pass, the *שורג* (שורג) described in *Middoth* 2:3 is at the best precarious! (see the remarks of Schürer, *GV* 1:176, n. 5, and the discussions there referred to).

The somewhat sudden death of Alcimus (1 Macc. 9:55 f.; cp however, *Ant.* xii, 10, σφαγῆς ἡμεῶν) was naturally treated by his enemies as a sign of divine displeasure. The moderation (such as it is) of the writer of 1 Macc. was not at all to the taste of the later rabbis (see the stories in Hamburger, *RE* 428 f., Derenbourg, *Hist. Pal.* 52, n. 2). That on the whole, however, Alcimus did not interfere much with ritual and practice is plain, or at least probable, from this last act being all that is mentioned against him, and even in this case we do not know his motive (cp Grimm *ad loc.*, and We. 216, *IIG* (2) 262). Still, if he has been rather severely judged, even for the evidence supplied by the opposite party, Wellhausen (*l.c.*) seems to go to the other extreme.

The historical importance of this, perhaps in himself somewhat insignificant character (who figures all the more strikingly on the scene that we cannot find very clear traces of any immediate predecessor or successor²), lies in the fact that his tenure of office formed a turning-point in the development of Jewish parties.³ The Assideans refused to follow the Hasmonaens. Two generations later, the meaning of this became more apparent (see ASSIDEANS, PHARISEES, ESSENES).

The primary source is 1 Macc. 7:9. Cp Jos. *Ant.* xii, 97-112, xx, 10, 3, and on the relation of these see MACCABEES, FIRST, I, § 9; on the relative value of a Macc. 14 see the elaborate article of Koster, 'De polemieek van het tweede boek der Maccabeen,' *Ph. A.* 12:401-552 (75), especially associated also; on parties, We. *Phar. u. Sad.* § 8, 76 ff. LAUSUS *loc.*; on later Jewish sentiment concerning Alcimus, Hamburger, *RE* 428 f.; on שורג, etc. Schürer, *GV* 1:6, n. 5, and Grätz in *Meq. Taan.*, 1976, pp. 285-297; on festival of 23rd Marchesvan in *Meq. Taan.*, Derenbourg, *l.c.*, and Grätz, *l.c.* § 34, 894 ff. n. w. 41.

ALCOVE (אֲלוֹכָה), Nu. 25:8 RV mg., AV TENT (*g.v.*).

ALEMA (עַן אֲלֵמֹהִים 'A', -אֵלֵמ, 'N'), אֲלֵימָה. Nu. 21:3, V. SYR. ܐܠܡܝܗ, in *Alimisi*, a place mentioned along with Bosora, Carnaim, etc. (1 Macc. 5:26). Being in Gilead it cannot be, as some say, the Beer-elim spoken of in Is. 15:8 as belonging to Moab, and the Beer of Nu. 21:16 (see BOSOR). It has been placed by Merrill at Alma, S. of Edrei, and by Schumacher at Kefr el-Mā, E. of Lake of Galilee; but it is probably 'Imi, 10 m. SW. of the Lejā, and of Busr el-Hariri, which is probably Bosor. (Cp *Buhl Topog. des N. Ostjordanlandes* 13; We. *IIG* 212 [3rd ed. 257] n.). G. A. S.

ALEMETH or **ALLEMETH** (אֲלֵמֶת); so everywhere [Bib.], except 1 Ch. 7:2 'in pause' אֲלֵמֶת. ALAMETH, ΓΑΜΕΘ B. ΕΑΜΕΘΕΩ V.; ordinary old. have אֲלֵמֶת, whence RV ALLEMETH in 1 Ch. 6:6 [45] = Josh. 21:18, where the form is ALMON, אֲלֵמֹן, ΓΑΜΑΛΑ B. ΔΛΩΜΟΝ A.; ΕΛΜ. I.; usually ΓΑΛΕΜΘ B. A., ΔΛΑΜΩΘ [L], a Levitical town in Benjamin (1 Ch. 6:6 [45], ΓΑΛΗΜΘ [A]), the name of which appears in 1 Ch. 8:36 (ΑΛΑΙΜΑΘ [B], ΓΑΛΕΜ. [A], ΔΛΕΦ [L]) = 9:42f. (ΓΑΛΕΜΘ [B], ΔΛΕΦ. I.) that of a descendant, or family of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii, β). See also ZALMON,

¹ The seventeenth of the thirty-five festivals prescribed in *Meq. Taan.*—עֲשׂוּתָא. ² Maccabees—based by some, e.g., Grätz, been brought into connection with the *שורג* and Alcimus. This is however contested, e.g., by Derenbourg, *Hist. Pal.* 60 f. (see text of *Meq. Taan.*, ii, 442 ff.).

³ Josephus, ignoring his previous irreconcilable statement in xii, 106, already quoted above, expressly says (*Ant.* xii, 10) that on the death of Alcimus the office of high priest was vacant for seven years.

⁴ Cp We. *Phar. u. Sad.* § 8, v.; Lucius *Der Essenienus*, etc. 75 ff. [81], with Schürer's review (*TLZ* [81], especially col. 494).

ii. (end), ELAM, ii. 1. Robinson's identification (*LBR*) with the modern 'Almit, 1 m. NE. from 'Anāka (Anathoth), is generally accepted.

ALEXANDER (Ἀλεξανδρος [ANV], 'helper of men'). 1. Alexander III., king of Macedonia (336-323 B.C.), surnamed the Great. The victories of Alexander powerfully impressed the Jewish imagination; yet the only biblical passages in which he is mentioned by name are 1 Macc. 1:1-8 62. The writer of Daniel (166 or 164 B.C.) recalls a 'mighty king' ruling 'with great dominion,' whose kingdom is 'broken' after his death (Dan. 11:3 f.). In the vision of chap. 7, it is the fourth of a series of 'beasts'; it is 'dreadful and terrible,' and 'devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped' the rest. Naturally, it was the destructive side of Alexander's work that impressed the imagination; the fall of Tyre and Gaza would bring that aspect into prominence. His Palestinian conquests are thought to be alluded to in *Zech.* 9:1-8 (see ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF); and in Is. 25 f., the fate of Tyre may be contrasted tacitly with that of Jerusalem (see ISAIAH, ii, § 13). It is during the seven months' siege of Tyre that Jewish history comes into connection with Alexander (333-332 B.C.). The tradition is given by Jos. *Ant.* xi, 83 ff. (cp *Yoma*, 69a).

The Jews refused compliance with Alexander's requisitions. After the two months' siege of Gaza he advanced on Jerusalem; but Jaddua (Jaddus), the high priest (cp Neh. 12:12), warned by a dream how to avert his anger, met the conqueror at Scopus. Alexander worshipped the Name on the high priest's mitre, and entering Jerusalem sacrificed in the Temple, heard Daniel's prophecies relating to himself, and gave the Jews autonomy, not only in Jerusalem but also in Babylon.

As to all this other writers preserve absolute silence, and the story in Josephus seems inconsistent with the statement in Arr. iii, 1, that in seven days from Gaza Alexander was at Pelusium in Egypt. Yet Just. xi, 10 says that 'many kings wearing fillets met him'; and Curt. iv, 517, that he visited some who refused to submit. Jewish soldiers were certainly in his armies, even on his most distant expeditions; and in Alexandria, founded immediately after the supposed visit, the Jewish element was large. The privileges conferred on the Jews are a feature of subsequent history. It is possible that Alexander derived from the Jews much valuable information about the interior of Asia (Mahaffy, *Greek Life*, chap. 20). Whether true or false, the episode strikes a true note in Alexander's character. Nevertheless, it raises suspicion to find the story appropriated by the Samaritans. Still more, to remember the visit to Gordium before the battle of Issus, and that to the oracle of Ammon before the Persian expedition. Finally, the king's action at Babylon is a curious parallel (Arr. iii, 16). He there rebuilt the shrines destroyed by Xerxes, especially that of Belus—*ῥῆς ἄλλα και τῷ Βήλω καθά ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἕτερον*.

The Jerusalem episode must be characterised as an attempt to secure Jerusalem a place in the cycle of Alexander-legends, on the model of the visit to the Egyptian Ammon. (Cp H. Bois, *Rev. de théol. et phil.*, Lausanne, 1891; Henrichsen, *St. Kr.*, 1871.) w. j. w.

2. Alexander Balas, a man of low origin, who passed himself off as the son of Alexander Epiphanes (cp 1 Macc. 10:1, 'Α. ο τοῦ Ἀρριόχοιο ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς' ANV, see MACCABEES, FIRST BOOK OF, § 2); 'Ἀλέξανδρος [A] in v. 58. His real name was Balas (so Strabo [p. 751], τὸν Βάλαν Ἀλέξανδρον; Jos. [*Ant.* xiii, 48], on the other hand, 'Α. ὁ Βάλαν λεγόμενος), which may possibly be connected with אֲבָטָא, 'Lord.' The additional name 'Alexander' seems to have been given him by Attalus II. of Pergamum, who was one of the first to support him against DEMETRIUS. In rivalry with the latter Balas exerted himself to secure an alliance with JONATHAN (1 Macc. 10:1 ff.), and by conferring upon him the title of 'high priest of the nation and friend of the king,' was successful (v. 20). After a varying career he was compelled to flee to Arabia,

ΛΑΘΑΙΝ [A] 2. 47†; apparently the same as BETH-DIBLATHAIM (p. 7).

ALMOND, ALMOND TREE, ALMOND BLOSSOM

(779)¹ ΚΑΡΥΟΝ [ADL.] Gen. 43 11, Num. 17 9 [23] ΚΑΡΟΙΑ [B]; ΔΑΜΥΓΔΑΛΟΝ [BNAC] Ecclus. 12 5; as an adjective ΚΑΡΥΙΝΗΝ [B] and practically ΝΑ]. Jer. 1 1†; 779² = 'made like almond blossoms,' ΕΚΤΕΤΥ-ΠΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΡΥΙΚΟΥΣ [BAFL.] Ex. 25 18 f.: ΚΑΡΥ-ΩΤΑ [BAL] 37 19 f.). The Hebrew root means to 'wake' or 'watch'; and the tree is said to be so named because it is the first to awake from the sleep of winter.² The etymology is alluded to in Jer. 1 1 f.

The almond is referred to in the story of Jacob, who (Gen. 43 11, J) instructs his sons to take with them into Egypt a present of the fruits of Palestine including almonds. The verisimilitude of this detail cannot be questioned. It was natural for a Hebrew to presume that Palestinian almonds would be prized in Egypt, nor need we trouble ourselves as to the exact date of the acclimatisation of the almond tree on the banks of the Nile.³

The original native country of the almond (*Prunus Amygdalus*, Stokes) was W. Asia, from which it has gradually spread, in the main probably by human intervention, throughout the Mediterranean region. Almonds are still an important article of commerce in the Persian Gulf, nor is there anything improbable in their being exported from Syria into Egypt in early or even in more recent times. No ancient writer, according to Celsius (*Hierob.* 1 298), mentions them as grown in Egypt.

The 'cups made like almond blossoms' on the branches of the golden candlestick, consisting each of 'a knop' or knob 'and a flower' (Ex. 25 33 f. 37 19 f.) represented, says Dillm. (*ad loc.*), 'not the corolla but the calyx of the almond flower.' Some have proposed to translate אֲשֵׁרֶתֶת 'awakened' *i.e.*, fully opened (as opposed to closed buds); but this is certainly untenable. In Jer. 1 11 an almond staff seen by the prophet becomes, from the associations of its name, a symbol of Yahweh's watchfulness. The most interesting reference is in the difficult passage Ecclus. 12 5. There are three clauses in the verse, and in each unfortunately there is some obscurity. It is the first, rendered by AV, 'The almond tree shall flourish, [RV blossom,] which now concerns us. As regards this, it has been doubted, (1) whether אֲשֵׁרֶתֶת by itself can mean the almond tree; (2) whether the pinkish-white blossoms are a likely metaphor (according to the ordinary view) for an old man's white hairs; and (3) what is the meaning of the verb (אֲשֵׁרֶתֶת). The consonants of the Heb. text support the meaning 'he will reject the almond,' *i.e.*, will be unable to eat it, though a delicacy; but the vowel-points and all the ancient versions have the same rendering as EV. This seems on the whole more probable. Though Jer. 1 11 is not sufficient to prove that אֲשֵׁרֶתֶת can mean the tree, the equivalent form in Syriac, *šegdā*, appears to have this sense. The metaphor is possible if we remember that the flowers come out as a pale flash on the dark leafless branches; if the metaphor is to be pressed closer, the flowers are, as Koch describes them, 'white or of a pale red.'⁴

(2) See HAZEL.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ALMS. The English word is derived through

1. Terms. A.S. form 'ælmæsse' from the eccl. Lat. *elemosyna*, which again is borrowed from

¹ Syriac has the same word in the form *šegdā*; and the Arabic for almond is *lauz*—Hebrew לָאֵז (see HAZEL).

² *Isag. C'hebrae.* 45. Cp Plin. 16 25 (quoted by Celsius): 'Ex his que hieme aquila exoriente concipiunt, flosa prima omnium amygdala mense Januario; Martio vero pomum maturat.'

³ Cp Maspero, *Revue* of 1897, 27.

⁴ Prof. Cheyne informs us that the wild almond, now rare, was noticed in a glaise of Hermon by Robertson Smith, who found its blossoms distinctly white. Tristram speaks of many wild almond trees on Mt. Carmel (*NHB* 332).

the Greek *ἑλεμωσίνη*. The Greek word, which is exceedingly rare in classical authors, means *pity*, and in the Greek of the NT (Lk. 11 41; 12 33; Acts 3 2 f. 10 9 26 10 4 31) signifies also a special result of pity—*viz.*, relief given in money or kind to the poor. In biblical Hebrew there is no corresponding word, and it is not even quite certain that the technical and restricted use of the word *ἑλεμωσίνη* occurs in G. No doubt in such passages as Ecclus. 7 10 and Tob. 4 7 128-11, the author or translator has almsgiving chiefly or even exclusively in view. Still *κατὴν ἑλεμωσίνην* does not in itself mean more than *κατὰ ἔλεος*, 'to do that which is merciful or kindly.' On the other hand, the NT use of 'to give *ἑλεμωσίνας*,' etc., is quite decisive for the specialised sense of the word.

The close connection between religion and deeds of mercy frequently appears in ancient religion. The

2. OT estimate. Bedouin Arabs, maintaining therein a primeval usage, regard the wayfarer as 'the guest of Allāh,' to whom hospitality is due (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 228). The sacrificial meal often included an act of charity to the poor. Thus the poor were allowed to take handfuls from the meal-offering made to the Arab god, al-'Okaisir (WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 223), and the same use of sacrifice was familiar to the Greeks (see, e.g., Xen. *Anab.* v. 39). Indeed the general law of sacrificial feasts was open-handed hospitality in which the poor shared.

The OT, however, carries this beneficent tendency farther than any other ancient religion. It made systematic provision for the poor, and institutions of this kind can be traced throughout the religious history of Israel, from the eighth century onwards. Indeed it is significant that in the OT scarcely a trace of beggars and begging in the strict sense is to be found (see, however, 1 S. 2 36 Ps. 109 10). In the 'Book of the Covenant' (see EXODUS, II, § 3), Ex. 23 10 f., the Hebrew landowner is directed to leave his land fallow each seventh year 'that the poor of thy people may eat.' The merciful spirit of the Deuteronomist is conspicuous in the stress he lays on the care for the poor. Every third year the owner was to bring forth a tenth from his granaries and bestow it exclusively on the poor, including the Levites (Dt. 14 28 f.). According to a custom still preserved in Palestine, every Israelite was free to pick and eat grapes from his neighbour's vineyard, or to pluck ears from the cornfield, as he passed along (Dt. 23 24 f. [25 f.]). Out of consideration for the poor, the owner must not, in a grasping spirit, glean to the uttermost his cornfield, vineyard, or oliveyard (Dt. 24 19-22). The earliest part of the Priestly Code, *viz.*, the 'Law of Holiness' (see LEVITICUS), reflects the same precept (Lev. 19 9 f. 23 22); besides this, in Deuteronomy and generally in the later writers of the OT, private and voluntary almsgiving is especially commended. On the whole it may be said that the prophets plead the rights of the poor as their advocates, while in Deuteronomy and in post-exilic literature, the needy Israelite is commended to the charity of his brethren. See, among passages too numerous to quote, Is. 58 7 (a very late passage) Prov. 14 21 19 17 Ps. 112 9 Job 29 12 f. One reference to almsgiving—*viz.* Dan. 1 27 [24]—deserves special notice. Probably the force of the Aramaic words is 'redeem' or 'make good thine iniquities . . . by showing mercy to the poor,' and if this interpretation of *קָנָה* be correct, we have here a clear indication of the later Jewish doctrine that alms had a redemptive or atoning power.

In the OT Apocrypha and in Rabbinical literature almsgiving assumes a new and excessive prominence.

3. Apocrypha and Rabbin. So much was this the case that *קָנָה*, which in the older writings means 'righteousness' in general, came to

be used for almsgiving in particular, and this use of the word has been naturalised in the Arab. *ṣadaqat*¹⁰⁰ 'alms for God' (*Kor. Sur.* 9 104, etc.;

Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1.446), and the Syr. *sedk'atha* (Pesh. Lk. 11.41, etc.).

The following citations furnish examples of the propitiatory virtue ascribed to alms in later Judaism: 'Shut up mercy (ἀνευσθίω, perh. 'alms' in thy treasures, and it shall deliver thee from all affliction' (Ecclesi. 29.12); 'Mercy' (or 'alms') 'delivereth from death' (Tob. 4.10); 'Through alms a man partakes of eternal life' (*Rosh hashshana* 3); 'He who says, I give this piece of money as alms, that I or my sons may inherit eternal life, is a perfectly righteous man' (Pesachim, 5; Reff. from Weber, *Altsynag. Theol.* 276 f.); 'Almsdeeds are more meritorious than all sacrifices' (San. 43 b); 'As sin-offering makes atonement for Israel, so alms for the Gentiles' (*Baba Bath.* 10 b; Reff. from Levy, *NHIB*, s.v. 777).

Alms were systematically collected in the synagogue of the Diaspora for poor Jews in Palestine (this custom is mentioned by Jerome as existing in his time), and also every week for the poor of the synagogue itself. Officers were appointed to make the collection, and boxes for the reception of alms also were placed in the synagogues (Vitring, *Syn. Vet.* iii. 113). In Mk. 12.41 f., however, the reference is not to alms-chests but to one of thirteen trumpet-shaped boxes, placed in the court of the women to receive contributions towards the expenses of the temple worship (Schr. *GF* 2.209).

Jesus, then, did not need to awaken zeal for almsgiving among his countrymen: it was there already;

4. NT. it, since in the NT we meet with persons who were, in consequence of bodily infirmity, beggars by profession (Mk. 10.46 Lk. 18.35 Jn. 9. f., and note the technical term *πρωστῆρις*). He purified it from the ostentation which often corrupted it (Mt. 6.2-4); he accentuated the feeling of compassion, without which it is worthless (Lk. 10.33); above all, he taught that the disposition which gives alms by mechanical rule and bargains with God for compensation here or hereafter should yield to that impulse of the new heart which sees the supreme reward in likeness to a heavenly Father (Mt. 5.45). We cannot wonder then that, in the infant church at Jerusalem, without compulsion or rigid communistic system (see Acts 5.4), there was an ideal charity which made 'all things common' (Acts 4.32), and prompted rich men like Barnabas to sell their property for the sake of the needy (Acts 4.36 f.). No doubt the expectation that Christ's second coming was at hand stimulated this uncalculating generosity; but low esteem of worldly goods and love of the brethren were the mainsprings of this new development. It is also significant that the first election of Christian officers was made to secure a due distribution of alms. The Gentile churches, moreover, were bound to the mother church at Jerusalem by the offerings which they made for the poor in that city (Rom. 15.26 f. 1 Cor. 16.1-3 2 Cor. 9.1 f. Acts 24.17). Of course almsgiving found other channels. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews assumes that it is a necessary feature of the Christian life, and speaks of it as a sacrifice of thanksgiving which continues after the Jewish altar has been done away with. From very early days each church had its lists of poor (1 Tim. 5.9) and its common fund (Ignat. *Ad Polyc.* 4); and whereas in heathen clubs 'charity was an accident, in Christian associations it was of the essence' (Hatch, *Organ. of Early Christ. Church* 36). Cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS, especially § 5. W. E. A.

ALMUG OR ALGUM TREES אֲלֻמִּיּוֹת אֲלֻמִּיּוֹת

[BA], ΔΤ. [L]. 1 K. 10.11 f. f; אֲלֻמִּיּוֹת. ΠΕΥΚΙΝΑ [BAL], 2 Ch. 28 [7] 9.11 f. [T. ΑΠΕΛΕΧΑΝΑ. L. 7. 10; ΔΠΕΛ., L. v. 11 f.] yielded a precious wood, which was brought to Solomon, along with gold and gems, from OPHIR (q.v.); cp SOLOMON by the ships of Hiram, and was used to make 'pillars' (מַסְמָרִים, *יְפוֹסְתְּרִימָתָא* [BAL], RV mg. 'a railing' 1 K. 10.12 = 2 Ch. 9.11 מַסְמָרִים *diversitates* [BAL], EV

¹ The two forms, though differently rendered by Ⓞ and other versions, are obviously variants of the same word. The etymology is unknown.

'terraces') for the temple and the palace, as well as 'harps and psalteries.' In 2 Ch. 28[7], these trees appear along with cedars and firs among the products of Lebanon, with which Solomon asks Hiram to furnish him; but there is no mention of them in the parallel passage in Kings.¹

The very various opinions that have been held as to the identity of the tree are enumerated by Celsius (*Historia* 1.171 ff.).

Three may be mentioned: (1) The Jewish traditional rendering is 'coral'; but this is obviously unsuitable, unless we may understand by 'coral-wood' simply a red wood. (2) Kimhi takes it to be 'brazil-wood,' the *bakkam* of the Arabs, a red dye-wood found in India. (3) Most moderns, following Celsius (see his reasons, *op. cit.* 1.179 ff.), believe it to be 'sandalwood,' probably of the redder sort (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Linn.), which is still used in India for purposes similar to those recorded in Chronicles. The ancient versions yield no light; but see below.²

The evidence appears to point to some valuable Oriental wood brought (like lign aloes and cassia) into the Eastern Mediterranean by the ancient commerce of the Red Sea. If we may assume it to be a red wood adapted for carving, it may well be either (1) brazil-wood (a name of uncertain origin; the French *braise*, a glowing coal, has been suggested; it was transferred to the S. American country) = *Casalpinia Sappan*, Linn., a tree of India and the Malay Isles, apparently the *bakkam* of the Arabs; or it may be (2) red sandalwood, *Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Linn., an inodorous dye-wood, still surviving as a colouring matter in pharmacy,³ a native of Southern India, where it is much valued for temple pillars. Possibly both species may be included under the expression.

Ⓞ in 2 Ch. 28.9.10 f. gives ἔλαια πευκίνα, which agrees with the Chronicler's statement that the algum-wood came from Lebanon. Cheyne, therefore, proposes to identify 'almug' (the form attested by the earlier record, that in Kings) with *Flammula*, the name of one of the trees used by Sennacherib in building his palaces. The tree seems from its name to have been of Flamite origin; but so useful a tree may have been planted in Hermon and Lebanon. For מַסְמָרִים in 1 K. 10.11, it is possible to read מַסְמָרִים. Less probably we may suppose with Hommel that this hard and rare wood was 'a product of the trade of Ophir.' See *Exp. T.* 9.470 ff. 523 ('98), and cp ALAMMELECH.] N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ALNATHAN (ἄλναθάν [A]). 1 Esd. 8.44, RV ELNATHAN, 2.

ALOES and (once) Lign Aloes (אֲלֻמִּיּוֹת; Num. 24.6 ΚΗΝΑΙ [BAL], EV 'lign aloes'; Pr. 7.17 ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΜΟΥ [BNA], or ΟΙΚΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΣ. 458 [9].

1. Substance. מֵאֲלֻמִּיּוֹת [Aq. ΔΛΩΘ]. Cant. 4.14 ΔΛΩΘ [BA], ΔΛΩΘ 'N. [Aq. ΔΛΩΘ, SYR. ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΔΑ]. Jn. 19.39† ΔΛΩΘ [BNA],⁵ the modern *egg-wood*, a precious wood exported from SE. Asia, which yields a fragrant odour when burnt. It is entirely distinct from (1) the common bitter 'aloe' used in medicine, to which alone the name was given by classical writers;⁶ (2) the plant

¹ The Chronicler has probably mistaken an imported article of merchandise for a native product of Phenicia.

² Jerome renders *thyina*—i.e., 'citron wood' (*Callitris quadrivalvis*, Vent.)—an Algerian tree inordinately valued by the Romans for tables, not likely to have been known in biblical times or to biblical people.

³ It was the 'sanders' used in mediæval cookery for colouring sauces.

⁴ I.e., lignum *aloes*, a hybrid phrase; *vide* Skeat, *Etyim. Dict.* s.v.

⁵ [The critical student will not fail to observe that three of the four OT passages in which אֲלֻמִּיּוֹת or אֲלֻמִּיּוֹת occurs—beside to books or parts of books which eminent critics have regarded as post-exilic, and may be reminded here that the occurrence of rare plant-names is one of the phenomena which have to be considered in fixing the period of such documents. He will also notice that the reading of the fourth passage has on good grounds been amended. See the close of this article.—Ed.]

⁶ This latter is described, among ancient writers, by Pliny (*HN* 27.4) and Dioscorides (822), and its bitterness alluded to by Juvenal (6.181; 'plus aloes quam mellis habet').

commonly known as the American aloe (*Agave americana*), celebrated for the long period which elapses before its flowering. The biblical wood most probably corresponds to that described by Dioscorides (121) under the name ἀγάλλοχον¹ (cp Ges. *Theo.* 2798a)—a wood imported from India and Arabia, resembling thyme wood (Rev. 1812), compact, aromatic, in taste astringent and rather bitter, with a skin-like and somewhat variegated bark.² He speaks of its medicinal use—sweetening the breath and improving the internal condition of the body—and adds that it is burned instead of frankincense (cp Ar. *hūtūr* and see INCENSE).

The Hebrew name עֵשֶׂבֶת אוֹרֵן and the Greek ἀγάλλοχον² are almost certainly, and the Greek δόλη (or 'elwāi), Pers. *alwa*³ have an entirely separate origin: the Syriac word often means the bitter medicinal aloes (so in the majority of references quoted in Pⁿ *Theo.*, s.v.), and the Persian word is so explained by the lexicographers.⁴ In that case we have an instance of what is not uncommon in language, viz., that two things have arrived at the same name from different starting-points.

It is, however, possible that Gr. δόλη, Syr. 'alwai (or 'elwāi), Pers. *alwa*³ have an entirely separate origin: the Syriac word often means the bitter medicinal aloes (so in the majority of references quoted in Pⁿ *Theo.*, s.v.), and the Persian word is so explained by the lexicographers.⁴ In that case we have an instance of what is not uncommon in language, viz., that two things have arrived at the same name from different starting-points.

The 'aloes' and 'lign aloes' of the Bible are thus identified with the product of some tree of the genus

3. Source. *Aquilaria*, the chief home of which is in SE. Asia. According to Arab writers there were many different varieties of the *aqhālūjī* or 'ūd found in different parts of India and Ceylon, differing from one another in value according to the greater or less compactness of the wood, though all had the property of yielding a fragrant vapour if burned when dry.⁵ They speak of its use in perfuming clothes and persons, thus illustrating Ps. 45^b [9] and Cant. 4:14; and there are parallels to the usage mentioned in Pr. 7:17.

It would seem that the kind of eagle-wood most likely to be introduced into Europe in classical times was that yielded by a tree generally distributed through the Malayan region, which in early Eastern commerce would therefore naturally be associated with cassia. This is *Aquilaria malaccensis*, which is figured by Rumphius under the name of *cauro* and has from ancient times been esteemed by the Chinese. To this day 'it is the most important product of the forests of S. Tenasserim and the Mergui Archipelago.' Another eagle-wood is obtained in NE. India from *Aquilaria Agallocha*; but it is less likely that this should have formed an article of commerce in biblical times. Other kinds were obtained from the East in the Middle Ages; what the early Arab travellers have to say about them may be seen in Dymock, *Pharmacographia Indica* 3 218 220. They were similar but no doubt inferior products derived from different trees, and are probably to be regarded as comparatively modern substitutes.

Eagle-wood consists of diseased wood, infiltrated with odoriferous oil and resin. It occurs in irregular pieces varying in colour from grey to dark brown. It

¹ In later Greek also called *εὐαλόδιον*.
² This latter passed into Arabic as *aqhālūjī* or *aqhālūkkī*; but Arab writers usually call it *al-'ūd* 'the wood' *par excellence*, or *al-'ūd al-Hindī*, 'the Indian wood.'

³ These three are evidently forms of the same word; but here again it is difficult to say which way the etymology flowed.

⁴ On the other hand, in the single instance mentioned by Dozy (*Suppl.*) of the occurrence of the same word (*alwiy*) in Arabic—viz., in a poem quoted by Al-Makḡarī (*Hist. and Lit. of Arabs in Spain*, ed. Dozy, etc. 2 776, l. 15)—it seems to have the same meaning as the biblical word. Describing the pride of certain people, the poet says, with allusion to the old Arab custom of lighting fires in prominent places near their dwellings to attract wanderers to hospitable entertainments, 'and they throw on the fire of hospitality, from pride, their *alwiy* and their *kiba*' (the latter also is said to be a species of *agallochum*).

⁵ See the Arabic references discussed at length in Celsius, *Hierobot.* 1:135-171.

is found in the centre of the tree, and the search for it is laborious. The account of Dioscorides (see above, § 1) is accurate. The exterior, which cannot of course be the bark, is veined with a darker colour.

As regards the importation of this substance into W. Asia no difficulty arises when we remember the undoubted fact of a trade carried on by China with India and Arabia in early times, of which Ceylon was probably a chief depot. See on this subject Flückerig and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 2d ed., p. 520 f. A difficulty, however, appears when we consider Balaam's words (Num. 24 5 f.):—

'How good are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy dwelling-places, O Israel!
As valleys stretched forth,
As gardens beside a river,
As *lign aloes*! which Yahweh has planted,
As cedars beside waters.'

The wood may, indeed, have been imported by the Phœnicians, and thus be mentioned side by side with myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, etc., the spices of Arabia and India; but how could a Palestinian writer use, as a suggestive simile for the expansion of Israel, the growth of a tree which *ex hypothesi* was never seen in Palestine, but only far away in SE. Asia? The difficulty is pointed out by Dillmann, who remarks, 'Perhaps the original reading was עֵשֶׂבֶת (palms, Ex. 15 27; Gen. 14 6).' The word suggested, however, seems generally to mean 'terebinths'; Prof. Cheyne points out the parallel in Is. 61:3.² *Pistacia Terebinthus*, though often only a bush, may be a tree of from twenty to forty feet.

N. M.—W. T. D.

ALOTH (אֱלוֹת). According to 1 K. 4:16 Solomon had a prefect, Baanah, 'in Asher and in Aloth' (עַן תְּי מַלְאָלָא [B], . . . גַּלְאָלָא [L] omitting 'Asher'; עַן אֲשֶׁר וְכֵן מַלְאָלָא [A]). It is better, as in RV and Kau. HS, to read 'in Asher and Bealoth.' See BAALATH-BEER. Klostermann, recognising that a more northerly place is desirable, suggests the emendation 'Zebulun' (notice 'Naphtali,' v. 15, and 'Issachar,' v. 17).

ALPHA AND OMEGA (ΤΟ ΑΛΦΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ Ω [Ti. WH] Rev. 18 21 6 and [TO Δ IN B] 22:13). For similar use of first and last letters of the alphabet in Rabbinic writings see Schottgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ* 1:1 20 f.

ALPHABET. See WRITING.

ALPHÆUS (ΑΛΦΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]; Heb. [Aram.] אֱלִיָּהוּ [עֲלִיָּהוּ]), either a contraction from אֱלִיָּהוּ or a gentilicium from the place-name Heleph; on account of the η W & H write 'Alphaios).

1. Father of Levi the publican, named only in Mark (Mk. 2:14 = Lk. 5:27 = Mt. 9:9 [where Matthew is usually identified with Levi]).

2. Father of the second James in the lists of apostles (Mt. 10:3 Mk. 3:18 Lk. 6:15, Acts 1:13; see APOSTLE, § 1), not to be identified with Clopas and so made a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. See CLOPAS, § 3.

There is no reason for identifying (1) and (2). The Itala, it is true, and apparently also the more important of the MSS known to Origen, as well as D, read Ἰάκωβον instead of Λευεὺν in Mk. 2:14; but if this had been the original reading, it would be impossible to account for the subsequent substitution for James of a quite unknown Levi. The reading Ἰάκωβον arose simply because, at a very early date, a copyist knew of no son of Alphæus but James, and therefore took Λευεὺν for an error which he was bound to correct. If the Alphæus of Mk. 2:14 were to be identified with the Alphæus of the lists of apostles, on the assumption that Levi and the second James were brothers, then we should expect to find these two

¹ Instead of אֱלִיָּהוּ EBRAF reads אֱלִיָּהוּ, 'tents'; but this is obviously unsuitable. Cp its rendering in Pr. 7:12 (עֵשֶׂבֶת אוֹרֵן מִן הַיָּבֵשׁ).

² But see SBOT, Heb. on Is. 61, and cp CEDAR.

brothers forming a pair in the lists just as Peter and Andrew do, or John and the first James. This objection to the identification, however, is valid only on the assumption that Levi under the name of Matthew was admitted into the number of the twelve.

The Syrian writer Amrus in the 14th cent. makes Alphaeus accompany Nathanael (identified with Bartholomew) on his journeyings through Nisibis, Mesopotamia, and the rest of Western Asia (Lapsus, *Apost. Ab. apoc. h. ii. 201 f.*). p. w. s.

ALTANEUS (ΑΛΤΑΝΑΙΟΣ [A]). RV MALTANEUS, 1 Ead. 933† + Era 1033 MATTHEW, 2.

ALTAR.¹ The Heb. **מִזְבֵּחַ** means literally 'a place of slaughter or sacrifice' (cp Ar. *Madbah*,² and Syr. *Madhāhān*). The Gk. and Lat. terms,

1. Names. *βωμῆς* (cp *βωμός*), *ara* (cp *ἀραιώω*), *altare* (cp *altus*), on the other hand, describe the form of the altar as a raised structure without reference to its purpose. Occasionally (23 times) **Θ** uses the Gk. word *βωμῆς*; as a rule, however, **מִזְבֵּחַ** is rendered by *θυσιαστήριον*. The translation thus effected is close and exact; but *θυσιαστήριον* is unknown in classical literature, being apparently confined to biblical, Jewish,³ and ecclesiastical writers. In the NT *βωμῆς* occurs only once (Acts 17:23), and there the writer is speaking of an altar used for heathen worship. Elsewhere *θυσιαστήριον* is always employed.

We have, then, in the Hebrew word an accurate definition of the altar: it is a place of sacrifice. Why

2. Primitive idea. an altar should be required in order that the victim may be slain in a manner acceptable to the deity, and advantageous to

the worshipper, is not so obvious as we might at first be inclined to think. We might deem it a sufficient explanation to say that the altar served ends of obvious convenience. The flesh of the victim being placed on a raised platform specially appropriated to this object, the sacrifice was separated from contact with common things and from contamination, while a means was provided for performing the rite with due solemnity and in full sight of those who desired to associate themselves with the sacred offering. There is evidence, however, that in primitive times the altar possessed a much deeper significance than this. (The development of this primitive idea is traced elsewhere. See **IDOLATRY**, § 2; **SACRIFICE**; **MASSEBAH**.)

To the Arabs any stone might become for the nonce an altar, and evidently their Hebrew kinsfolk followed

3. Usage. originally the same ancient way. Thus, after the victory of Michmash, when Saul was told that his hungry warriors were devouring the flesh meat which they had taken as booty, without reserving the blood as an offering to Yahwē, he commanded his people to roll a great stone towards him, and on this natural altar the blood, the mysterious seat of the soul, was poured out, so that all was in order (1 S. 14:32-35). It is to be observed that here there is no question of burning. In Gideon's sacrifice, of which we have an account in Judg. 6:11 ff., the offering of cooked flesh and unleavened cakes is indeed consumed by fire miraculously kindled; but the altar on which the gifts are placed is simply a rock, and the broth of the cooked flesh is poured out upon it or at its base.

According to Ex. 20:24-26, on the other hand—a passage which, whatever be its date (see **EXODUS**, ii. § 3), may represent an ancient usage—the altar is to be of earth—a material used in early times by other nations—e.g., Carthaginians, Romans, and Greeks (for references see *Di.*, *ad loc.*)—or, if of stone, then of unhewn stone, the reason given being that an iron instrument would

¹ On references to Greek altars see **UNKNOWN GOD** and **ABOMINATION**, ii.

² The Arabic *Madbah* does not mean 'altar'. It has acquired that meaning through translations of the Bible. It is also used in the sense of 'rough' (from which see **WKS** *Ed. Nov.* (5) 341, n. 1; cp the remarks on *ghadghah*, *op. cit.* 240 f., 108 228).

³ Prof. Moore has pointed out that it occurs, not only as is sometimes stated, in Philo, but also in Eupolemus, *Ep. Arist.*, Jos., and other Jewish authors.

destroy the sanctity of the altar. Originally, it can scarcely be doubted, the idea was that changing the form of the sacred stone would drive the deity from his abode (cp **IDOLATRY**, § 4); but such ideas had passed away when the compiler wrote, and iron tools continued to be forbidden in deference to ancient custom no longer understood. Further, the altar here prescribed was to have no steps. In this way the person of the sacrificer was to be saved from exposure, an object secured by the priestly legislator in a very different way—viz., by making 'linen breeches,' or drawers, part of the priestly attire. Altars so constructed might be erected all over Israel: see **HIGH PLACE**, § 2 f. On the recognition of the altar as a sanctuary for homicides see **WRS** *Rel. Sem.* 183 f., and cp **ASYLUM**.

Very different was the altar erected in the foreground of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. The first

4. Solomon's temple. Book of Kings (9:25) makes direct mention of the fact that Solomon built an altar on which he offered sacrifice three

times a year. So, too, in 8:64, reference is made to the altar which 'stood before Yahwē'—i.e., in front of the temple proper—and it is described as the 'brazen altar' (**מִזְבֵּחַ נְחָשִׁים**). Thus the material itself offers a striking contrast to the altars of earth and stone which had been in use previously. Like the rest of the temple and its furniture, it was the work of a Phœnician artist, Hiram-Abi (2 Ch. 2:13, perhaps rightly; see, however, **HIRAM**, 2). Unfortunately, the account of the altar, which we should expect before 1 K. 7:23, is wanting.

The text of the passage has been mutilated because a later editor, misinterpreting 1 K. 8:4 (itself a very late insertion), supposed that the furniture of the tabernacle, including, of course, the brazen altar, had been moved by Solomon into his temple, so that no further altar of this kind was needed. The excision of the passage describing Solomon's brazen altar must have been effected in comparatively modern times, for the Chronicler shows that he had it before him in the text of the Books of Kings which he used (see *St.* in *ZATW*'s 157 [83]).

The Chronicler (2 Ch. 4:1) gives its dimensions. It was 20 cubits long and broad by 10 cubits high. Now, these are precisely the measurements of the altar in Ezekiel's temple (Ez. 43:13 ff.). The prophet really constructs his ideal temple of the future from his recollections of the old temple in which he may very well have served as a priest. We shall, therefore, not go far wrong if, with most modern archaeologists, we take Ezekiel's description as applicable to Solomon's altar. On that supposition, although the altar was 20 cubits broad and long at the base, the altar-hearth¹ was only 12 cubits by 12. The altar consisted of three platforms or ledges, the higher being in each case two ells narrower than the lower ledge. At the base was a gutter (EV 'the bottom,' RV mg. 'the hollow,' Ez. 43:13) one ell broad (**קַרְתָּ**, *κόλπωμα*, *κοίλωμα*, *κύκλωμα* in **Θ**), intended apparently for the reception of the sacrificial blood; and there was a similar gutter at the top round the altar-

5. Horns of altar, etc. heath. At the four corners of the altar were four projections called 'horns.'

Possibly they represent, as Stade has suggested, the beginning of an attempt to carve the altar stone into the form of an ox, which symbolised the power of Yahwē² (Nu. 23:22-24:8). Be that as it may, down to the latest times the horns of the altar were regarded as specially sacred, so that in the consecration of priests (Ex. 29:12) and in the ritual of the sin offering (Lev. 4:7 ff.) the blood was sprinkled upon them. It has been inferred from Ps. 118:27 that at one time the horns were used also for fastening the victim; but the meaning of the words is exceedingly obscure, and no conclusion of any value can be deduced from them.

The ascent to the altar was made by a flight of steps¹ The word for hearth or place for burning, which should probably be written **מִזְבֵּחַ** (see **ARIEL**, 2), occurs not only in Is. 29:1 ff., but also on the stone of Mesha (*Il.* 12 17 f.).

² Robertson Smith, however, regards the 'horns of the altar' as a modern substitute for the actual horns of sacrificial victims, such as the heads of oxen which are common symbols on Greek altars (*RS* 436).

on the E. side, and it is plain that an arrangement of this kind was absolutely necessary, when we consider the great height of the structure.

On the whole matter we must remember that Solomon had no strict rule to follow: he simply desired, with the help

of Phœnician art, to consult for the splendour of the royal worship. We need not, therefore, wonder that one of his successors, Ahaz (2 K. 16. 10 ff.), with the co-operation of Uriah the priest, constructed a new altar after the pattern of one that he had seen at Damascus, and made it the chief place of sacrifice.

Solomon's altar was placed, as has been already implied, in front—i.e., on the E. side—of the temple proper. Can we identify the exact site? Not

perhaps with anything like certainty; but it is worth while to mention the theory advocated by Willis, and more recently by Nowack. The Kubbet es-sahra, or dome of the rock, which stands on the temple area, covers a great rock pierced by a channel which passes into a sink beneath, and is connected with a water-pipe. The rock has been an object of the highest veneration to Christians, and (especially) to Moslems. It has been supposed that the rock stood on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite (on the name see ARAUNAH), that it was there David saw the angel (2 S. 24. 16 ff.) and erected his altar, and that Solomon (2 Ch. 3. 1 ff.) afterwards included the ground within the temple site. Solomon would naturally build his altar on the spot already chosen by his father and hallowed by the apparition; nor is it incredible, when we consider how tenaciously Orientals, under changed modes of belief, cling to the old sacred places, that David and Solomon built their altars on the rock now covered by the Kubbet es-sahra. The story of the apparition to David would, on this hypothesis, find a parallel in the apparition to Gideon (Judg. 6. 11 ff.), and in that to Manoah (Judg. 13. 19). The perforation, the water, and the sink would be explained as means for carrying off blood and ofal from the altar. It is true, as Dean Stanley has pointed out, that the rugged form of the rock would make it unsuitable for a threshing-floor; but that is no reason why the rock should not have stood 'by the threshing-floor' and been the place where the angel appeared. Cp ARAUNAH.

Within the temple proper, and in front of the Debir or innermost shrine, stood another altar, mentioned in

1 K. 6. 25 f. The text, which is corrupt, should be emended thus, with the help of **8. Altar of shewbread.** ἄ (ἀέθρον): 'he made an altar of cedar in front of the Debir.' From Ez. 41. 22 we learn that it was 3 cubits high by 2 cubits broad, and that the altar had 'corners' which took the place of the horns of the brazen altar. Ezekiel speaks of it also as a 'table'. Upon it, from ancient times (1 S. 21. 6[7]), the shewbread was placed before Yahwè, to be afterwards consumed by the priests.

We assume here that the TABERNACLE (*g.v.*), as described by the 'priestly writer,' is an ideal structure.

Said to have been made at Sinai, it was in reality an imaginary modification of the temple, suitable (so it was supposed) to the circumstances of the time when the Israelites wandered in the wilderness.

(a) The altar, called simply 'the altar' (Ex. 27. 1. 30. 18 40. 32, etc.), 'the altar of burnt offering' (Ex. 30. 8 31. 9, etc.), or 'the brazen altar' (Ex. 38. 30 39. 39), stood in the outer court, and was square, 5 cubits broad and long, by 3 high. Instead of being wholly of brass, it was a hollow framework of acacia planks overlaid with brass. It was thus small and portable. It had four 'horns'; midway between top and bottom ran a projecting ledge (so RV, AV 'compass'; קרנב; 27. 5), intended, perhaps, as a place for the priests to stand upon when they ministered, though the meaning of the word and the purpose intended are disputed.

Below this ledge there was a brazen grating (so RV, AV 'grate'; 27. 4) or NETWORK (קְרָמָח רָחֵק, קְרָמָח רָחֵק, which may have been a device to support the ledge and admit the passage of the blood poured out at the base of the altar. There were four brazen rings at the corners of this network, and into them the staves for carrying the altar were inserted. These staves, like the altar itself, were of acacia wood, overlaid with brass. So, too, the altar utensils—viz., קִירֹת, or pans for clearing away ashes, וַיִּים, or shovels, מִקְרָחֹת, basins or saucers for catching the blood and sprinkling, מִקְלָוֹת, fleshhooks for forks, חֲתָחֹת, or fire-pans for removing coals, etc.—were all of brass. Perpetual fire was to burn on this altar (Lev. 6. 12 f.).

(β) Ezekiel, as we have seen, mentions an altar within the 'holy place,' which he also calls 'the table of P's 'table,' which stands before Yahwè.' The 'priestly writer' calls it 'the table' (Ex. 25. 23 37. 10), 'the table of the face or presence' (Nu. 4. 7, קְרָחַת פָּנִים, cp RITUAL, § 2), because it stood before Yahwè (Ezek. 41. 22), 'the pure table' (Lev. 24. 6). In 2 Ch. 29. 18 it is spoken of as 'the table of shewbread,' מִשְׁחָתֵן הַשֶּׁמֶן—lit., the table on which rows (of loaves) were laid—to describe the purpose for which it was intended. It was of acacia wood overlaid with gold, and was 2 cubits long, 1 cubit broad, 1½ high. It was surrounded by a golden rim or moulding (רֵם, Ex. 25. 11; see CROWN), and at the bottom there was a border or ledge (הַתְּקֵנָה, Ex. 25. 25, EV 'border'), with a golden rim of its own. Where the feet of the table joined the ledge, golden rings were placed for the insertion of staves. The table was furnished with deep plates (קִירֹת, Ex. 25. 29, EV 'dishes'), 'spoons' or saucers (צִפְחֹת) for the incense (Lev. 24. 7), 'flagons' (קִיָּוֹת, Ex. 25. 29 [see FLAGON]) for the wine, 'bowls' (so EV, מִקְרָחֹת 25. 29) for pouring the wine in libations.

(γ) The altar of incense (קִיָּוֹת קִטְשֵׁי קְרָחַת, Ex. 30. 1, or מִקְרָחַת קְרָחַת, also called 'the golden altar' (Ex. 39. 38),

belongs only to the secondary sections of the Priestly Code. Ezekiel knows of no altar within the temple proper save the altar of the shewbread, and originally 'the golden altar' was only another name for this table. The Priestly Code, in its original form, speaks of the brazen altar as 'the altar'; and, whilst in Ex. 30. 10 the high priest on the day of atonement is to place blood on the horns of the altar of incense, in Lev. 16, where the solemn ritual of that great day is minutely prescribed, nothing is said of an altar of incense. The mention of the altar in the books of Chronicles and Maccabees (as also in the interpolated passage 1 K. 7. 48) is due simply to the influence of these novellæ in the 'Priestly Code.'

This altar was to be made of acacia wood; it was to be 2 cubits high, 1 cubit broad and long; the flat surface on the top (22, Ez. 43. 13, AV 'higher place,' RV 'base'), and the sides and horns, were overlaid with gold. It had a golden moulding round it (רֵם), and beneath this at the four corners were golden rings for the staves, which also were overlaid with gold.

In the reign of Darius a new altar of burnt offering was built, probably on the old site (cp Hagg. 2. 15), but, in accordance with the law in

12. Post-exilic. Ex. 20. 25, of unhewn stone (1 Macc. 4. 44 ff.). It was desecrated, and, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5. 4), removed by Antiochus Epiphanes. A new altar, also of unhewn stone, was built by Judas Maccabæus. Within the temple proper were the table for the shewbread and the golden altar of incense (1 Macc. 1. 21 4. 49 f.); but the latter, as far as it was distinct from the table, seems to have been introduced late, for Hecatæus (*Jos. c. Ap.* 1. 22) mentions only the

candlestick and one altar (or table) as the furniture of the holy place.

In Herod's temple the altar of burnt offering in the court of the priests was still of unhewn stones. The

13. **Herod's temple.** Mishna (*Middoth* 31) states that it was 32 cubits square at the base, and gradually narrowed to 24 cubits at the top; but the dimensions are differently given by Josephus (*B.V.* 56), and, before him, by Herodotus (*Miller, Fragm.* 2, 204). The priests approached it by an ascent of unhewn stone. There was a pipe to receive the blood, which was afterwards carried by a subterranean passage into the Jordan, and there was a cavity beneath the altar for the drink offerings. On the N. side were brazen rings for securing the victims. A red thread marked the place for sprinkling the blood. The altar of incense stood within the holy place, between the golden candlestick and the table of shewbread.

As we have seen (§ 1), the word *θυσιαστήριον* is frequently used in the NT for the Jewish altars; and the 14. **NT.** Apocalypse speaks of 'the golden altar' (83, and 'altar' in the same sense *passim*), because the writer pictures the worship of heaven under forms drawn from the old temple worship. In a passage which is unique, the author of Hebrews (1310) speaks of a Christian altar. The altar is, of course, not material but spiritual; it is the cross on which Christ offered himself, and the author is following the same line of thought when he exhorts believers 'to do good and communicate, since with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'

For the origin of altars see *Hebrews*, § 2; *Synonymes*: *Hebr. Pharis.* § 2, and *WRS Heb. Syn.*; for the Hebrew altars in later times Benzinger's *Hebr. Syn.* 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

AL-TASCHITH, RV **Al-Tashheth** (אל־תַּשְׁחִית); **ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩ ΣΥΜΜΗ**, **ΑΝ ΔΙΑΦΘΕΙΡΗΣ**; **SYMM.** Ps. 75†, **ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΘΑΡΕΙΑΣ**. It is used to signify 'to destroy' before the phrase (Ps. 57-59 75†, headings [v. 1]), and to explain 'To the tune of "Destroy not"' (cp *Is.* 658; so *WRS OTYC* 209). If, however, the view of the musical notes in the headings taken in *PSALMS* is correct, there can be no doubt that the phrase is corrupt, and that we should read with *Grätz* **נְשַׁחֲתֵנּוּ**, 'on the Sheminith' (see *SHEMINITH*).

ALUSH (אַלּוּשׁ; Sam. אֱלּוּשׁ; ΔΙΛΟΥΣ [AFL]-ΛΕΙΜ [B]; *ALUS*), a desert station of the Israelites between Dophkah and Rephidim (Nu. 3313† [P]). Not identified with certainty; and see *Di.* on *Ex.* 171. The *R.* (ed. Lag.) reads *al-wathanain*, 'the two idols,' probably because the translator understood by *Alush* the heathen temple at Elusa (see *BERED*, i. 1, and cp. *WRS Kin.* 293f.). See *WANDERINGS*, §§ 12, 14.

ALVAH (אַלְוָה; ΓΑΛΛΑ [ΔΕΛΕ] = אֶלְוָה; *ALVA*), *Gen.* 3640 = *1 Ch.* 13†, *Kr.* (EV **ALIAH** after *Kt.* אֶלְוָה; BA as above; **αλουα** [L]), one of the 'dukes' (?) of *ELIOM* 172, § 4. Cp. **ALVAN**.

ALVAN (אַלְוָן; ΓΑΛΩΝ [A]-ΩΜ [DE]-ΔΜ [L] transposing 5 and 1), *Gen.* 3623 = *1 Ch.* 140† **ALIAN** (אַלְוָן, but in many MSS אֶלְוָן; so **ΑΛΟΥΔΑΝ** [L], but **αλαδμ** [B], **αλαδμ** [A]), a name in the genealogy of *Seir*. Cp. **ALVAH**.

AMAD (אַמָּד; ΔΜΙΔΑ [B], ΔΜΑΔ [A], ΔΛΦΑΔ [L]), an unidentified point in the border of Asher (*Josh.* 1926†). **AM** presupposes *Ammiel*. There are several other place-names compounded with **am**. See *Gray, HPN* 48f., who rightly declines the explanation of

1 **AM** points to a reading אֶלִים, *Elim*. Perhaps the writer, wishing to fill up the interval between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim (cp *Ex.* 171), repeated *Elim*, the name of an earlier station. See *ELIM*.

Am'ad as 'people of eternity.' **AM**'s **αλφασδ** may point to **ἐλπαλ** (*ELPAAL*) for which **AM** in *1 Ch.* 811 gives **αλφασδ**. This may be correct. T. K. C.

AMADATHA, RV **Amadathus** (אַמָּאדָּאָתָּה [B]), *Esth.* 166, etc. See **HAMMEDATHA**.

AMAL (אַמָּל; ΔΜΑΔ [BA], ΔΛΔΜ [L]), in genealogy of *ASHER* (§ 4 ii. 1, *1 Ch.* 735†).

AMALEK (אַמְלֵק; ΔΜΑΛΗΚ [BAL]), but -ΗΚ *1 S.* 15 25 [A]; gentilic, **Amalekite**, אֶמְלֵקִי, ΔΜΑΛΗΚ [BAL].

1. **Seat.** but also -κ[ε]ΤΗΚ [BAL], a tribe with

which the ancient Israelites, at several periods of their history, were engaged in warfare. According to two passages, each of which confirms the other, there appears to have been a time when Amalekites dwelt even in Central Palestine: in the Song of Deborah we read of 'Ephraim whose root is in Amalek' (*Judg.* 514; **AM**AL, however, ἐν κοιλίᾳ), and Pirathon in Ephraim (the modern *Ferati*, about 6 m. WSW. of Nablûs) was situated 'on the mountains of the Amalekite,' or 'of the Amalekites' (*Judg.* 1215, **λαρακ** [AL]). Of these northern Amalekites nothing further is known. According to several passages of the OT, the home of Amalek was in the desert of the Sinaitic peninsula, the modern *Tih*, S. and SW. of Judea. It is scarcely safe to conclude from *Nu.* 1329 1425 43 45 that they once had settlements also in southern Judæa; still less can we build any such theory upon *Gen.* 147, although the geographical allusions in this chapter have more authority than the legendary narrative itself. When the Israelites

2. **Exodus.** came out of Egypt into the desert of Sinai, they had an encounter with the Amalekites at Rephidim (*Ex.* 178-16), which is not very far from Mount Sinai (*Nu.* 3315). It was natural enough that the nomads, who lived on the scanty products of this region, should do their utmost to expel the intruders, nor can we wonder at the mortal hatred with which the Israelites thenceforth regarded Amalek. That the narrative, in spite of its legendary features, has a historical foundation cannot be doubted. The story of an encounter in the desert of Paran—*i.e.*, the *Tih* itself (*Nu.* 1425 43 45)—is probably nothing more than a less accurate version of the same struggle, which, it is true, can hardly have been limited to a single skirmish. Whether the account of the Deuteronomist (*Dt.* 2517-19) was derived from any other source besides *Ex.* 178 ff. is not quite clear, although he mentions one additional circumstance, namely 'the cutting off of those who were wounded (7)'—the term **עַשְׂרֵהוּ** was perhaps suggested by **עַשְׂרֵהוּ** in *Ex.* 1713. The verbal repetition of the curse is worthy of note. In *1 S.* 152, there is an obvious allusion to the passage in *Exodus*.

The mention of the Amalekites in *Judg.* 313 is perhaps due only to an ancient dittography (עַשְׂרֵהוּ עַשְׂרֵהוּ, a reading which, at all events, must have been known to the author of the Maccabean Psalm 83—see *v.* 7 [8]); but it may be questioned whether Budde is justified in considering the reference to the Amalekites in connection with the Midianites (*Judg.* 6333 712) as a mere gloss; it is in fact by no means improbable that besides the Midianites various other nomadic tribes made inroads upon the Israelite peasantry at the period in question.

The account of the wars of Saul against the Amalekites (*1 S.* 15) is unfortunately not altogether trustworthy.

3. **Saul and David.** Even in its original form it must have contained many exaggerations; and it has been subjected to considerable revision.

The high figures which appear in the narrative have no historical value. The same may be said of the vast extent attributed to the Amalekite territory in a passage imitated from *Gen.* 2518 (*1 S.* 156). We may with some certainty, however, conclude that the very first king of Israel inflicted severe losses upon the wild nomads (cp *SAUL*, § 3). In this connection we read of King Agag (the only

Amalekite proper name known to us, it may be noticed in passing), to whom the words of Balaam in Nu. 24.7 refer. The description of the death of Agag, obscure as it is, has a very antique colouring, and reminds us of Judg. 8:18-21. Popular tradition has strangely interwoven the fate of the Amalekites with that of Saul. According to one story, which does not agree with the narrative in 1 S. 31, Saul was slain by an Amalekite, who forthwith carried the news to David, but instead of being rewarded was put to death. Even in the book of Esther, composed many centuries later, reference is made to the enmity between Saul and Agag, as the Rabbins long ago observed: the righteous Mordecai is descended from the one, and the wicked Haman from the other.

At the moment when Saul fell on Mount Gilboa, the Amalekites, as it happened, were signally defeated by David. An ancient and well-informed narrator tells us how David, an exile at the court of the king of Gath, while professing to be very differently occupied (see ACHISH, DAVID, § 5), was in reality carrying on a war of extermination against the aboriginal tribes, in particular the Amalekites (1 S. 27.8). On one occasion the Amalekites profited by his absence to seize his residence, Ziklag, and carried off all its inhabitants. He pursued them, however, made a sudden attack with a band of only 600 men, rescued the whole of the spoil, and slew them all, with the exception of 400 who escaped on their camels (1 S. 30). Even the details of this narrative may, for the most part, be regarded as historical; it is obvious that the struggles here described were not wars on a large scale but mere raids such as are usual in the desert.

In after times Amalek does not come into prominence. The words of Balaam, which describe it as 'the first-born of nations' (*i.e.*, primeval nation?), and at the same time foretell its overthrow, are spoken rather from the point of view of the age in which Balaam is placed than from the point of view of the real author, who seems to have lived about the eighth century B.C. (cp BALAAM).

According to the remarkable notice contained in 1 Ch. 4.42 ff., 500 men of the tribe of Simeon, under leaders whose names are specified, exterminated the last remnant of the Amalekites in the mountain country of Seir and settled down in their place. Hence it would appear that the last Amalekites dwelt in the mountains of Edom. With this it agrees that Gen. 36, the substance of which must be at all events pre-exilic, represents Amalek as the son of Esau's first-born, Eliphaz, by a concubine—*i.e.*, as an Edomite tribe of inferior rank: see Gen. 36.12 (of which 1 Ch. 1.36 is an incorrect version), and compare 2.16. The concubine in question is Timna, according to 2.22 (= 1 Ch. 1.39), a sister of Lotan of Seir, and according to the second list in 2.40 ff. (where Amalek is omitted), an Edomite tribe or settlement. Thus the remnants of Amalek are, to some extent, reckoned as members of the Edomite race.

The mention of Amalek among the contemporaneous enemies of Israel, by a psalmist of the Maccabean period (Ps. 83.7[8]), is merely an example of the poetical licence whereby an ancient name is applied to a modern people, just as, *e.g.*, Greek writers of the sixth century A.D. call Goths 'Scythians.' As far as we can judge, the Amalekites were never a very important tribe; at their first appearance in history they are threatened with total destruction, and it would seem that neither Egyptian nor Assyrian records allude to their existence. Ancient Arabic authors, indeed, describe them as a mighty nation which dwelt in Arabia, Egypt, and other countries, and lasted down into post-Christian times. The present writer, however, thinks that in his short essay 'On the Amalekites' (Göttingen, 1864), he has succeeded in proving that these and other similar statements are either fancies suggested by passages in

the OT, or else deliberate fictions, and therefore have no historical value. At the present day this opinion seems to be generally accepted.

One branch of the Amalekites, it is true, appears to have lasted somewhat longer than the rest. When Saul attacked the Amalekites he ordered the doomed people, on the ground that they had shown kindness to Israel at the time of the exodus (1 S. 15.6). The Kenites must therefore have belonged to Amalek, or must, at least, have stood in close connection with them (cp Judg. 1.16 as in *SHOT*). Thus we find that the oracle of Balaam (Nu. 24.21 ff.) mentions this people, under the name of Kain (2.22, EV mg.), immediately after Amalek. Their friendly relations with Israel are, moreover, shown by the fact that, according to Judg. 1.16, the father-in-law of Moses was a Kenite (elsewhere a Midianite), and also by the fact that his descendants entered Palestine in company with the tribe of Judah. Hence the Kenites are reckoned as a part of Judah (1 S. 30.29, cp 1 Ch. 2.55); but according to the more accurate view they were a distinct people, though they dwelt in the south of Judaea, and were recognised as kinsmen by David (1 S. 27.10). From 1 Ch. 2.55, it would appear that the Rechabites, with whom the nomadic life had become a religious institution, were included among the Kenites (Jer. 35. 2 K. 10.15.23). In another district, the great plain of S. Galilee, we meet with Heber the Kenite (Judg. 4.7). For W. Max Müller is mistaken when he derives the name from a city called Kln (*As. u. Eur.* 174); the Song of Deborah reckons Jael, the wife of Heber, among 'women in the tent' (Judg. 5.24), which shows that the people in question are nomads. Accordingly we have no right to regard these Kenites as wholly distinct from those in the South. The oracle of Balaam mentions Kenites in the rocky hills of the South, foretelling that they will be carried away captive by the Assyrians. Gen. 15.19 includes the Kenites among the ten nations whose land God will give to Israel.

This people must therefore have been a nomadic tribe, which, at least in part, belonged to Amalek, in part was absorbed into Israel, and in part, it may be, maintained a separate existence for some time longer. It is not impossible that the Bedouin tribe, Kain, which dwelt in the desert of Sinai and the neighbouring districts about six centuries after Christ, may be connected with the Kenites (Kain) of the OT, as the present writer, following Ewald, has stated (*op. cit.*). At the present time, some further arguments might be brought forward in favour of this hypothesis, which, however, is still very far from being absolutely proved.

On the other hand, there are many objections to the theory that Cain, the fratricide, is a representative of the

7. Cain. Bedouin tribe of the Kenites, as well as to other hypotheses of Stade/*ATH* 14.2. [194], great as is the acuteness with which they are supported. A few points alone can be here referred to. Cain, the brother of Abel the shepherd, is expressly described as a *husbandman*. After his evil deed he becomes 'a wanderer and a fugitive'—*i.e.*, an outlawed, homeless criminal. This is something quite different from a nomad, who regularly goes to and fro within the same pastures in the 'desert.' That the Kenites, from among whom Moses fetched a wife, and who have a good name almost everywhere in the OT, were a tribe of smiths¹ (and therefore of pariahs), has no evidence in its favour, nor can we find any indication that the later Arabian tribe of Kain (Bal-Kain) was of such a character. In the Ar. *kain*, which, it is true, also means 'smith, craftsman,' several words appear to be combined. Besides, blood-vengeance, which is first mentioned in the story of Cain, is by no means a

¹ Similarly Sayce, *Revue of OT* 115. 'They formed an important guild in an age when the art of metalurgy was confined to a few.' See however Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1.280-281.

the 'anointed' of Yahweh and the founder of the one legitimate dynasty (We *Psalm* 130).

3. A priest, temp. David (1 Ch. 15:24).
4. Ancestor of Mahath, a Kohathite Levite, temp. Hezekiah; probably a family name; cp no. 1 (2 Ch. 29:24); *מַשָּׂא* [Bā], *אַמַּשָּׂאִי* [L].
5. See below, AMASHAI.

AMASHAI, or rather, as in RV, **Amasheal** (אַמַּשְׂאֵל), where **D** implies a reading *עַמְשֵׁי* based on a false derivation from *עַמְשֵׁי*; perhaps really to be read Amishai, see AMASAI), a priestly name in the post-exilic list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, II, § 15 a), Neh. 11:13 (אַמַּשְׂאֵל [Bā]). - *מַשָּׂא* [L]. - *מַעְשָׂא* [L] (1 Ch. 9:2) where the name is MAASAL AV MAASIAI (מַעְשֵׂי מַאֲסִיאִי [Bā, Gi.]), some authorities *מַעְ* [Gi.]; *מַאֲסִיאִי* [B.], -*מַעְ* [L], *מַאֲסִיאִי* [L]; *מַאֲסִיאִי* in Neh. 11:13.

AMASIAH (אַמַּשִּׁיָּה) § 29. 'Yahweh bears,' cp AMOS; *מַאֲסִיאִי* [B.], *אַמַּשִּׁיָּה* [L.], *אַמַּשִּׁיָּה* [L.], one of Jehoshaphat's captains (2 Ch. 17:9 f.).

AMATHEIS (אַמַּתְּהִישׁ [B.]), 1 Esd. 5:29 AV = Ezra 10:29 *ATHAL*.

AMATHIS (אַמַּתְּהִישׁ [A.]), 1 Macc. 12:25† AV, RV HAMATH (2:2).

AMAZIAH (אַמַּזִּיָּה) and in nos. 2-4, *אַמַּזִּיָּה*, § 29, 'Yahweh is mighty,' cp AMOZ; *אַמַּצְעִלְיָה* [BāL.], -*צִדְדִּי* [M.], -*מַאֲצִלְיָה* [BāQ.], -*מַאֲצִי* [L.].

1. b. Joash; father of Uzziah and king of Judah *circa* 780-740 B.C., see CHRONOLOGY, § 35, 37 f. 2 K. 11:1-19:2. Two points in his favour are mentioned in Kings—viz., that he punished his father's murderers and that he reconquered the Edomites who had revolted (see EDOM, § 3; JORTHIEL, 2). Whether he was to any extent successful against that restless and warlike people has indeed been doubted, but on grounds which will not bear examination.

Am. 1:11 f. is, in fact, more than probably a later insertion (see AMOS, § 9), so that the inference, drawn from this passage by Stade (in 37) and Kittel, that Amos knew of no great calamity befalling Edom in recent times, falls to the ground.

Amaziah's unfortunate challenge to Joash king of Israel (who treated him, according to the narrative, 'as a good-natured giant might treat a dwarf,' 2 K. 14:8 ff.) ended seriously enough, in the strengthening of the old supremacy of northern over southern Israel (see ISRAEL, § 31). It is quite possible that the Edomites took advantage of the weakness of Judah to recover in some degree their independence; but of this we have no information.

The Chronicler assures us (2 Ch. 25:14) that, on his return from the sanguinary battle in the 'valley of salt' (cp 2 K. 14:7), Amaziah adopted the worship of the Edomitic deities, forgetting that such an act would be possible only if the Edomites were either the masters or the allies of the people of Judah.

Like his father, Amaziah died a violent death; possibly, as Wellhausen, Stade, and Kittel suppose, the conspiracy against him was not unconnected with the disgrace which he had brought on his country. The Chronicler's treatment of Amaziah's reign is of special significance for the Chronicler's period (see Bennett, *Chron.* 413-417, and cp Kue. *Finl.* § 51, n. 4).

Sources. The account given in Kings is of composite origin. 2 K. 14:1-14 comes from a somewhat unfriendly source, which may be of N. Israelitic origin. The rest of Ch. 14 belongs to the Deuteronomitic compiler, who lays stress on Amaziah's better side, and who at the close of his story probably makes use of the royal annals.

1. Priest of Bethel, temp. Amos (Am. 7:10-12). See AMOS, § 1.
2. A SIMONIDE (1 Ch. 14:34 *אַמַּשִּׁיָּה*) [BāL.], -*אַמַּשִּׁיָּה* [L.].
3. A Merarite, temp. David (1 Ch. 6:45 [30] *אַמַּשִּׁיָּה* (?) [B.], -*אַמַּשִּׁיָּה* [L.], *מַאֲסִיאִי* [A]).

T. K. C.

AMBASSADOR, the EV rendering of the following three Hebrew words:—

1. *Mēšāh* (מֵשָׂחַ) in 2 Ch. 82:31 (*מְשָׁחִים*), more properly 'interpreter' (as EV in Gen. 42:23 [*מְשָׁחִים*]), in Is. 43:27 (RV mg. *ambassadors*, *ἀμπασι* [B.], but Av. Sym. *ἐρμηνεῖς*), and in Job 38:23 (*מְשָׁחִים* have *ἀμπασι* [B.]).
2. *Amšāh* (אַמְשָׁח) in 2 Ch. 35:21 Is. 30:4-38 f. Ez. 17:15 (x *מְשָׁחִים* send; cp *DBD Lex.*, *ad loc.*; *ἀγγελλοσ*), a word used indefinitely

of any messenger; see, e.g., of a priest (cp Mal. 2:7), a prophet (Is. 42:19; *οἱ ἀμπασι*), or (as *Evangelist*) an angel. *Amšāh*, accordingly, often approximates to the idea of 'ambassador': cp the emissaries sent to Edom, Sihan king of the Amorites, and Ammon (1 S. 20:14 21:2 *מְשָׁחִים*, Job. 1:12; EV 'messengers').

3. *šir* (שִׁיר) in Is. 18:2 (*שִׁירָא* [BāM.], and Th. but Av. *מְשָׁחִים*, Sym. *ἀμπασι*, *ἀμπασι*), *שִׁירָא*, cp 1 Macc. 1:28 7:20 8:1, 10:1, 15:37; RV (AV 'messengers'; *αγγελλοσ*), Job. 49:14 Th. 17 25:13 (EV in the last, *messengers*; *αγγελλοσ*) and Ob. 1:4 (*שִׁירָא*, a confusion with *שִׁירָא* or *שִׁירָא*). The denom. *w. šir*, 'to feign one's self an ambassador,' found in MT of Jos. 9 (cp EV) should be read *שִׁירָא*, 'take provision' (so RV mg. after most versions; cp Bennett, *A History*, *ad loc.*).

In the Assyriac 'ambassadors' represents *muššaru*, *muššaru* in 1 Macc. 9:70 11:14 21:1 (*μυσηρ* [BāV] in 1 Macc. 9:70 11:14 21:1), and *muššaru* in 2 Macc. 11:14 15:14 15:15 15:16 15:17 15:18 15:19 15:20 15:21 15:22 15:23 15:24 15:25 15:26 15:27 15:28 15:29 15:30 15:31 15:32 15:33 15:34 15:35 15:36 15:37 15:38 15:39 15:40 15:41 15:42 15:43 15:44 15:45 15:46 15:47 15:48 15:49 15:50 15:51 15:52 15:53 15:54 15:55 15:56 15:57 15:58 15:59 15:60 15:61 15:62 15:63 15:64 15:65 15:66 15:67 15:68 15:69 15:70 15:71 15:72 15:73 15:74 15:75 15:76 15:77 15:78 15:79 15:80 15:81 15:82 15:83 15:84 15:85 15:86 15:87 15:88 15:89 15:90 15:91 15:92 15:93 15:94 15:95 15:96 15:97 15:98 15:99 15:100 15:101 15:102 15:103 15:104 15:105 15:106 15:107 15:108 15:109 15:110 15:111 15:112 15:113 15:114 15:115 15:116 15:117 15:118 15:119 15:120 15:121 15:122 15:123 15:124 15:125 15:126 15:127 15:128 15:129 15:130 15:131 15:132 15:133 15:134 15:135 15:136 15:137 15:138 15:139 15:140 15:141 15:142 15:143 15:144 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A distinction between messengers and diplomatic agents naturally presupposes an acquaintance with state-craft hardly possible in Israel before the monarchy, and even in David's time emissaries from one court to another were liable to be abused, although the punishment inflicted upon the offenders may suggest that ambassadorial rights were beginning to be recognised (see 2 S. 10:1 ff.).

The first use of *šir*, apparently the only approach to a specific word for 'ambassador,' naturally belongs to the time when Israel had been forced into diplomatic relations with Egypt and Assyria (of whose frequent intercommunication at a much earlier period the Amarna tablets tell us so much). From the nature of the case *šir* is presumably a loan-word.² The employment of the term *mēšāh*, 'interpreter,' is the more interesting since Aramaic was the language of diplomacy for Assyrians and Hebrews; cp Is. 36:11, and see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2. See POST, *Kaushakh*, 80-81 f.

AMBER (אַמְבֵּר; in pause [Ez. 8, 2, where, however, Co. regards it as a gloss] *אַמְבֵּרָה*).

Cp EGYPT, *hmn*, 'electrum' or 'bronzite'; see EGYPT, § 36 last note, also Lag. *Electrum*, 187; but cp *Electrum*, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514,

himself usually employs the expression 'pale gold' when he alludes to the native alloy. Sophocles, too (*l.c.*), shows that he is employing the word in an unusual and extended way, by appending the qualifying phrase 'from Sardis'.

Usually the word has quite another meaning.

In Homer, *ελε*, where the word occurs thrice and is significantly applied to an article trafficked in by Phoenicians, the trader who captured Eumeus is described (*Od.* 15.46) as having a golden necklace (αετία δ' ἠλεκτροσάν-ερατο) strung with pieces of electrum (similarly in *Od.* 18.26, ἠλεκτροσάν ερατόν). The use of the term in the plural in these passages forbids us by any possibility taking it as meaning the gold and silver alloy.

If, then, by electrum the versions do not mean metallic electrum they must mean amber. There are, however, two kinds of amber, and it remains to consider which is meant. The one, usually a dark red (rarely of a light colour), is found in the south of Europe (Catania, Reggio) and in the Lebanon; the other, usually of a yellow or golden colour, but occasionally darker in hue, has from ancient times been met with in great abundance on the shores of the Baltic (whence our chief modern supply is derived), and also occurs on the coasts of the North Sea. As the Phoenician had red amber thus at his very door, he may early have learned to employ it for purposes of art and ornament, just as he learned his art of dyeing with purple from having the murex in abundance by his shores. Moreover, red amber is, as stated above, also to be found in Sicily, and may have been procured thence. As increased demand called for an increased supply, traders, sailing round the coast of the Aegean in quest of new fishing grounds for the purple-fish, would naturally search keenly for fresh supplies of the precious substance, for the ancients prized amber far beyond its modern value.

Its power of attracting light substances, and the fact that when warmed it emitted a faint perfume, invested it for them with an odour of HESPERIS. How far they actually ascribed to it certain medicinal properties, as is still the case in the East with ambergris—an animal substance that has lent its name (adopted by us from the Arabs) to amber—it is impossible to say. As these two substances, which have really nothing in common save the power to emit a kind of perfume, have been called by the same name, the fact that ambergris is prized as an aphrodisiac may perhaps indicate that there was some belief that amber (electrum) possessed some similar potency. This is actually stated by Pliny (*VII* xxxvii. 311), who tells us that in his own time the peasant women in the regions north of the Po wore amber necklaces, chiefly as an ornament, but also for medical reasons, and goes on to enumerate a number of ailments for which it was regarded as a specific, either taken as a potion or applied externally. That its property of attraction (whence our modern word electricity) was early known to the Greeks is proved by the notice of Thales.

But how would red amber naturally give a name to a metallic electrum? To the eye of the Greek the

essential difference between pure gold and the alloy (to which we have a

2. Perhaps yellow amber. English confined the name electrum) being the pale colour of the latter (λευκός χρυσός), any name which he would apply to it to differentiate it from pure gold would naturally be one which would indicate this paleness. The reddish amber of the South would not furnish such a name, having no resemblance in hue to metallic electrum. But the yellow Baltic amber, varying as it does in shade from almost white to a bright golden, would give a fairly accurate description of the alloy, whose hue varies with the proportion of its component parts. Similarly when, in the second passage quoted above from the *Odyssey*, a necklace of gold set with pieces of amber is likened to the sun (ἥλιου ὤς), the golden (Baltic) amber answers to the description far better than the red. We may assume, then, that from remote ages supplies of Baltic (yellow) amber as well as of red amber were available.

Nor is this a mere hypothesis. It has been removed from the realm of probability into that of established fact, by the finding of amber in the tombs discovered at Mycenæ by D. Schliemann in 1876, and of beads of the same material in his more recent excavations at Tiryns. As the red amber and the Baltic amber differ essentially in chemical composition, Dr. Helm, an eminent chemist of Dantzig, has been able to prove

by actual analysis that this amber is the Baltic variety (Schliemann's *Tiryns*, 1886, App. p. 374).

It was, doubtless, from the German tribes along one of the highways which were in constant use in historic times that the ancient supplies of Baltic amber were obtained. We know that down to the time of Herodotus (about 430 B.C.) the Greeks had not as yet opened up any line of communication with the amber coasts from the side of the Euxine.

Herodotus visited Olbia, and though he has given a pretty full account of those regions, mentioning a trade-route leading towards the East, and though we know from his own words (311) that the amber trade was a subject which had excited his attention, he expresses the commonly received opinion that it was obtained at the mouth of the Eridanus [Po].

Neither does Baltic amber seem to have reached Greece in his time by any Russian-Balkan route (59). Down to the time of Theophrastus (315 B.C.) it was entirely through northern Italy that the Greeks got their supply of it.¹ The lake-dwellings of Switzerland and the valley of the Po have yielded abundance of beads of Baltic amber, and similar beads are well known in the tombs of central Italy. We need have little hesitation, therefore, in believing the statement of Pliny² (*VII* xxxvii. 344) that it was brought by the Germans into Pannonia and thence reached the Veneti, who dwelt at the head of the Adriatic.³ As the main lines of commerce change but little through the ages, it was probably by this route that the amber beads reached Mycenæ and Tiryns in the bronze age, and articles of the same kind may even have reached Palestine. The bead found at Lachish, however, has been proved, since this article was in print, to be not Baltic amber, but, like that found at Tell-Zakariya (*PEF*), April 1899, p. 107), a resin, and no trace of amber has yet been found in Mesopotamia (Per-*Chip.*, *Art. Child.* 2362). Nevertheless it is possible that even the yellow variety may have reached Palestine in the sixth century B.C., and the view of the ancient versions that the Hebrew *hashmal* indicates this substance may be correct.

W. R.

AMEN אָמֵן: ⁴ in \mathfrak{S} usually גְּבוּרָה; ⁵ in work of Chriener אָמֵן, and so in NT very often,⁶ an adj.

1. In OT, signifying stability, used only as an interjection expressive of assent of one kind or another.⁸ Three stages may be distinguished: (1) *Initial Amen*, referring back to words of another speaker: probably the earliest usage, occurring even in common speech⁹ (1 K. 136 Jer. 286 115), the only certainly pre-exilic Amen).¹⁰ (2) *Detached Amen*, the complementary sentence being suppressed (Dt. 27 15-26 Neh. 5 13; double in

¹ They appear to have confused with it a stone called *Λυγούριον* or *lygurium*; as so often occurs they mistake the region whence the article was transmitted to them for the actual place of production (Theophr. *De Lap.* 16).

² Pliny's statement is confirmed by a remark of Herodotus (196) from which it appears that the only knowledge then obtainable respecting central Europe came by way of the Veneti, a fact which shows that the Greeks knew of a line of communication in this direction.

³ Pytheas of Massilia had, in the fourth century B.C., found the Guttones gathering it and giving it in trade to the Tuttones.

⁴ It probably occurs in twelve places in the Hebrew, for in Is. 65 16, although אָמֵן (עֲשֵׂיתָמֵן), Sym., Pesh., and Hg. have *amen*, it should probably (so Che. Di. Du. Rys. in Vg., and perhaps Targ. Jon. אָמֵן אָמֵן) be vocalised otherwise, perhaps אָמֵן (as in Is. 25 1, where indeed the Gk. Vss. [but Sym. not, as usual, אָמֵן, but πῆσαι] and Vg. read *amen*).

⁵ \mathfrak{S} read it also, in a corrupt text, in Jer. 35 11 and in Jer. 39 19. EV has *amen* always; RV even in Jer. 13 5. It occurs in six places in \mathfrak{S} Apoc. (for Judg. 13 20 cp Eih. Pesh.). Vg. adds *Isaiah* 12 13 and 2 Esd. [Neh.] 13 31; in Ecclesi. 60 29 it is probably late.

⁶ Eight (eleven) times, ἀληθῶς ONCE.
⁷ There is much variety of text. TR has it in some 119 places, of which RV rejects 10 (see below, § 2).

⁸ See, however, Barth. *36* § 3 and 7A.

⁹ For three kinds see *Sheshu'oth* 36a (mid.).

¹⁰ It seems most likely that in Jer. 39 19 \mathfrak{S} read אָמֵן as אָמֵן = אָמֵן אָמֵן.

¹¹ \mathfrak{S} has it also in Jer. 39 15 11 (Is. 25 1 is not pre-exilic).

Nu. 5:22 and in Neh. 8:6 = 1 Esd. 9:47). Amen must have been in liturgical use in the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch. 16:36 = Ps. 106:4). Later, but very similar, are Judith 13:20 Tob. 9:12 (Vg.), and Tob. 8:8. With the fact that none of these relates to temple service may be compared, e.g., *Jer. Berach. 14c*. The Chronicler, however, appends Amen (*l.c.*) to extracts from Pss. 105 and 96.¹ (3) An apparent final Amen, there being no change of speaker; frequent from NT Epp. onwards, but in OT only (*a*) in subscription to first three (four) divisions of Psalter and 3 and 4 Macc., and (*b*) at end of prayer, Neh. 13:31 and Tob. 13:18 (both only in Vg.). In Tob. 14:15 (BKA) we have almost a fourth stage: (4) a simple *subscriptional* Amen, like that, e.g., of the TR of Lk., without, strictly speaking, any preceding doxology.²

Just as Θ translates, as we have seen, by $\gamma\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\omicron$ in the Law, the Prophets, and even the Psalter, but has

2. In NT. $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$ in the Chronicler and $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\sigma\upsilon\phi\alpha$,³ so in NT Lk. often avoids (omits or translates) Amen, and so even Mt. and to a less extent Mk. Stage (1) is represented by only Rev. 7:14 19:4 22:20; (2) by Rev. 5:14 and the usage testified to by 1 Cor. 14:16; (3) by usage of Epistles (fifteen doxologies, mostly well-attested; ⁴ nineteen blessings, mostly ill-attested).⁵ There is no real instance of (4).

The Amens of the Gospels (fifty-two in Synopt., twenty-five in Jn.) are a peculiar class, declared by Delitzsch⁷ unparalleled in Hebrew literature: initial Amens⁸ like group (1), but lacking the backward reference. The sayings that they introduce are only sometimes at all related to what now precedes them. The double $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$ (twenty-five times) of the Fourth Gospel, which occurs even in Jn. 13:38 (= Mk. 14:30, etc.), Delitzsch tried (*l.c.*) to explain as = Aram. *amen amēna* (= *amen amēnā* = $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\omega\omega$), which sounded like $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$ $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$; but Dalman argues strongly against this.⁹ For a suggestion of a different kind see GOSPELS, § 50 n.10.

The key to Rev. 3:14 (δ $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$), 'the faithful and true witness', is doubtless the traditional Massoretic pointing of Is. 65:16 (at least as old as Sym.) with possibly a reminiscence of the practice of Jesus and of 2 Cor. 1:20. Here, again, $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$ is neut., and the meaning is not quite so clear; but probably $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\upsilon$ has about the same meaning as in 1 Cor. 14:16.

The liturgical use of Amen, vouched for in apostolic times by this last passage, is attested, as regards the Eucharist, by Justin Martyr for the second century (*Apol. 1. 65*, δ $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ $\lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega\omega$ $\lambda\iota\tau\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron$), and,

3. Elsewhere. $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta$ in the second century (*Apol. 1. 65*, δ $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ $\lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega\omega$ $\lambda\iota\tau\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron$), and, e.g., by Jerome two centuries later (preface to *Mohammedans are in the habit of adding it after reciting the first Surah of the Koran*). The synagogue still uses it,¹⁴ and Mohammedans are in the habit of adding it after reciting the first *Surah* of the Koran.

For references to older literature see, e.g., Vigouroux, *Bib. Dict.*, s.v.; for references to passages in Talm. see, e.g., Kohut's *Aruch*, s.v.; for usage of temple doxology

4. Literature. *Gratz, Mithr.*, 1872, pp. 481-96, and *Paulinen 62 f.*, 91 ff.; for Rabbinic treatment, e.g., Jehuda Khalas, *Seder ha-Miṣṣer*, *Perq.*, 4 (ed. Mantu, 42); Yosef Caro, *Beth Ya'acōf (Orach-Najyim)* ed.

¹ Gratz accordingly argues that our Psalms are a synagogal arrangement.

² This is hardly true of Θ .

³ Except Judith 13:20.

⁴ W & H give, in square brackets, also a final 'Amen.'

⁵ All except 2 Pet. 3:18.

⁶ Also Rev. 1:7 (after $\nu\alpha\iota$; neither doxology (?) nor benediction). Rev. 1:18 1 Jn. 5:21 2 Jn. 13 are excluded in RV. Cp *JQR* 98, n. 2.

⁷ *Talm. Stud.* ix. $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta$ $\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta$ in *ZLTh.*, 1856, pp. 422-4.

⁸ All in sayings of Jesus. The five finals (Mt. 6:13 28:20 Lk. 24:53 Jn. 21:25 Mk. 16:20) are wanting in the best MSS.

⁹ See Dalim. *Gramm.*, 193 (cp 71 77 40, 228 146).

¹⁰ See now also Dalman as cited below, § 4.

¹¹ See *Shabath* as above and many other places. For an example of 'Amen' in conversation see *Aboda Zara* 65 a.

¹² *Shabath* 119b mid. of p.

¹³ *Ier.*, 47 a.

¹⁴ *Authorised Daily Prayer-Book*, N. M. Adler, 1891.

Venise, 1899, 1 fol. 147-148. On the whole subject see H. W. Hogg, 'Amen, notes on its Significance and Use in Biblical and Post-biblical times', *JQR* 9:1-23 (196), and in connection therewith Nestle, 'The Last Word in the Bible', *Zeitschrift für Theol.*, January 1897, p. 109 f. In the above must now be added Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* 185-7 (98).

H. W. H.

AMETHYST (אֲמֵתִישֵׁט, Ἀμεθυστος [BAF], $\cdot\text{COC}$

[L], *amethystus*, احم حم). The amethyst is a variety of quartz (SiO_2) or rock-crystal (see CRYSTAL) of a clear purple or bluish violet colour (from iron peroxide or manganese), often marked by zigzag or undulating lines (the colour being disposed in clouds). The Greek name (Rev. 21:20; cp Ex. 28:19 = 39:12 [36:19 in Θ]), which was adopted into Latin, implies an ancient belief that the wearer of an amethyst could drink wine freely without fear of intoxication. The source of the belief is found in Theophrastus (*Lap.* 31), who is the earliest Greek writer to mention the stone, which he calls $\tau\omicron$ $\alpha\mu\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. It is a simple case of sympathetic magic, for Theophrastus says (*Lap.* 31) $\tau\omicron$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\alpha\mu\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\iota\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ ι $\tau\omicron$ $\nu\iota\omega$ wine-coloured, hence its amuletic potency against the effects of wine. Greek engravers, accordingly, not infrequently cut Bacchanalian subjects on this stone. Hence the point of several epigrams in the *Anthologia Graeca* (e.g., ix. 752, on the ring of Cleopatra, adorned with Methē, Drunkenness; and ix. 748, on a gem engraved with a figure of Bacchus). It seems also to have been believed that the amethyst caused those who wore it to dream, or to have propitious dreams (cp the extract from Burhan in Lag. *Mithr.* 1:236). Hence the engraved *ahlamā* of the 'Breastplate' of P (Ex. 28:19 = 39:12; explained by Kimchi as the dream-stone; in אהלהם 'to dream') has been commonly identified with the amethyst (thus apparently Θ), so much engraved by the Greeks. Cp PRECIOUS STONES.

Del., on the other hand (*Heb. Lang.* 36 n.), derives the name from *Ahlāmā*, an Armenian people and district often mentioned in Babylonian and Assyrian texts, supporting the suggestion by referring to Sennacherib's repeated mention of Armenia and its neighbourhood 'as a rich mine of certain precious stones. Bondi considers it an Egyptian loan-word (*akhlāmā*), while Dh. connects it with אהלהם, the mallow, and adopts the explanation 'green malachite.' W. R.

AMI (אֲמִי), Ezra 2:57 = Neh. 7:59 AMON (אֲמוֹן, 3)

AMINADAB (אֲמִינָדָב [Ti. WH]), Mt. 14 and (אֲדָמַיִן [WH], mg. אֲדָמַיִן) Lk. 3:33 AV = RV AMINADAB (אֲמִינָדָב, 1).

AMITTAI (אֲמִיטַי, § 52, from אִמְתָּ, 'truth,' perhaps a theophrasous compound; אֲמַחֲזֵר [BAL]), father of the prophet Jonah (2 K. 14:25 Jonah 1:1).

AMMAH, The Hill (אֲמָה, אֲמָה; \circ BOYHOC אֲמָמָה [B], אֲמָמָה [A], אֲמָמָה [L], אֲמָמָה [BAF], [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 13]), an unknown hill 'that lieth before Giah (?)', where Joab and Abishai stayed their pursuit after Abner (2 S. 24:4). From a comparison of $\nu\tau$. 24 and 25 it is probable that we should restore the name also in $\nu\tau$. 25 for 'an hill,' AV 'an hill' (אֲמָה [B]).

So Bu. (SOT), Sam. ad *loc.*, following We.'s suggestion that the two hills are the same. Otherwise Lk., who in $\nu\tau$. 25 conjectures אֲמִיטַי (אֲמִיטַי), the ascent of Adummim.

In $\nu\tau$. 24 Sym. (אֲמָה, gully) Theod. (ἀδραμαγός) and Vg. (*aqueductus*) give the word a meaning which it bears only in post-biblical Heb.; moreover, since the word אֲמָה has no article prefixed, it cannot be an appellative here.

AMMI (Hos. 2:1, and in Lo-ammi, 2:23[25]). See L^o-RUHAMAH.

AMMI, Names with. The element 'ammi (אֲמִי) or, at the end of words, 'am (אֲמִי) has been interpreted in

three different ways—viz., as meaning (1) [my] people, or (2) [my] kinsman or uncle, or else as being (3) the proper name of a paternal uncle.

So long as this group of names¹ was regarded by itself in the light of Hebrew philology alone,

¹ The exact limits of the group are uncertain; for in the case of several names that have been included in it, it is impossible to doubt

relations between the Israelites on the one hand and the Moabites and the Ammonites on the other (Dt. 2.9-19). All we can say is that the story in Gen. 19.36-38 (J) proves an early Israelitish sense of kinship (combined however with moral repugnance) to the Moabites and Ammonites, so that it is not in itself incredible that the Israelites should have refrained from attacking these two peoples. True, in Jos. 13.25 (P) we are told that 'half the land of the Ammonites was assigned to the tribe of Gad; but the district intended here may be the Amoritish kingdom of Sihon, and so pre-supposed the view of history given in Judg. 11.13-22 (see above, § 2).

Dt. 23.4 [3] affirms that the Ammonites and Moabites hired Balaam to curse Israel, and did not supply Israel with provisions, as a punishment for which they are to be excluded from the Israelitish community to the tenth generation.

The spirit and purport of this passage, however, is at variance with that of Dt. 2.7, and the narrative of Balaam in Nu. 22-25 (mainly JE) speaks only of the Moabites. For several reasons it is very probable that Dt. 23.1-8 [2-6] (see BALAAM, § 7) is a record, not of the pre-exilic, but of the post-exilic period when 'the problem as to who should and who should not be admitted into the community was a burning question' (Ku. *Hex.* 265). At any rate the view which this passage presents of the Ammonites cannot be accepted.

It is of more historical interest that in Nu. 22 we have a combination of two distinct traditions (E and J) respecting the origin of Balaam, one of which represents him as an Ammonite (see BALAAM, § 1).

The settlement of Israelitish tribes in Gilead and Bashan (see MANASSEH) could not but excite the animosity of the neighbouring peoples. No doubt there was a chronic border-warfare sometimes developing into more serious hostilities, sometimes mitigated by truce, alliances, or the subjection of one or other of the combatants. In Judg. 10.6-12 we have an account of the deliverance of the Israelites of Gilead from Ammonitish oppressors by a recalled outlaw named Jephthah. The traditional stories have been much edited (see JUDGES, § 17) and tell us naturally more about Jephthah (who was one of the actors in a most

moving tragedy) than about the Ammonites. We are upon safer ground in the story of Saul. The victory of this heroic chieftain over the Ammonitish king Nahash, who, encouraged by the weakness of cis-Jordanic Israel, had besieged Jabesh-gilead, and displayed his deep contempt for his foes, is doubtless historical (1 S. 11). It is also thoroughly credible that David, when out of favour with Saul, received friendly treatment from Nahash (so we must interpret 2 S. 10.2). Equally intelligible is it that a change ensued in the relations between David and the Ammonitish court when the former had taken up the work, interrupted by the death of Saul, of liberating and uniting the Israelitish tribes. Only we must not, it would seem, place the war with the Ammonites too late. The gross insult offered by Hanun, the son of Nahash, to the ambassadors of David implies that the power of the latter had not yet been so consolidated as to wipe out the recollection of the days of Israel's humiliation. The insult was bitterly avenged. Ammon and its allies were defeated, and the power of the former was, for the time, broken (see 2 S. 12.31).

It is noteworthy that Shobi, son of Nahash, of Rabbath-ammon, was friendly to David during Absalom's revolt (2 S. 17.27), that ZELK, an Ammonite, was among David's 'thirty' (2 S. 23.7), and that Solomon had an Ammonitish wife (NAAMAH, 2) whom one account (see Klostermann) makes the granddaughter of Nahash, and who became the mother of Rehoboam (1 K. 14.21; the details in 1 K. 11.1-8 are untrustworthy). See NAHASH, 3.

It is probable that the Ammonites recovered their independence after Solomon's death. Later, like the kings of N. Israel, they became tributaries of the Assyrians; this is expressly mentioned by Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon (Schr. *KGF* and *COT*). So far as our oldest evidence goes, they caused no serious trouble again to the Israelites till the time of Jeroboam II., when, as Amos tells us (Am. 1.13), they made incursions into Gilead, and displayed great

inhumanity, which probably from their own point of view was but justifiable revenge. The Chronicler, indeed, relates victories over the Ammonites won by Jehoshaphat and Jotham (2 Ch. 20.27-5, cp 28.6); but these, according to Robertson Smith (*OT/C*¹) 146, are Midrash. From Jer. 49.1, we may infer that after the deportation of the trans-Jordanic Israelites in 734 the Ammonites occupied the land of Gad; and, even if Jer. 49 be post-exilic, the fact is too probable to be doubted. It is this outrage upon 'Yahwe's people' which seems to be alluded to in Zeph. 2.8-11 Jer. 3.26 [25] 25.21. Once again the vindictiveness of the Ammonites was manifested when, in the reign of Jehoiaikim, they made incursions into Judah as the auxiliaries of Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. 24.2). This is probably referred to in Ezek. 21.28 f. [25 f.]. Later, however, the general fear of the Babylonian rule seems to have altered the policy of the Ammonites, for Jer. 27.3 brings before us the king of Ammon entering into a league against Babylon with Zedekiah and other princes. It is to this act of rebellion that Ezekiel refers (21.18-32 [13 f.]) when he anticipates the punishment of the Ammonites, while in 25.1-7 he threatens the same people with destruction for their malicious demeanour at the captivity of the Jews. Did the Ammonites withdraw in time from the anti-Babylonian league? It is a very probable conjecture, and, strange as it may seem, Jewish fugitives are said to have sought refuge with Baalis, king of Ammon, who instigated them basely to assassinate the noble (GEBELAH, 1 [Jer. 40.14]).

In Daniel's time we find an Ammonite¹ among the chief opponents of Nehemiah, and at the same time connected by marriage with distinguished Jews (Neh. 6.1; 13.4; cp TOBIATH, 4).

6. Persian and Greek. Other Ammonitish women had married into Jewish families (Ezra 9.1 f.)—i.e., according to Kisters, into families which had remained on Jewish soil and not been touched by the reforming spirit of Ezra (see EZRA, ii. § 12). This would be all the easier if we are right in inferring from Jos. 13.24 (27.12-23 belong to P) that in *post-exilic* times there was in Benjamin a place called 'Village of the Ammonites' (CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI). It is to this period of mixed marriages that we should not improbably refer the composition of Dt. 23.1-8 (see above), in which passage are mentioned the same three peoples as in Ezra 9.2.²

Nearly three hundred years later the Ammonites (Timotheus) among the enemies defeated by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. 5.6-8); they are also mentioned in a psalm assigned by some to the same critical period (Ps. 83.7).³ Up to this time, then, Ezekiel's threat (Ezek. 25) against the Ammonites as well as against the Moabites and (virtually) the Edomites that they should be dispossessed by the 'sons of the East' (i.e., the Arabian nomads) had not been fulfilled so far as the Ammonites are concerned. Their fate, however, cannot have been very long delayed. In the fifth century B.C. we already find 'Arabians' among the enemies of Nehemiah (Neh. 2.9.14 [1]), and we can hardly doubt that by degrees the Ammonites, like the Moabites before them, had to amalgamate with the land-hungry intruders.

It is true, Justin Martyr, who died 166 A.D., states (cp *Tryph.* 119) that the Ammonites were still numerous in his time; but Josephus (*Ant.* 1.11.5) once says precisely the same thing of the Moabites, though elsewhere he speaks of the Moabites and Gileadites as Arabians (*Ant.* xiii. 9.2), which agrees with the statement of Origen (*in Jobum* 1) that the term Ammonites had become merged in that of Arabs. This makes it probable that the omission of 'Ammonites' in 1 Esd. 8.69 (= Ezra 9.1) was not accidental but deliberate.

The close connection of Ammon with Moab, and, in

¹ See, however, BETH-HORON, 4.

² Prof. Ryle (*Ezra* and *Neh.* 115) thinks that 'the mention of the Ammonite, Moabite, and Egyptian together, suggests the influence of Deut. 23.3-7 [4 ff.]'. Guthe (*SBOT*) assigns the enumeration of the peoples to the Chronicler.

³ Cp. also ACHTIS.

a less degree, with Israel, and the fact that the Moabites

7. Language. spoke a dialect of Hebrew (see HEBREW, § 6) renders it almost certain that the Ammonites also spoke the 'language of Canaan.' This view is confirmed by Ammonitish proper names, e.g., Hanun, 2 S. 10:1 (חנן 'treated graciously'); Nahash, 1 S. 11:1 (נחש 'serpent'); Naamah, 1 K. 11:21 (נעמז 'pleasant'); and the royal names Amminadab (see above, § 1), Padihu = Abded (Jer. 36:6), and Ba-sha = Baasha (Schr. *COI* 1:167).

8. Religion. Baethgen's argument (in his *Beiträge* to the polytheism of the Ammonites) is based partly on Judg. 10:6, partly on the analogy of Moabitish religion. The only extant Ammonitish proper name, however, which can be held to be compounded with a divine name other than that of the supreme God, is Baalis (see BAALIS). At any rate Milcom was as much the great national god of Ammon as Chemosh was of Moab (see MOLOCH); the strange slip by which Jephthah is made to speak of Chemosh as the god of Ammon suggests that 'Ammon' has been substituted by an editor for 'Moab' in the passage (Judg. 11:22-23) in which it occurs. In 2 S. 12:30 where Milcom (*q.v.*) should be read instead of *malikim* 'their king,' reference seems to be made to a huge statue of Milcom in the capital city. The statement that Solomon became a worshipper of Milcom in his old age rests on no good authority (see SOLOMON). When we pass to later times, it is tempting to infer with We. (*JIG* 2:156, n. 1) from the name of Nehemiah's Ammonitish enemy that the worship of Yahwê had begun to attract the Ammonites. The dissolution of the old national bonds may have favoured the growth of a monotheistic tendency. T. K. C. (W.H.B.)

AMMONITES (עַמּוֹנִים), 2 Ch. 20:1, RV⁹⁵ MEUNIM (עֲמוֹנִים).
AMMONITISS (עַמּוֹנִית), 1 K. 14:21 ff. 2 Ch. 12:13 24:26. See AMMON.
AMNON (אֲמֹנִן), in 2 S. 13:20f אֲמֹנִן, i.e., 'safe', by some regarded as a diminutive used in a contemptuous sense [cp Dr. *TBS*, *ad loc.* *Wt. Ar. Gram.* (2) I. § 269; Ges. *Heb. Gram.* [ET 98] 250, n. 1]; We. [*JIG* (2) 24, n. 2] explains as אֲמֹנִינִן, 'my mother is the serpent,' see NUN; אֲמֹנֹן [BAL], אֲמֹנֹן [A, 2 S. 13:26 *sup.*].
 1. David's eldest son (see DAVID, § 41 iii. d), slain by Absalom in revenge for his outrage on Tamar (2 S. 3:2 13:1 ff.; 1 Ch. 3:1 f).
 2. In genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4:26f).

AMOK (אֲמוֹק), 'deep, inscrutable', post-exilic priestly family; Neh. 12:720 (om. BN^aA); אֲמוֹק [L and, in 7:7, N⁹⁵ *sup.* *sup.*, in 7:2, N⁹⁵ *sup.* *inf.* אֲמוֹק]. See EZRA, 2, § 6 b, § 11.
AMOMUM (אֲמוֹמוֹן [Ti. WH following N^aAC]), an unidentified aromatic substance, mentioned only in RV mg., Rev. 18:13 (RV Spice, AV om. with BN^c; Wyclif, however, gives 'amome'). The classical 'amomum' (= 'blameless') was a shrub of Eastern origin ('Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum,' Verg. *Ecl.* 4:25), from which were made oil for funeral rites and unguents for the hair. As, however, it is used also of any odour pure and sweet (Salm. *ad Solin.* 284), its identification is uncertain. It may possibly be the vine *Cissus vitifera* (Linn.), a native of Armenia. The modern term is applied to a genus of aromatic plants (N.O. Zingibraceae), including the cardamon and seeds of Paradise.
AMON (אֲמוֹן), Jer. 46:25 RV. See NO-AMON.
AMON (אֲמוֹן, אֲמוֹן, § 67; 'firm'? workmaster'? but see below). 1. (אֲמוֹן [BA], -אֹן [L]; אֲמוֹן.) Fairly well attested as the name of the son of king Manasseh, himself also king of Judah; 2 K. 21:28-26 (אֲמוֹן [A],

1 Ch. 3:14 (אֲמוֹן [B^a*. see Swete], 2 Ch. 33:20-22. After a reign of 'two years' (circa 638 B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 36) he was assassinated by certain of his courtiers (see Kittel, *Hist.* 2:378). The event produced a profound sensation. Amon, though disliked by religious reformers, was a favourite with the people, who avenged his death. If his name is derived from the Egyptian (Theban) sun-god, it is an interesting proof of the fluctuations of political party (Egyptian and Assyrian) in the reign of Manasseh (cp ISRAEL, § 36).

2. (Σαμων [AL]) less certainly, the name of a governor of Samaria under Ahab; 1 K. 22:26 (Σαμων [B], Ammon [A]) = 2 Ch. 18:22 (Lump [L]). Σ is plainly strongly assimilated to the pronunciation of the Hebrew Ammon. Σαμων, however, can hardly be correct, but Emer or Emmer is the Σ form for the Inner of MT in Jer. 29:1 and elsewhere (see ISRAEL, *sup.*) and of this form both Amon and Semei (שִׁמְעִי) can easily have arisen as misunderstandings. See STA. 2:4 ff. 5:12-173 ff.

3. (אמעי [L]). The b'ne Amon (50 MT), a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 9); Neh. 7:59 (אמעי [BMA]) = Ezra 2:57 אמעי (אָמַי); cp EB: ἀμωκιστῶν; אמעי [BA] = Ezr. 2:54 אַמְוִי, RV ΑΛΕΩΝ (αλλων [B], αλλ, [A], etc., ΑΛΩΝ ΔΑ for M). T. K. C.

AMORITES (אֲמֹרִי, collective, and always with article, except Nu. 21:29 Ezek. 16:45; ΑΜΟΡΑΙΟΙ [BAL]).

Other Σ readings are 1-αμωροι [Is. 17:9], αμωραϊοι [Dt. 1:4 f., 1 K. 21:1 A, 1 Ch. 1:14], αμωραϊοι [Isa. 17:9], αμωροι [Gen. 14:13 A], αμωριε [Ezra 9:1 BAL], αμωραϊοι [1 K. 17:43 B].

In the List of Peoples 'the Amorite' appears among sons 'begotten' by Canaan (Gen. 10:16 J = 1 Ch. 1:14).

The term is used: (1) of a pre-Israelitish people living E. of the Jordan, Nu. 21:13 21:25 Josh. 24:8 (all E), also Josh. 2:10 9:10 (JE), Dt. 1:4 3:8 49 Judg. 10:9 11:1 K. 4:19 (S⁹⁵ *om.*), Ps. 137:1 136:19, and elsewhere; (2) of a people on the W. of Jordan, Josh. 10:25 24:11 24:18 (all E), also J. 11:7 (JE), 24:10 (S⁹⁵ *om.*); (3) of southern people, Dt. 17:44, cp Gen. 14:7; (4) of the ancient population of Canaan in general, Gen. 15:16 (J or R), 48:22 (E, Am. 2:9 f., and Is. 17:9) (Eng. WRS Ch. following S⁹⁵ *sup.*) with the Hivites.

The Amorites are mentioned also in the lists of Canaanitish peoples subjugated by the Israelites (Gen. 15:21 Ex. 38 and elsewhere). The lists commonly include the Canaanites, Girgashites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Perizites, and once, in Gen. 15:19-21, the Kenites, Kenizites, Kadmonites, and Rephaim, for which reference must be made to the separate articles. On the variation in the order of these enumerations, which are obviously 'rhetorical rather than geographical or historical,' cp Dr. *Deut.* 66 ff.

The passage in Amos (2:6f) is remarkable, because Amorite is used, precisely as by the Elohist (E), as a general term for the primitive population of Canaan, and because the Amorites, as an extinct race, are invested with a half-mythical character (like the Anakim).

Wellhausen (*CH* 341 f.) regards the designation 'Amorites' as substantially synonymous with that of Canaanites, though not quite so comprehensive. According to this view, the Canaanites, in the time of the biblical narrators, are still living in the land (i.e., in the cities of the plain which were not occupied by the Israelites). The Amorites, on the other hand, are thought of as the old inhabitants of the hill-country E. and W. of the Jordan, now inhabited by the Israelites. Thus the Amorites belonged exclusively to the past; they had their day and ceased to be (Gen. 15). This explains how it is that, although under ordinary peaceful circumstances the Canaanites are spoken of as the old inhabitants of the land, whenever mention is made of war and conquest, the Amorites at once take their place (Gen. 48:22). So Moses' adversaries, Sihon and Og, are kings of the 'Amorites'; and, similarly, it is with the twelve kings of the Amorites that Joshua has to deal W. of the Jordan. Winckler however (*Gen* 1:52 ff.) disputes the synonymy of the terms 'Canaanites' and 'Amorites' on the ground that, as the Amarna letters show, the coast-land as far N. as Sidon or even farther, was called Kinahî (= Canaan), and that

the Amorite population had its seat in the interior. He explains the distinction in the nomenclatures from the different local origin of the two writers (an Ephraimite and a Judahite respectively). On the extra-biblical facts, and on the inferences to be drawn, see CANAAN, §§ 3-4 and cp PHENICIA.

AMOS (אָמּוֹס), § 56, 'borne [by God]'; cp AMA-SIAH, *Ac.* *Amos*, PHEN. אָמּוֹסִין, אָמּוֹס (BAQ[.]).

1. Prophetic activity.

Amos is the earliest of the prophets whose discourses and predictions were possess written records with an accompanying statement of their authorship. Of the external facts of his life we should know little but for the narrative digression in 7:10-17, which interrupts the series of prophetic visions on the fall of Israel. From a statement there assigned to Amaziah, 'the land is not able to bear all his words,' we may reasonably infer that Amos's ministry in the northern kingdom had lasted for some time, when it was brought to an abrupt close by an act worthy of the heroic Elijah. Amos, it appears, came forward at length in a place where success was more difficult than anywhere else, and uttered a prophecy to this effect—'Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall be carried away from its land.' It was in Bethel, the seat of the royal temple corresponding to that of Jerusalem in the south, and probably at some great festival, that Amos said this; and the priesthood, faithful to its royal head, took the alarm. Not so much as the prophets of the preceding period, did the reigning dynasty (for he had not done so in the interests of any upstart noble) as because he had begun to weaken the moral courage of the Israelitish people (Jer. 38:4). With the half-contemptuous speech, 'Carry thy prophecies to those in the neighbouring country who may think them worth paying for,' Amaziah, the head priest of Bethel, by the royal authority, bade Amos fly from the land of Israel. Amos would not retire without a parting testimony. These are his significant words: 'No prophet, no member of a guild of prophets, am I'; that is, I am no ecstatic enthusiast, like the prophets of Bethel, whose prophesying is a trade, and whose oracles are mere heathenish divination (cp Mic. 3:1). 'But a sheep-breeder am I,'¹ he continues, 'and one who tends sycamore figs' (see SHEEP, SYCOMORE); that is, I am above the sordid temptation to take fees. 'Yahwè took me from following the flock; Yahwè said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.' That is, My prophesying has an immediate practical object which concerns the whole nation, and it is due to a moral impulse which has come straight from Israel's God. Then, in answer to the command, Prophesy not against Israel, Amos repeats his message with a startling personal application (cp Is. 22:17-18).

Such was Amos—a strange phenomenon to the head priest of Bethel, as representing an entirely new type of prophecy. Whence then did this prophet come? Was he a native of Israel or a 'sojourner' from Judah? The heading of the book (on the origin of which see below, § 4) at first sight appears to be decisive in favour of the latter view. Budde has made it probable² that we should render 'Amos, who had been among the sheep-breeders, (a man) of Tekoa.' In any case, Amos is represented as a Tekoite. Now, there is no trace in ancient or in modern nomenclature of more than one TEKOA (q.v.). That Amos belonged to the southern kingdom has, nevertheless, been doubted,³

¹ *Roud* 275, with *Out.*, We. (Σ, α, αμωσ); cp 11. *Mesha* is also called אָמּוֹס (2 K. 3:4). The word refers to a breed of stunted sheep, valued for their fine wool (see SHEEP).
² *Kolbe, Aemite, Aemite in 10th ff.*
³ According to Oort, Amos was an Israelite who cultivated sycomores in his own country, but after his expulsion dwelt among the shepherds of Tekoa (7:6, 7:20, etc. [91]). Grätz (and so formerly Oort), following Kimhi, supposes a second Tekoa in the north.

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on the twofold ground (1) that the interest of Amos is absorbed by (northern) Israel, and (2) that Tekoa lies too high for sycomores to be grown there. As to the first point, Amos, though deeply interested in Israel, is not, like the native Israelitish prophet Hosea, a sympathetic observer of the life and manners of the north. The inner impulse from above sending him to Israel is psychologically accounted for by the vastly greater importance of Israel as compared with Judah in religion, in politics, and, we may add, in literature. As to the second, Amos may very well have possessed a plantation of sycomores in some low-lying district in the Shephelah or in the Jordan valley (see SYCOMORE). We may accept it, then, as a fact, that Amos was a Judahite, and sprang from a place famous in the time of David for the quick wits of its inhabitants (2 S. 14:2).

3. Preparation. The situation, too, of Tekoa, was well fitted to develop the future prophet's capacities. From the extensive view which his own hill commanded, he would gain, at any rate, a sense of natural grandeur, though we must not infer from this that he was capable as a Tekoite of writing Am. 4:13 and the parallel passages.¹ Not far off, he would meet with the caravans of the Dedanites (Is. 21:13) and other Arabian peoples, and would imbibe from them a longing to see other men and manners. Possibly, too, such an idiom as אָמּוֹס אָמּוֹס (4:10) may be explained from Arabian influence (so We.).² Whatever the social position of Amos may have been, he was not tied to the soil, and may, before his journey to Samaria, have wandered, either on business or from curiosity, far away from home, and have seen and heard much of which his neighbours were ignorant. To suppose this is not to deny that even the stayer at home had opportunities of hearing news,³ but to try to understand the alertness of Amos's intellect, the width of his knowledge, and the striking culture and refinement of his style. At any rate, it is plain that he studied thoroughly, on the spot, the condition of life and thought in the northern kingdom, and we must regret that we have no further contemporary traditions respecting him, than that contained in 7:10-17. One very singular tradition, indeed, we have, which appears to be a very late distortion of his story. It is the story (1 K. 13) of the man of God from Judah, who went to Bethel in the reign of Jeroboam I. and threatened the altar there with destruction by an earthquake⁴ (cp Am. 3:14 7:9 9:1). Though this teaches us much concerning a late view of prophecy, however, it affords no fresh glimpse of Amos.

A post-exilic editor says (Am. 1:1) that Amos prophesied during the contemporary reigns of Uzziah of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel. Of

4. Notes of date. Uzziah there is no express mention in the book; but the description of the careless ease of Jerusalem in 6:1a accords with the circumstances of his reign; to Jeroboam II. the prophet refers in 7:9, and his biographer in 7:10f. The heading also states that the prophecy as a whole was delivered (*i.e.*, in its original form) 'two years before the earthquake.' Unfortunately, our only other authority for this earthquake⁵ in Uzziah's reign is about as late as this note (Zech. 14:4). It is no doubt plausible to defend its historical character by referring to 4:11 ('I wrought an overthrow among you'), and by our prophet's vivid idea of earthquakes as one of God's means of punishment (8:8; cp Is. 2:19 21). Am. 88, however, is certainly an interpolation, and it is not impossible that the rather too precise

¹ G. A. Smith (*HG* 315) has given eloquent expression to this view. In *Twelve Prophets*, however, he admits the late origin of the passages.
² On the intellectual opportunities of Tekoa see Stieckel (*Hibb* 269-276), who makes Job to have been written in this district.
³ Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel* 510.
⁴ *Kis.* *Sam. u. Kana*, 340; and cp *KINGS*, § 8, note.
⁵ *Jos.* (*Ant.* ix. 10:4) gives a long fabulous story about it.

statement in 1r is merely an exegetical inference from 736 (cp 78 8a), which seemed to the editor to imply that Israel's punishment had been twice postponed, and that each postponement meant a year's grace (so G. Hoffmann; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 3). It is remarkable that the author of the heading, if he had access to tradition, did not rather refer to the solar eclipse prophesied in 89 (in its present form). This seems to be the eclipse which an Assyrian list of eponyms assigns to the month Sivan 763 B.C.¹ It is less important that, according to the same list, pestilences ravaged Assyria in 765 (the year of a campaign in the land of Hadrach, near Damascus and Hamath) and in 759. Pestilence in the land of Israel is indeed mentioned in Am. 4.10; but it is described as 'after the manner of Egypt'. The Egyptian Delta was of course not the only source of pestilences: the Assyrian plague

may have germinated elsewhere. Still, it remains true that the period indicated by these last dates sufficiently accords with hints dropped in the Book of Amos. For example, the Israelites, according to Amos, have no apprehension of a speedy attack from Assyria. The circumstances of the period just mentioned enable us fully to account for this. Shalmaneser III. (783-773) had too much trouble with the land of Urartu (see ARARAT, § 2, ASSYRIA, § 32), and his successor Ashur-dan III. (772-755) had too many revolts at home to put down, to be dangerous to the kingdom of Israel. Assyria being thus occupied, it was easy for Jeroboam II. to recover from Damascus (repeatedly humiliated of late by Assyria) the districts which Hazael had taken from Israel. Hence, when Amos wrote, the extent of the Israelitish dominion was 'from the point where the Hamathite territory begins (חֲמַתְיָא) to the torrent of the Arābah,' a definition which is presumably equivalent to that in 2 K. 14.25, which gives 'the sea of the Arābah'—i.e., the Dead Sea. The prophet's hearers delighted to sun themselves in this new prosperity, and boasted of the capture of LODEBAR and KARNAIM in Gilead as a great military feat (see LODEBAR, and We. on Am. 6.13). True, melancholy thoughts of the past would sometimes intrude—thoughts of the recent terrible earthquake, of the famines and pestilences, of the friends and neighbours lost in battle, and of the revolting cruelties of the Syrians and their Ammonitish allies in Gilead (13.13 46-11). Nor is it arbitrary to connect the splendour and fulness of Israelitish ritual in the prophet's time with the popular anxiety lest Yahwè should renew the troubles of the past. On the whole, however, the tone of Israelitish society is joyous and optimistic. As in Isaiah's earliest discourses, the upper classes appear as self-indulgent and luxurious, and, as in Isaiah, the women come in for a share of the blame (4.1; cp Is. 3.16). Not only the king (1 K. 22.39) but also the nobles have houses inlaid with ivory (3.15 cp 6.4a). Feasting is habitual (6.4-6), and the new custom of half-reclining on the divan² has been introduced at Samaria (3.12b). The good old sentiment of brotherliness is dying away; oppression and injustice are rampant (26-8 39 end, 10 41 51f. 84-6). This indicates that great economic changes are going on (Isaiah makes the same complaint, Is. 5). Side by side with this we notice a keen interest in the ritual side of religion (4.4f. 5.21-23 8.14 9.1). Jubilant worshippers sing the praises of the incomparable 'God of Jeshurun' (5.23; cp Deut. 33.26), and, as they think of his deliverances in the past, they even 'desire the battle day of Yahwè' (5.18). Amos, a stranger, alone sees below the surface of things. He does not, indeed, once name Assyria,³ and seems to have

¹ See Sahr. *COT* 2.101; Sayce, *TSBA* 3.149; Sahr. *KGF* 338 f., and cp CHRONOLOGY, § 24.

² In 3.12 render 'that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch, and on the cushion of a divan' (for חֲמַתְיָא read חֲמַתְיָא, an obvious correction, which We. has somehow not made). See *JQR* 10.572.

³ According to *QBAQ*, however, there is once an express mention of Assyria (39. יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן אֲשׁוּר, for יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ashdod).

no clear idea of the geography of the region 'beyond Damascus'; but every one knows what he means when he warns his hearers that Yahwè 'will raise up against them a nation' (6.14; cp Is. 5.26, where read '15'), and 'will carry them into captivity beyond Damascus' (5.27). On the whole, we may probably date the original prophecies of Amos between 765 and 750 B.C.¹

There are only two passages which may be regarded as inconsistent with this date, as referring to later events.

6. Objections to 766-750 B.C. In 1.5² it is predicted that 'the people of Aram shall go into captivity unto Kir,' which was fulfilled, according to 2 K. 16.9, on the capture of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III. in 732. The prediction, however, was not meant to be taken so literally. 'Unto Kir' is evidently suggested by the tradition (9.7) that the Aramaeans came from Kir; the prophet cannot mean to lay stress upon such points as the locality of a captivity; otherwise, why does he describe the scene of Israel's captivity so vaguely? The 'fulfilment' in 2 K. 16.9 is obviously due to interpolation; the later view of prophecy differed from that held by the great prophets themselves. (b) The other passage is 6.2, which, as emended by Geiger⁴ (to make sense), reads thus, 'Pass ye to Calneh, and look; and go thence to Great Hamath, and go down to Philistian Gath; are ye better than these kingdoms, or is your region greater than theirs?' These places, says the writer, have already succumbed to the common enemy; how can Israel hope to escape? Calneh (not the Calneh of Gen. 10.10, but the N. Syrian city Kullani) was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III. in 738, Hamath by Sargon in 720, and Gath by the same king in 711;⁵ and the passage breaks the connection between 6.1 and 4, and is not in the rhythm which is so closely adhered to in 6.13-7. The verse must, therefore, be a later insertion, by a scribe or editor who had read Is. 10.9 (Calno = Calneh), and is properly a marginal gloss on the words, 'Woe to them that are at ease in Zion' (6.1). Observe that Great Hamath (H. Rabba) contrasts with the simple Hamath of 7. 14.

A strict analysis is indispensable, both for a sound view of the origin of this book, and for a due comprehension of the great prophet himself.

7. Analysis of Book. We must, therefore, test the common assertion that the book possesses such a true literary unity as Amos, when in retirement, might naturally wish to give to his remembered prophecies. So much, at any rate, is clear, that, as it now stands, the book has three well-marked divisions. (1) Chaps. 1.2-2.16 present a series of judgments on the peoples of Syria and Palestine, each framed on the same plan, and coupling the description of an unpardonable moral fault with the declaration of punishment. The most detailed of the accusations is that brought against Israel, which forms a striking culmination of the series. The vaguest and least impressive is Judah's, which comes next before Israel's, and somewhat spoils its effect. (2) Chaps. 3-6 seem at first sight to contain three discourses, each introduced by 'Hear ye this word' and closing with a prediction of national ruin. Upon a closer examination, however, none of the 'discourses'

¹ The reason offered for a later date (745-744) by Zeydner and Valetton (in Wildeboer, *Eintl.* 110) is insufficient. Any observer who was not blinded by a fanatical religious belief could see that the inactivity of Assyria was only temporary, not to mention that the year 765 saw the Assyrians on the northern border of Palestine. Besides, the events which accompanied the accession of Tiglath-pileser III. in 745, seem of too momentous a nature not to have suggested to Amos a fuller and more precise threatening than we find in his prophecies.

² On the former part of this verse see BETH-EDEN and AVEV, 3.

³ On *QBAQ*'s readings see KIR.

⁴ *Urschrift* 96 f. Torrey's hesitation to remove v. 2 from the context which it dissents (*JBL.* 1894, p. 60 f.) seems very needless.

⁵ Sahr.'s view of Calneh (*COT* 2.143 f.; *HWB* 125a) seems untenable (see CALNEH).

proves to have more than a semblance of unity. The section may be analysed into ten loosely connected passages—3.1 f. 3.3-8 3.9-15 4.1-3 4.4 f. 4.6-13 5.1-17¹ 5.18-27 6.1-7 6.8-14. (3) Chaps. 7-9. This is a series of five visions, interrupted, first by a short biographical elucidation of the third vision (7.10-15), and then by a threatening address (8.4-14), and followed by an evidently composite discourse, closing with most unexpected promises of the regeneration of Judah.

Now, if this summary is correct, it becomes impossible to maintain the true literary unity of the book. More than one editor must have been concerned in its arrangement, and the latest editor has had considerable difficulty in so disposing his material as to produce three portions, each one of a reasonable length. Considering that the book of the Twelve Minor Prophets comes to us from the post-exilic age (see CANON, § 39), and that the primary object of the later editors was not critical accuracy but

8. Post-exilic insertions:

Such an insertion we find at the very outset. The opening verse (1.2) has been often viewed as the text of the following discourse; but it seems very ill-adapted for that purpose, for the object of the discourse is not to exhibit the connection between Yahwè and a privileged sanctuary, but to show that even Israel (which has so many altars of Yahwè, 2.8) shall be punished like the other nations. Nor is the elegiac tone of 1.2b at all in harmony with the cycle of stern declarations which follows. The truth is that 1.2a is borrowed from Joel 3[4] 16a, where alone the words suit the context, and 1.2b has a close phraseological affinity to Joel and other late writings.² It is no argument to the contrary that in 38 Yahwè is said to 'roar' and that the phrase 'the top of Carmel' is used by Amos in 9.3; the editor had naturally made some slight study of the language of Amos. The reason of the insertion will be clear if we compare (a) 1.9 f. with Joel 3.2-6, (b) 1.11 f. with Joel 3.19, and (c) 9.13 with Joel 3[4] 18. These passages can all be shown to be late insertions, and 1.2 can be understood only in connection with them.

First, as to (a) and (b) it will be noticed that 1.9 f. differs from 1.6 f. only in the substitution of 'Tyre' for 'Gaza,' and in the addition of the 9. chap. 1.9 f. 11 f. words, 'and remembered not the covenant of brethren.' (Even if, with Winckler, we correct $\gamma\delta$ in *v. 9 f.* into $\gamma\delta\epsilon$ —i.e., the N. Arabian Muṣri [see MIZRAIM],—part of the following argument is still applicable.) It seems incredible that Amos should have condescended to repeat himself in this way, and doubtful whether the early Israelitish prophets knew anything about such an act as is imputed to Tyre in 1.9. And what can be the meaning of 'the covenant of brethren' in Amos's mouth? Many critics, indeed, have found in the phrase an allusion to the alliance between Solomon and Hiram (RV mg. refers to 1 K. 5.1 9.11-14); but this was a purely personal connection, and lay far back in the past. We might also think of the covenant between the kings of Israel and Tyre presupposed in 1 K. 16.31 f.; but would the Elijah-like prophet Amos have been the man to recognise this? Moreover, this was a personal or family covenant, whereas the charge against Edom in 1.11, that he 'pursued his brother with the sword,' presupposes a true national covenant resting on kinship (cp Mal. 1.2).

¹ Observe that between Am. 5.15 and 1.6 something analogous to $\tau\omega$. 7.10 must have fallen out ($\tau\omega$. 8.9 are an interpolation). *Vr.* 14.17 should correspond to $\tau\omega$. 4.7 10-13.

² $\beta\gamma\delta$ metaphorically, as Joel 1.10; $\mu\eta\lambda$, as Joel 1.19 f. 2.2; $\epsilon\omega$, as Joel 1.12. Cp also 1.2b as a whole with Jer. 9[10] 23 25 27; Is. 33.9; Nah. 1.4 (all post-exilic passages except the first). See Che. *Introd.* to WRS's *Pr. Isr.* xv. f. [Volz. has lately expressed the same view (*Die israel. Jahresprophetie* p. 19 f.), which Nowack (*Kl. Proph.*, ad loc.) does not refute.]

This view is confirmed by Obad. 12, where 'in the day of thy brother' implies the same charge that is brought against Edom in the words quoted from Am. 1.11. Thus, the fault imputed to Tyre is that it co-operated with Edom in the time of Israel's distress, by making raids into Israelitish territory and selling captive Israelites to their unnatural 'brethren.' Was there ever such a time of distress for Israel between the age of David and that of Amos? It is, of course, the history of Judah, not that of N. Israel, that we have to search, for the claim to the overlordship of Edom was maintained by the Davidic family. The answer depends primarily on the results of our criticism of Chronicles. If we can regard the Chronicler as an only slightly prejudiced recorder of old traditions, we may believe that the Philistines and Arabians broke into and plundered Jerusalem (2 Ch. 21.16 f.), and conjecture that Tyrian slave-merchants drew their profit from the circumstances. Further, if, some time before that, the Edomites revolted from Judah and defeated King Joram (this, happily, is a fact attested not only in 2 Ch. but also in 2 K. 8.20-22), it is easily conceivable that Edomitish passion vented itself in a great slaughter of fugitive Israelites. Is it worth while, however, to defend the integrity of Am. 1 and the accuracy of the Chronicler by such a lavish use of conjectures? A prophet such as Amos was could not have fastened on such an offence of the Edomites to the exclusion of the cruel treatment of Edomites by Judahites referred to in 2 K. 14.7 (cp 2 Ch. 25.12), and we ought not to imagine a case of special barbarity in the ninth century when there is a well attested one in the sixth. It was, in fact, at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 that the Edomites, who had no such stern moralists as Amos and Isaiah to reprove them, filled up the measure of their revenge, to the indignation of Jewish writers, who forgot the cruelties of their own ancestors. Hence, to explain Am. 1.11-12 aright, we must refer to Ezek. 25.12 35.5 Is. 34 Obad. 10-14 Ps. 137.7, together with Joel 3[4] 19; and, to understand 1.9 f., we must compare (besides the passages just mentioned) the description of the offence of Tyre in Joel 3[4] 2-6 (subsidiary evidence for the late date of Am. 1.11 f. is given below).¹ If it be asked, when these judgments on Tyre and Edom were inserted, the answer is, during (or much more probably after) the Exile, at a time when some fresh insult on the part of the Edomites reminded Jewish writers of earlier and deeper injuries (see ISAIAH, ii. § 14).

Next as to (c). Plainly, Joel 3[4] 18a is the original of Am. 9.13b. The opposite view would be inconsistent with

10. chap. 9.8-15. the fact that Am. 9.13a is dependent on LEVITICUS. Am. 9.13, however, is not a later insertion in the section in which it occurs. From 9.11 (or rather from 9.8) onwards, we are struck by affinities in expression or idea to works of the Babylonian and Persian periods, and by corresponding divergences from the style and thought of Amos.² That *v. 7* cannot have been the conclusion of the prophecy is certain; but we have to regard *vv.* 8-15 as a post-exilic substitute for the original close. The editor cannot endure the idea of the final destruction of the whole house of Israel, and so he makes Amos declare in a strangely softened mood that only the 'sinful kingdom' (i.e., that of Ephraim) will be wiped out, whereas the less guilty Judahites will

¹ Notice (1) the vague description of the offence of Edom. Does it consist in the purchase of Israelitish slaves from the Tyrian slave-merchants? or in the slaughter of Israelitish fugitives? or, more probably, did Edom prove that 'he kept his wrath for ever' in both these ways? (2) The mention of 'Teman' and 'Bozrah,' which names seem first to occur in Jer. 49.7 13. Cp the threat in 1.12 with that in Obad. 9.

² For the evidence, which is singularly strong, see Cheyne, 'Notes on the Prophets,' *Expositor*, Jan. 1897, pp. 44-47. On Am. 9.8-15 see also Preuschen, *ZATW* 15.24-27 (95); Torrey, 'Notes on Am. 27 etc.,' *JBL* 168-172 (96); Driver, *Joel and Amos* 120. β , who vainly endeavours to diminish the force of the arguments.

suffer the milder doom of dispersion among the nations. Even this will be only for a time. Israel shall return, the old Davidic kingdom shall be restored, and the sweet commonplaces of prophetic idylls shall be fulfilled.

Now, can we not see the reason of the insertion of the opening verse or prologue? It was to assure the post-exilic readers of Amos that the threats of the prophet had long since been fulfilled, and that restored Zion should be safe under the care of its lion-like divine protector. In other words, Amos was to be read in the light of the concluding portion of Joel. The insertion of the epilogue (98-15), in which we ought to note the reference to Edom (cp Joel 319), has a similar reason.¹

Here, then, are already four certain post-exilic insertions. The companion passages now to be enumerated are equally noteworthy. No satisfactory picture of the prophet Amos is possible till we have recognised them.

First, Am. 24b is too deficient in concreteness to be the work of Amos, and is, on phraseological

11. chap. 24f. grounds, late.² If so, the whole of the judgment upon Judah also must be late.

This is every way a gain. In particular, we can now see better how thoroughly Amos was absorbed in his mission to N. Israel. He cannot perhaps forget Judah; but his native country is only a fragment: the national pulse beats most vigorously in Ephraim (cp Is. 98f. [7f.]). The post-exilic editor, however, felt the need of a distinct reference to the sin and punishment of Judah, which he meant to be taken in combination with the encouraging statements of 12 and 911-15. It was a different feeling which prompted the insertion

12. chaps. 4 and 13 of 413 (with which 412b is connected) 5f. 95f. The conception of God had become deeper and fuller; the

germs long ago deposited by the preaching of Amos and Isaiah had, through a widened experience, developed into the rich theology of II. Isaiah and the Book of Job. Not only by the wonders of history but also by those of nature was the sole divinity of Yahwé proved, and an ordinary reader of Amos inserted these doxologies (as we may call them) to relieve the gloom of the prophetic pictures.³ Another such insertion was made (according to the text used by G) in Hos. 134.

We now pass on to Am. 526. The construction and rendering of this passage have been much disputed.

13. chaps. 52662. On the assumption that Am. 525-27 was all written by Amos, it is perhaps easiest (see Driver) to render וְשִׂמְתֶם, 'So ye shall take up . . . (Succoth) your king and Kaiwan your god, which ye made for yourselves,' וְהִנֵּנִי, 'and I will carry (you) into exile.'⁴ But how unnatural this is! Nowhere else does the prophet mention an inclination of the Israelites to the worship of Assyrian gods, and the carrying of Assyrian gods by Israelites into Assyria is a very strange feature in a treat. Hence the whole verse is more than probably

¹ There are similar interpolations in Hosea (e.g. 17 11-21 [21-3] and the words 'David their king' in 85). See HOSEA, § 4.

² Cp 2 K. 1615, Deuteronomistic. Critics on the other side quote Is. 524; Hos. 22 [4]; Ex. 1816; Deut. 3010; but they do not meet the argument from weakness of style, and produce no parallel for the second part of the description of Judah's sin. Moreover, the two Pentateuch passages are not in point. Nor have critics realised the consequences of admitting the post-exilic origin of the prophetic books in their present form.

³ The style is that of II. Isaiah and the later poets (cp Stöckel, *Hilb* p. 276), not that of Amos. The strings of participles remind us of Is. 40 22f.; Job 12 17-24; Zech. 121; Dan. 221f. Notice also וְרָא עֵינֵיבְחִי, *Int. Isa.* xxi. 252, וְרָא עֵינֵיבְחִי וְרָא עֵינֵיבְחִי וְרָא עֵינֵיבְחִי, *Int.* 95 וְרָא עֵינֵיבְחִי וְרָא עֵינֵיבְחִי וְרָא עֵינֵיבְחִי. This violates the usage of Amos (but cp G). The ideas are equally late, though they are such as Amos, had he met with them, would have owned. *Inter alia*, comp. the third descriptive phrase in 413 with Ps. 1382. It is probable that 50f. originally stood after 413. Am. 95f. is, however, presumably theirs in its original position.

⁴ On the text see, besides the commentaries, N. Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, p. 1 ff.; Torrey, *ib.* p. 67; Wiles and Che., *Proph. Isa.* 229 ff.; G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 812 f.; Tiele, *Gesch. van het godsdienst* 315. On the construction see Dr. in Smith, *DB* 122 (art. AMOS).

a later insertion, which took the place of a passage that had become illegible. The case of Is. 1042 seems exactly parallel (see *SBOT*, ad loc.). Whether or no Succoth-benoth, the name of a god in 2 K. 1730, contains the divine name Succuth,¹ we may suppose that the writer of the inserted passage merely antedates a worship introduced into Samaria by the Babylonian colonists after 722 B.C. The awkwardness of the connection need not surprise us (this against König, *Synt.* § 368 b); the ו in וְשִׂמְתֶם is simply the *Waw explicativum* so often prefixed to glosses. Render, 'That is, ye carried in procession'; cp Is. 4520. See CHUN AND SUCCOTH.

Am. 62, another insertion, has been treated of already (see § 6 [d]). We pass on to 8811f. Verse 8

14. chaps. 314b is not at all suitable as a description of the threatened punishment (see We., 513-15 629 Nowack). The comparison with the 8811f. Nile recurs in an interpolated verse

(95). Passing on, we note that v. 13 speaks of literal thirst (suggested by the mention of the festivals in v. 10); but in v. 11 the hunger and thirst are metaphorical. Verses 9f. 13f. announce a sudden catastrophe; but in v. 11f. a lengthened time of misery is described. The passage is clearly late, and is parallel to Is. 820f. (partly late). The silence of prophecy is spoken of as a sore trial in Ps. 749. Other probable late insertions are 314b 513-15 (cp Mic. 76), and the expression יָרַד בְּרִירָה in 65 (see DAVID, § 13); and 69f. is at any rate misplaced. To these it is plausible to add the reference to 'those who are at ease in Zion' in 61 (but it may be better to correct יָרַד בְּרִירָה to הָרָה; so Che. *JQR* 10 573); also 37, which, as Duhm points out, may be a gloss on v. 8; certainly it interrupts a noble passage (v. 8 for יָרַד read יָרַד with We., or, much better, יָרַד). The last insertion is 98-15 (see § 10).

After these insertions have been removed, may we safely suppose that the rest of the book represents what

15. Pre-exilic editing. Amos and his public? No: the analogy of the prophecies of Isaiah makes such a supposition highly improbable.

Let us be content with knowing that we have a truthful record of the prophetic certainties of Amos, even though he did not always utter them in public. The manner and the contents of the passages into which the true Book of Amos falls must be our guide in determining the class (whether that of public or of private prophecies) to which they severally belong. It is both inherently difficult and contrary to analogy to suppose that 12-216 was ever really uttered; at any rate, 12-262 8 is more adapted to produce an effect on readers than on hearers. Nor can we possibly imagine that the visions in chaps. 7-9 were used by the prophet as texts of spoken addresses; passages from discourses are no doubt here and there introduced, but they come from the arranging hand of the editor of this part.

It is a further question whether the arrangement of the different sections may be due to Amos himself. In answering it we must leave sufficient room for the *growth* of the book. It is not unreasonable to suppose that on his expulsion from Bethel the prophet paid a visit (perhaps a second visit; cp 61) to Jerusalem, and there 'noted' his prophecies 'in (on) a book for a later day' (Is. 308), when the judgment upon Israel should have been accomplished. There, too, he may have committed his record (enriched with some never-spoken prophetic certainties) to the custody of those 'disciples' of Yahwé and of his prophets (see Is. 816), who began the long succession of students and editors of the religious literature. In their hands we may suppose that the book assumed by degrees its present form. At any rate, a written record of Amos must have become quickly known; for Isaiah, it is clear, steeped himself in the originality of Amos before displaying his own truly

¹ So Del. *Par.* 215f., but see SUCCOTH-BENOTH.

original genius. To Hosea, however, such a record cannot be proved to have been known (see We. on Hos. 8.14 4.15 10.58): in other words, the circulation of Amos's prophecies was, originally at least, confined to Judah. The latest editor of the book, as we have seen, was post-exilic.

A special interest attaches to the description of the visions, together with the historical interludes in chaps. 7-9, partly because they exhibit the growth of Amos's prophetic certainty respecting the fall of Samaria, and partly because, like Is. 6.71-8.18, and 20 (in their original form), they appear to come from a partly biographic, partly prophetic, work, written or dictated by the prophet himself.

Some have been surprised to find 'a plain countryman' like Amos possessed of such a refined and yet vigorous style.¹ They forget that the

16. Amos's style.

differences of culture in the East are still sometimes comparatively trifling, and that a man of low rank may express himself with considerable elegance. It is still more in point to remark that the most classic Arabic poems are the work of men who had a calling similar to that of Amos, while, even under the new Moslem empire, sons of the desert went to appear at court and win a rich guerdon by the finished style of their improvisations. Such critics have also forgotten the opportunities of self-culture which, both at Tekoa and elsewhere, Amos must have enjoyed; and when even G. Baur and Ewald point to certain 'solecisms in pronunciation and orthography' as evidences of provincialism, it may be replied that the errors in question may reasonably be ascribed to late copyists.² That Amos delights in images drawn from nature is clearly no fault (see, e.g. 2.9 3.4 f. 8.12 5.19, and the first, second, and fourth visions). Only one of them is distinctively the comparison of a shepherd (3.12); and Amos is just as willing to speak of wonders of which he knows only by hearsay—such as the giant cedar trees (2.9), and (if the text be correct) the inundation of the Nile (8.8)—or of which he has a true Israelitish dread—such as an earthquake or a solar eclipse (8.8 f.), or the mysterious sea which yields no harvest (6.12; cp ἀπύρετος), and which somewhere hides the terrible serpent of primitive mythology (9.3; see SERPENT, § 3 f.). It is a pity that, for reasons already given, we cannot speak of Amos as a sympathetic observer of the sky³—that is an essential characteristic of a much later poet (see JOB). As a literary craftsman he ranks high. In 1.3-2.16 we have a literary prophecy, which, until Amos forgets his art in his grief at the manifold offences of Israel, is marked by great regularity of structure. So in 4.6-11 we have the literary model of an equally symmetrical passage in Isaiah (Is. 9.8-21 [7-20] 5.26-30 10.1-4), and in 5.2 we have a short but strictly rhythmical elegy. Altogether, the Book of

17. Degree of originality.

Amos forms a literary as well as a prophetic phenomenon. It is true that both as a writer and as a speaker he must have had models; J and E were, of course, not the only writers of the pre-Amosian period, and Elijah and Elisha (of whose doings a faint echo has reached us) were not the only prophetic reformers (Am. 2.11 f. 3.7). There is no occasion, however, to suppose that there were prophets of precisely Amos's type before him—prophets who had exactly his conception of their duties, and were also, in a qualified sense, writers. It would be a mistake to infer, from Amos's use of formulae, that he was acquainted with earlier written prophecies. Prophetic formulae could be transmitted by word of mouth

as well as by the pen. That Amos had left Tekoa at intervals before his prophetic call is not only inherently probable, but also follows from such a passage as 3.7 f. (if correct), which Amos could hardly have written unless he had had the most vivid and direct ocular evidence of the effects of a true prophetic impulse even before his own turn came to receive one. His originality is shown, not only in his prophetic message, but also in his being (probably) the first to conceive the idea of using the pen in aid of the voice. The *Isra*-literature of the priests had already taken a considerable development (Hos. 8.12); Amos was, it appears, the first prophet who followed the example of the literary priests. The importance of this step it was beyond his power to estimate. Within a generation he expected Israel as a nation to disappear; but he thought it worth while to gather disciples who, like himself, could praise Yahwê even in the midst of ruin; and, after all, who could tell but Yahwê might have some other secret to reveal to one of these—to a Hosea or to an Isaiah? See § 18.

That Amos's message is a gloomy one is in accordance with his conception of the divine character. In

18. **Pessimism.** an age like his, the divine purpose could not be one of peace, though it required an immense devotion to Yahwê to be able to declare, seemingly unmoved, that He purposed the complete destruction of Israel (or, as we should say, of Israel and Judah). In spite of the universal scepticism which meets him (for how, it is said, can Yahwê be conceived of apart from his people?), Amos persists in his message, and even conceives the possibility that legendary supernatural agencies may be used to make the destruction more complete (9.3). It is not, therefore, open to us to account for the confidence of Amos simply by the advance of the Assyrian power. He does, indeed, regard Assyria as the chief destructive agent (6.14 7.17); but Assyria, when Amos spoke and wrote, was passing through a period of decline; consequently his conviction must have some other ground which naturally sharpens his eyes for the still present danger from Assyria. To this it must be added that, according to Amos, it would be easy for Yahwê, if the agency of Assyria were not available, to bring some other hostile nation from some corner of the earth, just as he 'brought up the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Aramaeans from Kir' (9.7). The real ground of Amos's prophetic pessimism is the increasingly unsound religious condition of his people. He may very possibly have admitted that there were fifty or at least ten Israelites who lived by the same pure religion as himself; but he could not conceive of Yahwê's saying, 'I will not destroy the land for ten's sake.' The righteous must, according to him, suffer with the wicked (9.10 was inserted to correct this idea), though he might perhaps have left a door of hope open for those who, like himself and his disciples, had close personal contact with the true God: the nation might perish; but when this had happened, God might have some secret purpose for those who 'knew' him.

Of this vague hope we hear nothing from Amos (cp ISAIAH). What the popular religion was, we know but too well. Whatever the nobler minds may have believed, 'the mass of the people,' as Robertson Smith well says, 'still thought of Him as exclusively concerned with the affairs of Israel,' and the connection between Yahwê and Israel had a non-moral, natural, basis. Ritual tended to make morality almost superfluous, and by its increasing costliness actually promoted that injustice and inhumanity which Yahwê abhorred. There were also immoral superstitions at which Amos glanced less (see 2.7) than Hosea. To this

19. **Idea of God.** pernicious system the religion of Amos is diametrically opposed. Once, at a rate, he uses the striking title, 'Yahwê, the God of the Hosts' (5.27 is admittedly a genuine passage)—i.e., the God of celestial as well as earthly

¹ Against Jerome's application of Paul's self-deprecating language in a Cor. 11.6 to Amos see Lowth, *Proleg.* 21 (*Lectures*, ET. 249 f.).

² Take, e.g., פָּתַח (7.9) for פָּתַח. The same form occurs in Jer. 38.26. Ps. 106.2. Both post-exilic passages. In 5.11 פָּתַח is not a 'dualist form' for פָּתַח; the scribe wrote פָּ by an error, and then corrected it by writing פָּ. Read simply פָּתַח with We.

³ GASm. (HG 315).

legions—together with 'the Lord Yahwè' (perhaps nineteen times), in antithesis to the nationalistic expression, 'Yahwè, the God of Israel.'¹ The Yahwè whom he himself worshipped was, in virtue of his perfect moral nature, the Sovereign alike of nature and of nations. Amos had not, indeed, fathomed the depths of this conception as had the Second Isaiah and the author of Job (Am. 4:13 and the parallel passages are later insertions: see above, § 12); but he is already to all intents and purposes an ethical monotheist, and his conviction of the impending destruction of Israel does but intensify his sense of the majesty of the one God. He does not, indeed, reject the old belief in the connection between Yahwè and Israel altogether (cp 7:15 'my people Israel'): he moralises it. For some wise object, Yahwè brought Israel out of Egypt (3:19), and entered into a personal moral relation to it; but his will, at any rate, is not unknown to the other nations, and their history is equally under his direction. Once, indeed, under the stress of moral passion, Amos even places the 'sons of Israel' on a level with the 'sons of the Cushites'²; this occurs near the end of his prophecy (9:7), and is evidently intended as a final withdrawal of a temporary and conditional privilege. It is not, however, on all the nations of the earth, but only on those which are in close proximity to Israel, that judgment is pronounced by Amos, as the spokesman of Yahwè; he aims at no theoretic consistency. These nations are to suffer the same doom as Israel at the hand of Assyria, because they, like Israel, have violated the unwritten law of justice and humanity. [Thus we can divine Amos's free attitude towards the lately written ethico-religious priestly laws (see EXODUS, § 3). He is probably acquainted with such laws (28; cp Ex. 22:25 f.); but he does not recognise them as of primary authority, for he nowhere appeals to them.³] And if by many favours, including the crowning favour of prophecy (2:11), Yahwè has made himself specially known to the Israelites, it follows that he will judge Israel more strictly than he will judge the other nations (3:12). As a faithful friend, Amos assures his people that if they would only 'seek' the true Yahwè they would 'live' (5:4, 14)—i.e., would escape captivity and enjoy prosperity in their own land (cp Hos. 6:2 f.). He has no hope, however, that they will do so: the false popular religion is too deeply rooted. Indeed, Am. 5 has been so much interfered with by editors that it is doubtful whether vv. 4, 14 can be appealed to as authorities on such a point; v. 14, at all events, appears to belong to an inserted section (see Nowack).

It is not idolatry that Amos complains of. When he says, ironically, 'Go to Bethel and transgress' (4:4), he means, as he expressly tells us, 'Carry out the prescriptions of your wilfully devised ritual law.' Nor can we venture

to say that a protest against the 'golden calves' is implied,⁴ for no prophet is more explicit than Amos in mentioning the sins of his people. The two passages in which a reproach of Israelitish idolatry does appear to occur are certainly interpolations. In 8:14, for 'the sin of Samaria'⁵ we should read 'the god of Bethel' (cp Gen. 31:13), in parallelism to 'thy god (7:78), O Dan,' and 'thy patron (read 7:77 with W. and see DOD), O Beersheba,' and the whole of 5:26 is a later insertion,

¹ 'Thy God (O Israel)' is put into Amos's mouth by a later editor (4:10b; see above, § 12).

² Who these Cushites are, is uncertain (see CLAUDE, I, § 2 d). Apparently they had recently experienced some calamity.

³ Here he contrasts with Hosea, who clearly invests the written *šeršāh* which arose in certain priestly circles with primary authority (Hos. 8:12). Perhaps, as Duhm suggests, Hosea was himself a priest.

⁴ So Davidson (*Expository*: 188 f., p. 175). To say that Amos does not protest against the 'golden calves,' is of course not to assert that he thinks them worthy symbols of Yahwè. Cp St. *GLY* 1:279; WRS, *Prophe.*, 275 f.

⁵ The text appears to have been altered by the same editor who inserted the reference to 'the two iniquities' in Hos. 10:10.

and is not true to the facts of the age of Amos (see above, § 12). What Amos most vehemently denounces is sacrifice. One may perhaps be tempted to suppose that he says more than he means, and that he does not object to sacrifices altogether, but only to the belief that when duly performed they can change the mind of the Deity. His language, however, seems too strong to be thus explained away, especially when we find him appealing in support of his statement to the fact that in the olden time, when Yahwè was so near to Israel, no sacrifices were offered (5:25). Is there, then, no form of worship in which Yahwè delights? None, except the practice of righteousness—i.e., justice and humanity (see 5:21, 24). But, alas, the Israelite will not recognise this. Pilgrims who are wholly indifferent to plain moral duties crowd to the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal, and even to the far-off southern shrine of Beersheba¹ (5:5, 8, 14, cp Hosea 4:15), and parade their devotion to the different local forms of Yahwè in pious oaths, as if the true Yahwè could be pleased with the offerings or the oaths of such worshippers. How painful will be the awakening from this moral sleep, when the greatest of all realities makes its existence known, annihilating at one blow the sanctuaries of Israel and their worshippers (9:1)! Such was the announcement of the shepherd of Tekoa.

21. Estimate of Amos. Taken in connection with the ideas on which it is based, it seems to justify us in calling him a surprising phenomenon. That the phenomenon can be partly explained there is no doubt. Neither Amos nor his special follower Isaiah is so entirely abnormal a product as an unthinking study of the works of either might suggest (see PROPHECY). But not the most comprehensive study of the history of Israel will altogether account for their appearance. And if they neither of them saw the whole truth, and both needed the correction of history and of later prophets and sages, we may still pay them the reverence which belongs to those who first uttered great moral and religious truths with the power that belongs to God-possessed men.

See references in text, and also W. *Die Keimformeltheorie* (for a corrected text, *ibid.*, and *Die Theol. d. 19. und 20. Jhd.* I, 1, 189), pp. 110 ff.; WRS, *Prophe.*, pp. 110 ff., 191, 202.

22. Special 401; Dr., art. 'Amos,' *DBB* (with full bibliography); also *Jev. and Jew. Canon*, London, 1897; Duhm, *Die Theol. v. Prov.*, 1897, pp. 109-125; Smend, *All-test. Rel.-gesch.*, 1893, pp. 150-188; W. *GLY* 1:17; Oort (on the home of Amos, and on the genuineness of 4:13 and 9:1), *J. B. T.*, 1894, pp. 348-349; G. Hoffmann (on the text of Amos), *Z. A. F. W.*, 1883, pp. 87-126; Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, pp. 143; G. A. Smith, *Eastern Prophecy* (London, 1894), p. 97 (thorough and judicious). T. K. C.

2. Amos (ΑΜΟΣ [BCD]) is the best supported reading in Mt. 10, where, however, King Amon (αμω) is plainly intended; so TR and EV. It is a constant variation in G¹.

3. An ancestor of Joseph, Mary's husband (Lk. 3:25 [BNA]). On the two lists see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS.

AMOS (אַמּוֹס § 57. *STRONG*: אַמּוֹס [BNAQ¹]. אַמּוֹס. [A in 2 K. 19:20 | Is. 37:2; AMOS], father of ISAAH. 1 [Is. 11: אַמּוֹס [BNAQ] | אַמּוֹס חַב [S¹ 11:1]. 20: [NAQ om.], 2 Ch. 26:22 [BA om.]).

AMPHIPOLIS (ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΣ [Ti. WH]. ΠΟΛΙΣ [S¹]), one of the most important positions in northern Greece; it stands on a bend of the river Strymon, between the lower end of lake Cerciniitis and the head of the Strymonic gulf, thus commanding the pass leading from the east into Macedonia (Liv. 45:30). Consequently it was a station on the *Via Egnatia*,¹ the great military road which ran through Macedonia and connected Rome with the Hellespont' (Cic. *De prov. cons.* 2 § 4). Paul, therefore, 'passed through' Amphipolis

¹ Hal. thinks that a northern Beersheba (perhaps Beeroth) is intended (*RE*/11 73-77); but if Elijah went on pilgrimage to Horeb, which was not even in Palestine, why should not N. Israelites have gone to a venerated spot in S. Israel? *WJR* is precisely the right word to use of a sanctuary across the border (cp 6 a).

on his way from Philippi to Thessalonica (δοδεκάσωντες, Acts 17 f.).

The site was intimately connected with some of the most interesting passages in Greek history; but it would have mistakes to imagine that the apostle or his companions either knew or cared for these things. It is now Νεοχώριον (Λοκκί, *Neochori. Gr.* § 121 f.). W. J. W.

AMPLIAS, or rather as in RV **Ampliatius** (ΑΜΠΛΙΑΤΟΥΣ [Ti. WH]), saluted as 'my beloved in the Lord' (Rom. 16:11); not otherwise known.

The name was not infrequently borne by slaves. In the list of the seventy disciples (Pseudo-Dorotheus) Amplias is represented as having been bishop of Odessus or Odysus (on the Black Sea, near the site of the modern Varna).

AMRAM (עֲמֵרָם), § 77, 'in good condition' ? or, 'the [divine] kindness is exalted'; אַמְרָמָם [BL]; A in Ex. Nu. i. אַמְרָם [AF]; B in Nu. i.

r. b. Kohath, head of a Levitical subdivision, and father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Ex. 6:18-20; Nu. 3:19 אַמְרָמָם [A], אַמְרָם [L]; 26:58 f., 1 Ch. 6:2 [5 f.], from him come the **Amramites** אַמְרָמִיתִּים, Nu. 3:7, 8 אַמְרָמִיתִּים [B], אַמְרָמִיתִּים [A], אַמְרָםִיתִּים [L]; 1 Ch. 26:58, אַמְרָמִיתִּים [A]. See LEVI.

2. One of the b'ne BANI, 2, in list of those with foreign wives (Ezra 2: § 8 (ח) Ezra 10:21 (אֲמֵרָם) [B], אַמְרָמִיתִּים [B], אַמְרָמִיתִּים [A], 1 Esd. 9:54 אַמְרָמִיתִּים, RV אַמְרָמִיתִּים (אֲמֵרָם) [B], אַמְרָמִיתִּים [L]). See EZRA, II, § 14 f.

3. 1 Ch. 1:41 (עֲמֵרָם), RV HEMDAN. See HEMDAN.

AMRAPHEL (אֲמֵרָפֶל; אַמְרָפָל [ADEL]; Jos. 'Αμαρὰ Φίλως), king of Sennar (Gen. 14:1 f.) = Hammurabi, king of Babylon, who, according to trustworthy cuneiform data, may have flourished about 2250 B.C. This assumes that אַמְרָפֶל is corrupted from אַמְרָבִּי (Lindl, Sayce) and אַמְרָבִּי; but see CHEDORLAOMER (§ 4 f.), and cp Schr. *COT* 2:99 f.; Hommel, *BAG* 169, *AHT* 103; We. *AOF* 143 f.; *Woid.*, *PSB* 11 10 f. 88]. Targ. Jon. ingeniously, if uncritically, identifies Amraphel with Nimrod, who "commanded Abram to be cast into the furnace." If the identification with Hammurabi be accepted, we may be reminded that Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar delighted to imitate this founder of Babylonian greatness, both in his building plans and in his methods of administration (see BABYLONIA, § 66, and cp Rogers, *Outlines of Early Bab. Hist.* 27-30). It may be that some Jewish favourite at the Babylonian court, who had received a Babylonian education (Sanabassar or Sheshbazzar for instance—note the Babylonian name), heard Hammurabi spoken of, and made historical notes from cuneiform tablets on events which had happened 'in the days of Amraphel,' also that one of these was adopted by later writers as the basis of a Midrash on Abraham and Melchizedek. On the other hand, those who identify NIMROD (q.v.) with Nazi-maraddāz (Nazi-maraddāz) may incline to think that the setting of contemporary history may be derived from an early pre-exilic traditional source, though the narrative in its present form is undoubtedly the production of post-exilic writers. The latter view is the more difficult one, but not therefore to be hastily rejected. Cp Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorient. Chronologie* (1898) 84, and see ABRAHAM, § 4. CHEDORLAOMER (§§ 2, 3 (ח)), HAM (i.), MELCHIZEDEK (§ 2), SHAVEH, I. T. K. C.

AMULETS is the RV rendering of *ḥēḥīlīm*, אִמְלִיטִים, Is. 3:20, a word used elsewhere of any charm (Is. 33, אִמְלִיטִים; נְבוֹן לְאִישׁ, RV 'skilful enchanter'—not 'eloquent orator' or 'skilful of speech' as in AV and AV mg.), or, more specifically, of a charm against serpents (Jer. 8:17 Eccles. 10:11). In Is. 3:20 some sort of female ornament is meant, most probably earrings (so AV), which seem to be treated as idolatrous in Gen. 35:4. Doubtless, as WRS suggests ('Divination and Magic' in *J. Phil.* 14:122 [85]), the amulet is worn in the ear to prevent an incantation from taking effect. Among early

peoples amulets and ornaments are closely connected (cp We. *Heid.* (2) 165). When the early significance of the protective power of the object is forgotten it serves as a simple adornment.¹ The Syr. equivalent *ḥēḥīlā* is properly 'a holy thing,' and the same idea is seen in the occurrence of the root in the old Yemenite *ḥēḥīlās*, 'pearls'; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 453; and see MAGIC, § 3 (3), cp also RING, § 2.

AMZI (אֲמִצִּי, § 52, perhaps abbrev. from Amaziah).

1. In the genealogy of ETHAN: 1 Ch. 6:46 [31] (אַמְצִיָּא [B], אַמְצִיָּא [A], אַמְצִיָּא [L]). See also LEVI.

2. In genealogy of Adaiab, 3, the priest (see MALCHIJAH, 3); Neh. 11:12 (אַמְצִיָּא) [B], אַמְצִיָּא [L], אַמְצִיָּא [B], omitted, however, in the 1 = Ch. 12.

ANAB (אֲנָב, אַנְוָב [AL]), a hill-town of Judah, Josh. 15:50 (אַנְוָב [B], אַנְוָב [L]), one of the seats of the Anakim; Josh. 11:21 (אַנְוָבָוּ [B]). It is doubtless to be connected with Hiniannabi (עֲנִיָּנָבִי), mentioned in *Am. Tab.* 237, 26 with Magdai (see MIGDAL-GAD) and other cities of the land of *Gar* (SW. Judah). There is still a place of the name ('*Anāb*') on the west side of the Wādy el-Khalil, about 14 miles to the SW. of Hebron, and 4 or 5 m. W. from Shuweikheh (Rob. *BR* 2:159; *so PE Mem.* 3:392 f.). See also ANUB.

ANAEL (אַנְאֵל [BNA], i.e., אַנְאֵל, HANANEEL), brother of Tobit and father of ACHIACHARUS (Tob. 1:2). See also AMAN.

ANAH (אֲנָה, meaning uncertain, cp Gray, *HPV* 110; אַנָּה [BADEL]), a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36). As the text stands the descent of Anah is represented in three ways. Anah is

1. Daughter of Zibeon (*avan* [L]), in *vv.* 2:14, 'Hivite' in *v.* 2 being obviously an old error of the text for 'Horite.'

2. Son of Seir and brother of Zibeon, *v.* 20 (*avan* [L]), 1 Ch. 1:38 (*Avan* [L]).

3. Son of Zibeon, *v.* 24 bis (*avan* [AD], *avan* [L], *awa* [E], *awas* [AE]), also 1 Ch. 1:40 f. (*Σωσαν* [B], *σωσα* [A]; *v.* 41 *awa*, *avan* [L]), 25 bis *zv.*

The first of these may, however, safely be disregarded. 'Daughter of Zibeon' is a variant (based on *v.* 24) of 'daughter of Anah' (dependent on *vv.* 20-25), which has intruded into the text (so DI., Kau.). As to (2) and (3), the differences of statement need not surprise us, for the genealogy only symbolises tribal relations. Anah was originally a sub-clan of the clan called Zibeon, and both alike were 'sons of Seir'—i.e., Horites. A twofold tradition, therefore, could easily arise. The 'mules' which, from *v.* 24 AV, Anah would appear to have 'found in the wilderness' are an invention of the Midrash, some Rabbis explaining אַמֵּן (*amein* [ADE], *eamn* [L]) by *ḥūmōs*, others by *ḥūsun* (*Der. rabba*, par. lxxxii.). The 'hot springs' of Vg. and RV are purely conjectural; the word אַמֵּן is evidently corrupt. As Ball points out (*SBOT* Gen. crit. notes, 93), it may have come in from *v.* 22 (רִמְתָּם). In *vv.* 2:14 and 18 (where AEL omits), Anah is called the father of Oholibamah, the wife of Esau. See BASHEMATH.

T. K. C.

ANAHARATH (אֲנָחָרָת; פְּנְרָוֹת K. אַנְאָרְעֶוּ [B], פְּנְרָוֹת K. אַנְאָרְעֶוּ [A], אַנְאָרְעֶוּ [L]), a site on the border of ISSACHAR (Josh. 19:19) f. The reading seems corrupt (note the conflate readings of *Ḥ^{BA}*). Perhaps we should read אַנְחָרָת and identify with '*Arrāneh*, a village on rising ground in the plain of Esdraelon, a little northward of Jenin (= En-gannim). So Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* and Riehm's *HWB* (after Knobel).

Knobel's alternative view (adopted from de Sauly by Conder) identifies Anaharath with en-Nā'ūra, which is not far from Iksāil (Chesulloth) and Solām (Shunem), and is therefore not altogether unsuitable, but somewhat remote from every attested form of the ancient name.

¹ For analogies cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH.

ANAIHAH (אִנְיָהָ, § 33, 'Yahweh has answered'; **ANANIAH**(c) [BNAI], thus identifying the name with ANANIAH).

1. In list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA, ii. § 13 f.; cp i. § 8) at the making of the law (Noh. 8, 20-21; Est. 9, 43 ANANIAS, 4); 2. Signatory to the covenant; Neh. 10, 22 [23] (ANAH); ANAA [AW]. See EZRA, I § 7.

ANAK. See ANAKIM.

ANAKIM RV; AV, less correctly, ANAKIMS (אֲנָקִים; and אֲנָקִים); in Targg. generally rendered אֲנָקִים 'gigants'; ENAK [ε]ΙΑ [BAFL], but -N [F² 212 DL 2 10]; AN 9203.

The Anakim are mentioned in Dt. 2, 10 f. or Josh. 11, 21 f. 14, 12 15 Jer. 47, 5 (ANAK); Heb. reads 'of their valley'; elsewhere called 'sons of Anak' (אֲנָקִים [BAL]) Nu. 13, 23 (ANAK [BF]); Dt. 9, 21 and (MT 'sons of the Anak') Josh. 15, 14a; Judg. 1, 20; 'sons of the Anakim, Dt. 1, 28) אֲנָקִים יָצְאוּ [BAL] 9, 22 (אֲנָקִים 'Anak'); the children ('sons') of Anak ('MT' the Anak') Nu. 13, 22 b (ANAK [B]), ANAA [A], Josh. 15, 14b. The phrases are exactly parallel to 'Rephaim' and 'children of the Kapha' (see REPHAIM); indeed in Dt. 2, 21 a writer of the Deuteronomistic school, 'interested in history and archaeology' (Kue.), makes the Anakim a branch of the Rephaim.

These and other descriptive terms (which are not to be mistaken for race-names) are given at any rate to some portions of the pre-Israelitish population of Palestine, whom, like the Amorites, tradition endowed with colossal height (cp Nu. 13, 31). On the inhabitants of Palestine generally see CANAAN.

According to Josh. 11, 21 (D₂), the Anakim were to be found in the mountains about Hebron, in the fenced cities Debir and Anab, and, in general, in the mountains of Judah and Israel, whence Joshua and Israel drove them out. Verse 22 also states that a remnant of them survived in the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (cp Jer. 47, 5; οἱ καταλοιποι ενακμ [BAL]), where MT has 'the remnant of their valley'. The oldest narrator, however, gives the credit of their expulsion to Caleb, who drove out from Kirjath-arba the three sons of Anak: Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai—i.e., the three tribes or clans which bore those names (Josh. 15, 14). The editor of Judg. 1, quoting this passage, refers the deed to the tribe of Judah (v. 10; see HEBRON. In later times, a too literal interpretation of 'sons,' and genealogical interest, led to the transformation of Anak, and—what is still stranger—of Arba ('four') in the place-name Kirjath-arba, into personal names. Thus Anak (virtually a personal name where it has the article) becomes father of SHESHAI, AHIMAN (1), and TALMAI (1), and son of Kirjath-arba; cp Josh. 21, 11 (MT אֲנָקִים, 15, 14 f.; Judg. 1, 10; ANAK [A]).

The proof of this is supplied by B², which in Josh. 15, 13 21, 11 instead of 'father of Anak' has μητροποιος των ανακ. Kirjath-arba, or Hebron, was an important city (a 'mother,' cp 2 S. 20, 10) of the Anakim. A later scribe, prepared to find a genealogical notice and therefore surprised to find the word 'mother' in apposition to Arba, altered 'mother' (מִת) into 'father' (אב). Thus he obtained the statement that Hebron was the city of one Arba, who was the father of ('the) Anak.' In Josh. 14, 15, however, he took a different course. The true reading must be that of B², which gives (nearly as in the parallel passages) πόλις αβη (I.), αβη [A], αρχος [B], μητροποιος των ανακ [ε]μ αυτη. For this the scribe substituted 'the city of Arba, the greatest man among the Anakim.' The consequence was that Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmi (the three Anakites mentioned in Josh. 15, 14) became, literally, 'sons of (the) Anak,' and grandsons of Arba—no contemptible acquisition for genealogists. So virtually Schlusser (Thes., zv. μητροποιος); but see especially Moore, Judges 24 f. Cp also Schwally, ZATW, 1898, p. 139 ff. T. K. C.

ANAMIM (אֲנָמִים), one of the peoples of Mizraim, Gen. 10, 13 = 1 Ch. 1, 11 f.; unidentified. See GEOGRAPHY, § 15 (2).

ANAMMELECH (אֲנַמְמֶלֶךְ, ANHMELEH [B], ANH-[A]; om. L.; אַנְמֶלֶךְ; Anamelech), a Babylonian

1. Anak, 'long-necked' (St. and most), or 'those with necklaces' (Klo.), with which cp Heb. 'anāk, 'a chain for the neck,' Aram. 'anāk, Ar. 'anā, 'neck.'

deity, whose worship was carried by the Sepharvites into Samaria when, along with the inhabitants of other Babylonian cities, they were transplanted thither by Sargon. As in the case of the kindly deity Adramelech (see, however, ADRAMMELECH, 1), the worship of Anammelech was accompanied by the rite of human sacrifice (2 K. 17, 31). The name Anammelech is probably to be explained as *Anu-malik* 'Anu is the decider or prince' (Schr., Del.), although there is no evidence that Anu enjoyed any special veneration in Sippara (see SEPHARVAIM), a city that was especially devoted to the worship of Sams the Sun-god.

It is very possible, however, that the text is corrupt (Hommel proposes a further elaborate restoration [Ezr. 7, 20, 21]. It is also possible (see NISROCH) that Anammelech is merely a faulty variant of Adramelech (rather Adramelech). In 2 K. 17, 31 has only ἀδραμελεχ.

Anu was the god of Heaven, and with him were identified a number of gods representing personifications of powers or localities of the upper region, such as Uras, Anshargal, Anshar, Enshar, Dugar, Luqman, Ekur, Alala, Alala-alam, and Enurula. He stood at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, forming one of the supreme triad of Babylonian divinities, in which he was associated with Bel, the god of Earth and of created things, and Ea, the god of the Abyss and all that is beneath the earth. See BABYLONIA, § 26. According to G. Hoffmann (ZA, 1896, p. 258), however, the name is אֲנַח-מַלְכָּא—i.e., Anath-malk. Cp Astar[ti]-Kemosh and Melk[at]-Astart. Anath (Anta) was the consort of Anu (see ANATH). L. W. K.

ANAN (אָנָן, § 50; shortened from ANANIAH). 1. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10, 20 [21] (ANAN [B]), ANA [X], -AN [A], ANAN [L-1]. 2. Anan (אֲנָנְיָהּ [BAL]) in 1 Esd. 5, 30 = HANAN, 3 (37) Ezra 2, 46.

ANANI (אָנָנִי, § 50, abbr. from ANANIAH, cp Sab. 122 and Palm. 222; ANANI [B], ANANI [A], -IAC [L]), descendant of ZERUBABEL (1 Ch. 3, 24).

ANANIAH (אֲנָנְיָהּ, AN²A. OHL. ANANIAH [N² = mg. mt.], ANIA [L]) in Benjamin, mentioned (v. 11) in the list of villages, Neh. 11, 20-26 (see EZRA, 2, § 5, § 15, 11, 22), along with Nob and Ramah (Neh. 11, 32), and possibly represented by the modern Beit-Hanina, 3½ m. NNW. of Jerusalem.

ANANIAH (אֲנָנְיָהּ, §§ 33, 50; ANANIA [BAL]), ancestor of one of Nehemiah's builders (Neh. 3, 23).

ANANIAS (ANANIAS [BAL]), the Gk. form of HANANIAH or ANANIAH.

- RV ANNIS, mg. ANNIS, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 6), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5, 16 (ANIAS [B], ANIAS [A], om. L). The name has probably arisen from a misreading of Hoshai (חֹשַׁי תְּרַסֵּי תְּרַסֵּי; cp Neh. 10, 17 f., and see HODIAH, 2. Cp also Meyer, EJ 7, 143, 155.
- 1 Esd. 9, 21 = Ezra 10, 20 HANAN, 3.
- 1 Esd. 9, 20 = Ezra 10, 20 HANANIAS, 7.
- 1 Esd. 9, 45 = Neh. 8, 8 ANANIAS, 4.
- 1 Esd. 9, 45 (ANANIAS [B]) = Neh. 8, 8 HANAN, 4.
- A kinsman of Tobit. The archangel Raphael, while in disguise, claimed to be his son (Tob. 5, 12). He is designated Ananias 'the great,' son of Semesus or Semelius (see SHEMAIAH, 23), also called 'the great.'
- b. Gideon, ancestor of Judith (Judith 8, 1, om. B).
- In Song of Three Children, v. 66 (S Theod. Dan. 3, 80); see HANANIAS, 1.

9. Son of Nedebaios (Ant. xx. 52, Νεδεδαιός in some MSS [AE] νεδεδαιος; cp NEDABIAH), high priest, circa 47-59 A.D., under Herod Agrippa II., king of Chalcis. He is mentioned in Acts 23, f. 24: as the high priest before whom Paul was accused during the procuratorship of Felix. He flourished in the degenerate days of the priesthood, and, though Josephus says (Ant. xx. 92) that after his retirement he 'increased in glory every day,' allusion is made to him in the Talmud (Pesahim) in terms of the greatest contempt. Cp ANNAS (end).

1. In which case cp Anu(m) Iarru-Anu the king, the usual title of the god Anu (Muss-Arn. Ass. Dict. 65).

ANANIEL

10. Husband of SAPHIRA (*q.v.*), Acts 5:1. See COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 3.

11. A 'disciple' at Damascus, who was the means of introducing Paul, after his conversion, to the Christian community there (Acts 9:10-19).

ANANIEL (ΑΝΑΝΙΑῖ [BNA]; Heb. [ed. Neubauer] אֲנַנְיָאֵל, Hananeel), Tobit's grandfather (Tob. 1:1).

ANATH (אָנַת; ΑΝΑΘ [BAL]), a divine name, mentioned in connection with Shamgar in Judg. 3:31 (ΣΕΙΝΑΧ [B] and ΣΕΦ [ΚΕΝΑΘ [A]). If SHAMGAR (*q.v.*) were an Israelite, and b. Anath ('son of Anath') his second name, it would be tempting to take 'Anath' in 'ben Anath' as shortened from Ebed Anath 'servant of Anath' (so Baethgen, *Beitr.* 141; but see Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 42:479 [188]). More probably, however, Ben-anath is a Hebraised form of the name of a foreign oppressor who succeeded Shamgar¹ (certainly a foreign name), and in this case Anath must designate a foreign deity.

Who then was this deity? Evidently the well-known goddess worshipped in very early times in Syria and Palestine (as appears, *e.g.*, from the names mentioned below), and adopted, as the growing evidence of early Babylonian influence on Palestine scarcely permits us to doubt, from the Babylonian pantheon. An(a)tu was in fact the daughter of the primitive god Anu, whose name is mentioned as that of a Syrian deity in 2 K. 17:31 (see ANAMMELECH, SEPHARVAIM). Of her character as a war-deity there can be no doubt. In ancient Egypt, where her cultus was introduced from Syria, she was frequently coupled with the terrible war-goddess Astart, and on an Egyptian stele in the British Museum she appears with a helmet on the head, with a shield and a javelin in the right hand, and brandishing a battle-axe in the left. She was, therefore, a fit patron-deity for Shamgar or for Sisera. That the fragmentary Israelitish traditions make no direct reference to her cultus, need not be matter for surprise. The names ANATHOTH, BETH-ANATH, BETH-ANOTH, compensate us for this omission. Wellhausen thinks that we have also one mention of Anath in Hos. 14:8[9], where he renders an emended text 'I am his Anath and his Asherah' (in clause 2)—surely an improbable view. For a less difficult correction see Che. *Exp. Times*, April 1898.

For Archaeology see Jensen, *Kosm.* 193 272 f.; E. Meyer, *ZDMG* 31:717 [771]; Tiele, *Gesch. van den Godsdienst in die Oudheid*, etc. (93), 224; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 313. T. K. C.

ANATHEMA. See BAN, § 3.

ANATHOTH (אָנַתוֹת, ΑΝΑΘΩΘ [BAL]), a town of Benjamin (cp below, 2), theoretically included by later writers among the so-called Levitical cities (see LEVITES), Josh. 21:18 P; 1 Ch. 6:60[45] (ΑΓΓΑΧ [B], ΓΩC and ΑΝΑΘΩΘ [A], ΕΝΑΘΩΘ [L], Neh. 7:57 ΝΑΘΩΘ [A; om. B]).

The form of the ethnic varies in ed. and versions² (cp also ANATHOTHITE). ANATHOTH is called ΕΝΑΘΩΘ, 2 S. 23:27. AV the ANETHOTHITE (αναθεττης [B], αναθωθ. [A], -ωθ. [L]), 1 Ch. 25:12 (AV, ΑΝΕΘΗΘΗΤΕ, ὅ ἐστι ἀναθωθ. [BAL]), and finally 77777. 1 Ch. 11:28 (AV ANATHOTHITE, αναθωθ. [BA], -ωθ. [L]). The last-mentioned form is used to designate JERU, 5, in 1 Ch. 12:36 (αναθωθ. [BA], -ωθ. [L]; 2 αναθωθ. [BA] in Heb. or 5). RV in each case ANATHOTHITE.

The name appears to be the plural of ANATH, and may refer to some images of that goddess which once stood there. Under the form Anath the place seems to be once referred to in the Talmud (*Yoma* 10a), where its building is assigned to Ahiman the Anakite. Tradition said that Abiathar, the priest in David's time, had 'fields' at Anathoth (1 K. 2:26); and

¹ Reading in Judg. 5:6. 'In the days of Shamgar and Ben Anath.' The notice in 8:31, which is much later than the song (see Moore) is, of course, valueless.

² Bā. and Ginsb., however, read everywhere אָנַתוֹת (cp the former's note on 1 Ch. 11:28). Exceptionally in Sam. *Lc.* Ginsb. אָנַתוֹת.

ANDRONICUS

Jeremiah was born of a priestly family which had property there (Jer. 1:1 29:27 32:7-9, ἀναθωθ [A^ov. 7] 37:12). It is once referred to by Isaiah (Isa. 10:30), and is mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2:23 = Neh. 7:27 = 1 Esd. 5:18 (εναρωθ [B]).

The connection of Anathoth with Jeremiah gives a special interest to its identification. A tradition, not older than the 15th century, fixes it at Kariet el-'Enab (Robinson's Kirjath-jearim); but, as Robinson has shown, it can only be the village now called 'Andta, which is situated NE. of Jerusalem, just at the distance required by the *Onomastic*, and by the reference in Isa. 10:30. 'Anata is well-placed, but only from a strategical point of view. Eastward and south-eastward its inhabitants look down on the Dead Sea and the Lower Jordan—striking elements in a landscape, no doubt, but depressing. Jerusalem is quickly accessible by the Wady Sulem and Scopus, but is not within sight. Here the saddest of the prophets presumably spent his earlier years.

2. b. FISCHER (*q.v.*) in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. a), (Ch. 7) (אנאθωθ [BEM]).
3. Signatory to the covenant (Neh. 10:19[20]). See EZRA, i. § 7. T. K. C.

ANCHOR (ἀγκυρα), Acts 27:29. See SHIP.

ANDREW (ἀνδρεας [Ti. WH] 'manly'), one of Christ's twelve disciples. Like Philip, he bore a Greek name; but so did many Jews of his time, and in Dio Cassius (68:32) we meet with another instance of a Jew called Andrew.

Besides the account of his call (see PETER), and his inclusion in the lists of the apostles (see APOSTLE, § 1), nothing is said of Andrew in the Synoptics, except that, in Mk. 13:3, he appears as one of the inner circle within the twelve, for he is one of the four who question Christ 'privately' about the impending ruin of the temple.

In the Fourth Gospel the picture is more fully drawn, and in one respect completes and explains the account of Andrew's call given in the Synoptics. We read that he belonged originally to Bethsaida (Jn. 1:44), that he was a disciple of the Baptist and heard his witness to Christ, that he and a companion (no doubt John) asked the wandering teacher where he dwelt, and went with him to his temporary home. Then, having 'found the Messiah,' Andrew made his brother, Simon Peter, a sharer in his joy.

We next meet with Andrew, on the E. of the lake of Galilee, at the miraculous feeding of the multitude, on which occasion it is he that tells our Lord (68 f.) of the lad in the crowd who has 'five barley loaves and two fishes.' Once more, when the end is near, he shows in a memorable scene his special intimacy with the Master. When Greeks approach Philip with the 'desire to see Jesus,' it is to Andrew first that Philip communicates the request which they together lay before Christ (Jn. 12:22).

The rest of the NT, apart from the list of the disciples in Acts 1:13, is absolutely silent about Andrew. Such an order as this as we have is worthless.

Ensebius (*HE* iii.) speaks of him as preaching in Scythia, and we have in Andrew's 'Acts' the story of his martyrdom, at Patrae in Achaia, on a cross-shaped like the letter X. Acts of Andrew the Apostle were in circulation among the Gnostics of the second century, but survived only in various Coptic recensions of much later date. Harnack enumerates (1) *Acta Andreae et Mathiae* (and their mission to the Anthropophagi) in Greek (edited by Tisch. *Act. Apost. Apostroph.*); Syrian (edited by Wright, *Apoc. Acts of the Apostles*); Ethiopic, and Coptic (fragmentary). The Latin version survives only in its influence on the Anglo-Saxon *Andreas and Elene* by Cynewulf, and in the *Miracula B. Andreae* by Gregory of Tours; see Lips. *Apokr. Ap. gesch.* 1543 ff., cp. p. 27. (2) *Acta Petri et Andreae*, in Greek (fragments edited by Tisch.) as well as in an Ethiopic recension and a Slavonic translation (cp Lips. 1 353 f.). (3) *Martyrium Andreae* in various Greek recensions (one edited by Tisch.) and in Latin (Harnack, *Alchist. Lit.* 1 127 f., cp Lips. 1 564 ff.). A 'gospel of Andrew' is mentioned in the *Decretum Gelasii*.

ANDRONICUS (ἀνδρονικός [VA; ἀνδρονιον] 2 Macc. 4:38 A^o). 1. The Deputy of Antiochus Epiphanes

in Antioch, who (according to 2 Macc. 4.31 ff.), at the instigation of Menelaus, put to death the deposed high priest Onias—a deed for which he was himself slain with ignominy on the return of the king. See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end.

2. Deputy of Antiochus at Gerizim (2 Macc. 5.23). See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end.

3. Andronicus and Junias are named in Rom. 16.7 as kinsmen and fellow-prisoners of Paul, as of note among the apostles, and as having been 'in Christ' before him. The expression 'kinsmen,' if taken literally, seems to imply that they were Jews by birth; 'fellow-prisoners,' on the hypothesis that Rom. 16.3-20 belongs really to an Ephesian Epistle, has been conjectured by Weizsäcker to allude to an imprisonment which they shared with Paul in Ephesus, most likely in connection with the great 'affliction' (2 Cor. 1.8-11), which ultimately led to his leaving that city (Acts 19.23-20); on the application of the term 'apostle' to them see APOSTLE, § 3. The name Andronicus was not uncommon among Greek slaves; and it has been conjectured that this Andronicus may have been the Jewish freedman of a Greek master.

In the lists of 'the seventy disciples' which we owe to the Pseudo-Dorotheus and the Pseudo-Hippolytus Andronicus is spoken of as bishop of 'Byzantion, or of 'Spain.' In the fragments of the (Coptic) *apostol*, *Isis*, and *Isis*—Irenaeus figure prominently as hosts of the apostle John at Ephesus, and he is represented as having been made by that apostle *ἐπίσκοπος*, or president, of the church of Smyrna. In the Greek church Andronicus is commemorated, along with Crescens, Silas, and Epaphroditus, on 30th July. See Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* (Index, p. 184).

ANEM (אָנֵם), 1 Ch. 6.73 [58] = Josh. 19.21 EN-GANNIM (גַּנִּים).

ANER (אָנֵר), 1. (Sam. עֲנַיִם; *anvar* [ADEL]; Jos. ΕΝΝΗΡΟΣ, a Hebronite Gen. 14.13.24f. Perhaps a local name; cp *An'ur*, a hill near Hebron (ZDMG 12.479 [58]). The correctness of the name Aner, however, is doubtful. The *anvar* of G points to אָנֵר, Enan (i.e., place of a spring), a name which may refer to one of the six springs near Hebron—e.g., the deep spring of Sarah called *Ain Jedideh* (Baed. (2) 137), at the E. foot of the hill on which ancient Hebron lay.

2. (אָנֵר [B], עֲנַיִם [A], אָנֵר [L]) a city in Western Manasseh (1 Ch. 6.70 [55])—perhaps a corruption of TAANACH (תַּנַּח); cp Josh. 21.25. T. K. C.

ANETHOTHITE, ANETOTHITE. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANGEL. The English word 'angel' is a transcription of ἄγγελος, G's translation of Heb. מַלְאָכִים

1. Names. (מַלְאָכִים). The English word denotes primarily superhuman beings; but both the Hebrew and the Greek terms are quite general, and, signifying simply messenger, are used indifferently of human or superhuman beings.¹ Other terms, less ambiguous in this particular respect, also occur.

These are: 'gods' (אֱלֹהִים) cp Ps. 85 [6], and see AV, RV mg. 82.16, 97.138 f., 'sons of [the] goddess' (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים) cp Gen. 6.24 Job. 1.6 2.138 f., or אֱלֹהִים Ps. 29.139-141, EV text, 'sons of [the] mighty,' 'mighty ones' (בְּנֵי עֲצֻמָּה) Ps. 78.25, cp Job. 10.8-10, 'body ones' (בְּנֵי גִבּוֹרִים) Job. 9.1 Ps. 89 [6] Zech. 14.5 Dan. 4.17 [8] 13, 'watchers' (בְּנֵי שֹׁמְרֵי) Dan. 4.14 [17], 'host of heaven' (צְבָאוֹת) 8.25; 1 K. 22.19 Dt. 1.7, 'host of the height' (צְבָאוֹת) 18.24, or 'host of Yahwè' (צְבָאוֹת) Josh. 5.14, cp use of צְבָאוֹת in Ps. 103.21 148.2 Neh. 9.6, and 'God's camp,' צְבָאוֹת 8.25 Gen. 32.2 [3]. In the case of Ps. 68 [17] אֱלֹהִים (אֱלֹהִים) we owe the AV rendering 'thousands of angels' to old Heb. tradition (Targ. Saad. and Abulw.), which treated the difficult אֱלֹהִים as a synonym of מַלְאָכִים (cp Del., *ad loc.*). RV 'thousands upon thousands' is equally hazardous; cp Dan. 7.10.

In the NT also we find other terms in use: 'spirits' (πνεύματα, Heb. 1.14), 'principalities' (ἀρχαί, Rom. 8.38), 'powers' (δυνάμεις

ἰδ., ἐξουσία, Eph. 6.12), 'thrones' (θρόνοι, Col. 1.16), and 'dominions' (κυριότητες, ἰδ.), cp further Cramer, *Lez.* 37 ff. 20 ff. 237, and the Heb. and NT Lexicons, *avv.*

The earliest OT writings contain no definite or systematic angelology, but indicate a prevalent belief

2. **Pre-exilic.** in other superhuman beings besides

Yahwè. These were (1) the 'other gods' or 'gods of the nations,' who were credited with real existence and activity; cp, e.g., Nu. 21.29 Judg. 11.24 and v. Baudissin, *Stud.* 155-79. (2) Closely connected with these were the 'sons of God'—i.e., members of the divine guild. There is but one pre-exilic reference to these (Gen. 6.24), whence it appears that they were not subject to Yahwè, but might break through the natural order of his world with impunity. (3) Attendants on Yahwè—in Is. 6 some of these attendants are termed Seraphim (see SERAPHIM), but others distinct from these seem to be implied; cp v. 8. In a similar scene (1 K. 22.19-22), those who attend Yahwè and form his council are termed collectively 'the host of heaven.' Such divine councils are also implied in Gen. 3.22 11.7 (both J); cp the plurals in these passages with that in Is. 6.8, and the question in 1 K. 22.20.

In another passage (Jos. 5.14 ff.)—the pre-exilic origin of which, however, has been questioned (Kue. *Hex.* 248 ET)—the host of Yahwè appears as disciplined and under a captain. According to some, the 'hosts' in the phrase 'Yahwè (God of) hosts'—a phrase current in early times, were angels (Che. *Proph.* 1.114 ff.; see further NAMES, § 123). The original text of Deut. 33.2 f. contained no reference to angels (see Dillm. *Comm.*; cp also Driver). Another element in early Hebrew folklore worthy of notice in the present connection is the belief in the horsemen of the air (2 K. 2.12 6.17).

For a parallel in modern Bedouin folklore cp Doughty, *Ar. De.* 1.449. 'The melniks are seen in the air like horsemen, tilting to and fro.'

Angelic horsemen play a considerable part in later literature—e.g., in Zech., 1 Apoc.

The most noteworthy features, then, of the pre-exilic angelology are the following:—(1) except in Gen. 28.32, these beings are never termed 'angels.' 'Angel' occurs frequently in the singular, but only in the phrase 'angel of Yahwè' (more rarely, 'of God'), which denotes, not a messenger of, and distinct from, Yahwè, but a manifestation of Yahwè himself in human form (see THEOPHANIES, § 4). Koster treats even Gen. 28.10-12 17.32 [1] 18.1 f. 19.1 f. as statements of the manifestation of the one God in many forms (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 426 f., 2nd ed. 445 f.), and concludes that, before the Exile, *מַלְאָכִים* was used exclusively of appearances of Yahwè. Against this, Schultz's reference (*OT Theol.* 2.104) to 1 S. 29.9 2 S. 14.17 19.25 [1] is not quite conclusive. (2) These attendants on Yahwè are not also messengers to men. Even if the angels of Gen. 28.32 be distinct from God, they bring no message. For such a function there was no need so long as Yahwè himself appeared to men. (3) Beside these subordinate divine beings that attend Yahwè, but have no relations with men, there are other beings ('other gods,' 'sons of the gods') which are not subject to Yahwè, and do enter into relations with men.

Comparatively few as are the early references to angels or kindred beliefs (cp DEMONS, § 1), they are

3. **Later.** yet such as to justify us in attributing a comparatively rich folk-lore on these matters to the early Hebrews; but it is not until the exile and post-exilic periods that angels come into prominence theologically. They do so then in consequence of the maturing belief, on the one hand, in the transcendence of Yahwè, on the other, in his supremacy. The development of angelology at this time must also have been favoured by the contact of the Jews with the Persians; and some details of the later doctrine may be due to the same influence—e.g., the naming of angels, although the great majority of the names themselves (as in

¹ Karppe (*Journ. As. ser.* ix., 9.126) reads מַלְאָכִים, a derivative of מַלְאָךְ, as if 'the walker' = 'the messenger,' or Yahwè marching (Is. 63.1, *SBOT*) as opposed to Yahwè mounted on the cherub (Ps. 18.10 [11]).

Enoch 6 69) are quite clearly Hebraic, though of a late type (cp *HPN*, p. 210).

With the growing sense of Yahwè's transcendence, belief in his self-manifestation in human form ceased; and thus the phrase 'angel of Yahwè,' set free from its old meaning, now came to denote one of the beings intermediate between Yahwè and men. At first it was apparently the title of a particular angel (*Zech. 111 f.*), but subsequently it became a quite general term (note the pl. *Ps. 103 20*, cp *347 [8]* and *NT passim*). It is now by angels, and no longer directly, that Yahwè communicates with men—even prophets. The experience of Ezekiel marks the transition—Yahwè speaks to him, sometimes directly (442), sometimes through another (403). With Zechariah the change is complete. He never sees Yahwè; he receives all divine instructions through angels (contrast *Am. 7 f.*). Daniel receives the explanation of his visions in the same way; and in *NT*, warnings or other communications of the divine will are given by angels (*Mt. 12 213*, *Lk. 110*, *Acts 103 20*). The angels thus become the intermediaries of Yahwè's revelation; but they are also the instruments of his aid (*Ps. 91 11*, *Dan. 3 28*, and frequently; cp later, 2 *Macc. 116 3* *Macc. 618*, *Susan. 42 ff.* [in *LXX*, but not in *Theod.*], *Bel and Drag. 34-39*; cp *Acts 8 26 39 f.*, *Tobit, passim*, *Acts 12 ff.*, and especially *Heb. 114*), or punishment (*Ps. 7 20 35 5 f.*, *Enoch 53*; 611 621 631 *Apoc. Bar. 21 23*, *Rev. 6 f.*, also in *5 Job 20 15 33 23 40 11 [v. 6 in Heb. and EV]* and see further below, § 5). Especially prominent in the apocalyptic literature is the cognate belief in the intercession of angels with God, in behalf of the righteous, or against the unrighteous: see, e.g., *Enoch 9 10 15 2 406* (where the function is specially referred to Gabriel, 4069; yet cp also *Tob. 12 12 13* where Raphael intercedes) 99 316 1041 *Rev. 8 3*. Cp also in *OT, Zech. 1 12 Job 5 1 33 23 Eccles. 5 6 [5]*, and perhaps in *NT, Mt. 18 10*, unless this be a case of angelic guardianship.

In other respects also, the later angelology shows the influence of the growing sense of Yahwè's transcendence; the angels, exalted far above men by the functions just mentioned, are themselves abased before God (*Job 4 18*).

4. Supremacy of Yahwè.

The awful exaltation of even angels above men, is prominent in Daniel (*Dan. 8 16-18 10 16 f.*). The countless number of the angels is emphasised (*Job 33 23*, *Dan. 7 20*, and later, *Enoch 40 1 718 Mt. 26 53 Heb. 12 22 Apoc. Bar. 48 10 51 11 59 11*), and they are divided into ranks. Even in *Zech.* the angel of Yahwè is a 'kind of grand vizier receiving the report of (less exalted) angels' (*Smend*). This conception of ranks becomes, later, more detailed¹ (see *Dan. 10 13 12 1 Tob. 12 15*, and *Enoch—e.g.*, chap. 40), and creates in *Gk.* the term ἀρχάγγελος (see *Charles, Book of Enoch*, p. 67; 1 *The. 4 16 Jude 9*); it may be traced farther, in *NT*, in the

¹ [The influence of non-Jewish upon Jewish beliefs can here scarcely be denied. These are the facts of the case: in *Dan. 10 13* we hear of a class of 'chief princes,' two of whom (*GABRIEL* and *MICHAEL*, 11) are named (chaps. 10-12; cp also *KAPHAËL* and *URIEL*). In *Tob.* (12 15) the number of the 'holy angels who present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One,' is given as seven (if the text is correct). In *Enoch* the number of the chief angels varies between, three, four, six, and seven (see chaps. 20 42 78 1 89 1 90 21 31, and other passages). Manifestly this highest class of angels was suggested by the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas or Amshaspands ('immortal holy ones'), who (like the counsellors of the king of Persia, *Ezra 7 14*) are seven; and this seems to be confirmed by the reference to the archangels in the *Book of Tobit*, which also mentions the Zend name of the chief demon (see *ASMODEUS*). In referring to this Iranian belief, however, we must not forget the possibility that it is to some extent historically connected with Babylonian spirit-lore. The cultus of the seven planets is no doubt primal in Babylon, and may have spread thence to the Iranian peoples. To explain the belief in the archangels solely from Babylonian sources would be plausible only if the Zoroastrian Gáthas, which are pervaded by the belief in the Amshaspands, were not earlier than the time of Philo. For this bold theory see Darmesteter, *Le Zendavesta* 8 56 (62), etc.; but contrast the same writer's earlier theory in *SBB (Zendavesta*, I. *Intro.*),—T. K. C.]

references to the 'seven spirits of God' (*Rev. 4 5 cp 8 2*), and to Michael (*Jude 9 Rev. 12 7*) and Gabriel (*Lk. 1 19*); probably also in the use of several terms together, in certain passages (*e.g.*, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, *Col. 1 16*), and perhaps in the term 'elect angels' (1 *Tim. 5 21*).

The doctrine of Yahwè's supremacy involved either an absolute denial of the existence of other superhuman beings or their subordination to him. To the latter method of accommodation post-exilic angelology owes some striking features. Thus, the patron angels of nations (clearly referred to in *Dan. 10 13 20 12 1*, probably also in *Is. 24 21 ff.* *Joel 3 [4] 11*, *Comm. 2 5 8 10*; see *Ch. Book of Psalms*¹ 229 ff. and *82*), are merely the ancient 'gods of the nations'—for which, in this connection, cp especially *Dt. 4 19 29 25 f.* 338 6—transformed to suit the new doctrine. Again, the 'sons of the Elohim'—formerly independent of Yahwè, whose laws they broke with impunity—now become identified with the angels (cp *Ps. 29 11* with 103 20, and 6's translation of *Gen. 6 2* [not *L*] *Job 1 6* etc., cp also *Lk. 20 36*); as such they constitute his council and do his bidding (*Job 1 6 2 1*; cp *Zech. 1 11 f.*). Similarly, the host of heaven, which in the later years of the monarchy had been favourite objects of worship (cp, e.g., *Zeph. 1 5 Jer. 8 2 Dt. 4 19*), and therefore rivals of Yahwè, now again become subject to him and do him homage (*Neh. 9 6*); he is supreme over them as over men (*Is. 45 12*, cp 40 26); he is equally supreme over all gods (*e.g.*, cp *Ps. 96 4*).

On the other hand, the difficulty with which Yahwè's claim to universal worship against all others was established is also reflected in the new angelology. Yahwè's supremacy over the 'gods,' or the 'host of heaven,' was won and maintained only by force (*Job 25 2 cp 21 22 Is. 24 21 34 45*; cp 27 1—for the passages in *Job* see Davidson's, for those in *Isaiah*, *Cheyne's Comm.*). This incomplete assimilation of the 'other gods' etc. to beings wholly subservient to Yahwè, combined with a growing dislike to attribute evil or disorder directly to him, led to the differentiation of angels as beneficent or maleficent (see *DEMONS*, § 5, *SATAN*, § 3); but the *OT* nowhere lays stress on the moral character of angels, or knows anything of their 'fall.' Consequently, angels were divided not into good and bad, but into those who worked wholly, and those who worked only partly, in obedience to God. This latter division still seems to hold its own in *NT* alongside of the former; and, for this reason, in passages such as *Rom. 8 38 1 Cor. 15 24 f.*, the question 'Are the angels referred to good or bad?' is probably out of place (cp *Everling*).

For several centuries after the Exile the belief in angels did not gain equal prevalence in all circles: thus

6. Schools of belief.

P never mentions them (on *Gen. 16 2 1r* see *Dillm.*); the Priestly Chronicler does so but rarely—save when quoting directly from his sources—and *Esther*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, and *Maccabees*, are marked more by the absence than by the presence of such references; 'Angel' does not occur in the Hebrew of *Eccles. 48 21*. Still later the differences become conspicuous; the Sadducees were credited with complete scepticism (*Acts 23 8*); the *ESSENES* (*q.v.*, § 3) attached an exaggerated importance to the doctrine; the popular Pharisaic party and all the *NT* writers share, in general, the popular beliefs. Yet in *John* angels are alluded to only in 20 12 13 1 (a passage based on an *OT* narrative), 12 29 (a saying of the populace), and the intrusive verse 5 4; the epistles contain no mention of them (cp the comparative infrequency of references in *John* to demons (*q.v.*, § 6)).

Several features of *NT* angelology have been already incidentally discussed; they are common to both Jewish

7. Apocalypses and NT.

and Christian writings. Scarcely less influential over the writers of the *NT* than the *OT* were the apocalypses then already extant—especially *Enoch*. It is in *Enoch* we

first see elaborated a doctrine of the 'fall' of angels. The fall is regarded as the punishment for the intercourse mentioned in Gen. 6:2-4, and for an improper revelation of 'the secret things of the world' (cp in NT Jude 6 2 Pet. 2:4). Through their fall they become inferior to men, who therefore judge them (En. 14:4-7 15:2; cp 1 Cor. 6:3 Heb. 2). Enoch should be especially compared with Revelation.

The influence of the OT may be clearly seen in the NT angelophanies, which seem modelled on those of the early OT narratives,—only that now, under the influence of the later development, the angel is quite distinct from God (Acts 10:3 f. is not an exception). These angelophanies abound in the nativity and resurrection narratives and in Acts (5:19 8:26-40 10:3-7 30-32 12:7-11 27:23), but are conspicuous by their absence from the narratives of the life of Christ—the badly attested passage Lk. 22:43 being unique, except so far as Mt. 4:11=Mk. 1:13 (contrast Lk. 4:4 f.) may be considered parallel.

Jesus accepts the popular belief in the existence of angels, but never (even in Mt. 18:10 or 26:53) countenances the belief that they influence life in

8. Jesus. the present—perhaps in the parable of the wheat and the tares (Mt. 13:24-30 37-40) he directly discontenances it. All he says of them has reference to themselves alone, or to their relations to men after life. Thus, at the second coming they will accompany the Son of Man (Mt. 16:27 and parallels; Jn. 1:51), and will then separate the good from the evil (e.g., Mt. 13:41; cp Lk. 16:22). They do not marry (Mt. 22:30, and parallels); their knowledge is limited (Mt. 24:36=Mk. 13:32); and they rejoice over repentant sinners (Lk. 15:10; cp Lk. 12:8 f., with which contrast Mt. 10:32 f., and cp earlier, Job 33:23). In particular, Jesus breaks away from the prevailing tendency to make angels the intermediaries of revelation: he himself becomes the sole revealer (Mt. 11:27 Jn. 17:6; cp 14:6 f.), he will himself always be with his disciples (Mt. 28:20), and will instruct them directly (Lk. 21:15), or through the Spirit whom he sends (Jn. 15:26 14:17-26). Thus this part of the doctrine of angels was doomed to give way to the Christian doctrines of the abiding presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. It still survives, however, in Revelation (1:7 17:21; cp also in the contemporary Jewish *Apoc. Bar.* 55:3, 'The angel Ramid who presides over true visions'); also in Acts (10:3 f. 27:23?)—yet here alongside of the new belief (10:13-16). Paul

9. Paul. already shows the influence of the teaching of Jesus—he claims to receive his gospel direct from him (Gal. 1:12 15 f.; cp Acts 9:3-6)—but still shares (Gal. 3:19) the common belief (Acts 7:53 Heb. 2:2 Jos. *Ant.* xv. 53; cp Dt. 33:2 6) in the past instrumentality of angels in revelation, perhaps also in the present possibility of the same (Gal. 1:8; cp 7:14). With him, too, angels still play a large part in human life; his own practice and practical exhortations are governed by this belief (1 Cor. 4:9 6:11-10). An emphatic warning, however, is uttered against a practice (which was springing up in some quarters) of worshipping angels (Col. 2:18 cp Rev. 19:10). In the same epistle the creation of angels is asserted (1:16)—a point to which, as might be expected, no reference had been made in OT, where they are once mentioned as being present at the creation of the world, Job 38:7 (in Jewish literature, cp Jub. 2:2 Apoc. Bar. 21:6). The question whether Paul associated angels with cosmical forces turns on the interpretation of τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. Gal. 4:3 Col. 2:8 (see, on the one hand, Lightfoot, *in loc.*, on the other, Everling, as cited below, and cp ELEMENTS). Such an association would, at least, have accorded with the tendency of the time: note the angels of winds, sun, fire, and water, etc. (Rev. 7:1 19:17 14:18 16 cp Heb. 1:7 and Jn. 5:4, and, somewhat earlier, Enoch 60:11 ff. 61:10). The tendency began much earlier; in the OT angels and stars are closely associated (cp Job

38:7 Is. 34:4, and, in general, the double meaning attaching to the phrase 'host of heaven'); and the transition from Ps. 104:4 to a fixed belief in elemental angels is easy. See PERSIA.

The literature of the subject is large; all the Old and New Testament Theologies contain discussions; on the OT, Piepenbring's *Théol. de l'ancien Test.* 1000 (L.T.).

10. Literature. New York, '93) and Smend's *AT Rel.-gesch.* ('93) are especially helpful. The chief monographs for the OT are by Koster's ('De Mal'ach Yahwe' and 'Het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling der Angelologie onder Israëli' *Th. Tijdschr.* 1906-1915 [1915], 1924-69, 112-141 [1915]; for the Pauline Doctrine, by Everling (*Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie* [188]). On the vocabulary of the subject see M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angelologie d'après manuscrits hébreux* (Paris, '97). The question of foreign influence is discussed by Kohut (*Ueber d. jüd. Angelologie u. Demonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*), for further literature on this point see Che. *OP's* 382. See further the valuable discussions of Montetouze (*Hist. Lat.* viii., 104-11, 429 ff.) and Chassigne (*OP's* 322-327, 334-337), and cp Lucken, *Michael* ('98).

G. B. G.

ANGLE (Is. 19:8 Hab. 1:15). See HOOK, 3. FISH, 3.

ANIM (אַנִּים, surely not 'mouning of the people' [Ges.], but miswritten [see 6] for אַנִּים, see ELIAM; differently Gray, *HPN* 44 n. 1, who would omit 't', and derive from אַנִּים; ἀλλήλειμ [B], ἀνίμια [A], ἐν, [L.], in genealogy of MANASSEH (1 Ch. 7:19†). T. K. C.

ANIM (אַנִּים, אֲנִים [B], אַנִּים [A], אִים [L.]). Josh. 15:50†, a hill town of Judah, mentioned after Eshtemoa (a name equally distorted in 6). Perhaps the modern el-Ghuwein, which lies to the south of el-Khalil (Hebron) between es-Semū' and Tell 'Arād.

ANISE (ἀνηθῶν [Ti. WH], Mt. 23:23†) or DILL (RV mg.) is the plant *Anethum graveolens*.¹ The correct rendering is 'dill,'² and the plant is distinct from *Pimpinella Anisum*, which is the modern 'anise.' The biblical plant is described (Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia* (2) 327 f.), as 'an erect, glaucous annual plant, with finely striated stems, usually one foot to one foot and a half in height, pinnate leaves with setaceous linear segments, and yellow flowers. It is indigenous to the Mediterranean region, Southern Russia, and the Caucasian provinces, but is found as a cornfield weed in many other countries, and is frequently cultivated in gardens.'³

It is mentioned in Mt. 23:23, along with mint and cummin,⁴ as being subjected by the scribes and Pharisees to a title. This practice accords with the general principle stated at the commencement of the Mishnic tract on 'tithes' ('Whatever is food, and is private possession, and has its increase out of the earth, is subject to tithing'—a rule based on the precept of Deut. 14:22, 'Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year'), and the liability of dill in particular to tithing is, in the Talmud, specially mentioned (see the references in Celsius, *Hierobot.* 1:497). N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ANKLETS and ANKLE-CHAINS. These have ever been favourite ornaments among Orientals.⁵ Probably the oldest specimens are some in gold and silver which have been found in Egypt, where they appear to have been worn by men as well as women. The chains obliged the wearers to take short and tripping steps. To enhance the effect, bells were (at

¹ The Syriac and the Arabic versions correctly render by the word *shibhētā, shibītā*—a name for this plant which is probably derived from Persian (see Löw, 373).

² This, though supplanted by 'anise' in all the English versions from Wyclif onwards, is the word used in the A.S. version, 'myntan and dille and cymmynt.'

³ Virgil gives it a place in the flower-garden (*Fel.* 2:48), and Pliny in the vegetable-garden (*HN* xix. 8:5). Cp the Greek *reff.* in Liddell and Scott.

⁴ In the parallel passage in Lk. (11:42) dill is not mentioned—'mint and rue and every herb (πᾶν ἄχραντον).'

⁵ Cp Ar. *halhal*, and Gk. *περισφύρα* and *περισκέλις*, the latter of which is 6's rendering of the Heb. אַנְכָּלִים (in the plur. or dual) 'breeches.'

2 S. 121), paint on a ceiling, Jer. 22¹⁴ (here translated in EV by 'painted'),—and probably we should interpret the word similarly in the recurring phrase (e.g., in Ex. 29a) 'wafers unleavened anointed with oil'; (2) of the application of unguents to persons or things as a *religious rite*; for details see below (§ 3 ff.), but observe that, with the possible¹ exception of Am. 6, *משוח* is never used in the sense of שָׁח. In its metaphorical sense שָׁח is used of the divine appointment or selection of a man for a particular purpose—viz., for the kingship (1 S. 10¹ 15¹⁷; 2 S. 12²; 2 K. 9¹⁶ 10¹²; Ps. 45⁷ [8] 89¹⁰ [11] 2 Ch. 22⁷; cp below, § 5). For the relation of the term שָׁח to the usages under discussion see MESSIAH, § 1. 'Anoint' in Ps. 92¹⁰ [11] corresponds to Heb. שָׁח, ² in Ps. 23⁵ it corresponds to שָׁח; 'anointing' in the probably corrupt passage Is. 10²⁷ corresponds to שָׁח (S⁹RAV om.) and 'anointed ones' in Zech. 4¹⁴ (AV; but RV 'sons of oil'; S⁹RAV יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְיִחִיָּה וְשֵׁנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים הַיְהוּדָיִם 22).

In NT the EV also confuses two sharply distinguished terms. *χρίω*, which in the LXX, as in classical Greek, may be used in a physical sense, as in the NT used *ex-citissime* (Lk. 4¹ [cp Is. 61¹]; Acts 4²⁷ 10³; 20³⁰ [12]) of God in a metaphorical sense; for we can hardly regard the quotation from Ps. 45⁷ [8] in Heb. 1⁹ as an exception. The derivatives *χρίσμα* (1 Jn. 2²⁰ 27) and *χριστός* are used similarly; but the compounds *ἐχρίω* (Rev. 3¹⁸ also Tob. 6⁸ [5] 11⁸) and *ἐπιχρίω* (Jn. 9⁶ 11) retain the original physical sense.

Thus the NT use of *χρίω* resembles the metaphorical use of שָׁח. The other NT term, *ἀλείφω*, is always used of the application of unguents to the body, whether (like the Heb. שָׁח which it frequently represents, e.g., Ruth 3³ Micah 6¹⁵; cp also 2 K. 4² S⁹BAL) for toilet purposes (Mt. 6¹⁷ Lk. 7³⁸ 46 Jn. 11²), or medicinally (Mk. 6¹³ Ja. 5¹⁴), or as a tribute of respect to the dead (Mk. 16¹ cp Jn. 12³⁷).³

From the foregoing analysis of the terms, it will be clear that 'anointing' was practised by the

2. Toilet. Hebrews both for secular and for sacred purposes. The unguent used was olive oil, with or without the addition of aromatic spices; for details see OIL. Anointing formed among the Hebrews, as among many other peoples (cp, e.g., Pl. *HV* xii. 1-6), a regular part of a full toilet, being in particular associated with washing (Ruth 3³ Ezek. 16⁹ Sus. 17); the omission of it was a sign of mourning, the resumption of the practice a sign that mourning was over (2 S. 11² Dan. 10³ [cp Mt. 6¹⁷]; 2 S. 12²⁰; Judith 10³ cp Is. 61³ Eccl. 9⁸); and hence 'to anoint' is a suitable figure for 'to make glad' (Ps. 23⁵ cp 45⁷ [8]). The head and face appear to have been most usually anointed (Ps. 104¹⁵ Judith 16¹⁹ Mt. 6¹⁷ Lk. 7³⁸; cp Ps. 23⁵ 141⁵ Eccles. 9⁸), and the anointing of the feet to have been a special luxury (Lk. 7⁴⁶ Jn. 12³). The medicinal use of unguents is referred to not only in Ja. 5¹⁴ Mk. 6¹³, but also in Is. 16 Lk. 10³⁴. On anointing the dead see EMBALMING.

Leaving the significance of anointing as a religious rite to a final section, we will here simply classify the

3. Religious persons or objects which were so rite: anointing of persons. The kings. In the OT, especially in the earlier writings, there are numerous references to the anointing of kings (cp, e.g., 1 S. 16³ 12

¹ Possible, but hardly probable (cp Ges.-Bud., *שָׁח*). The first described in the context is *שְׁמִינִי*; see 7¹, and cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 241, 258, 430 n. 4, and note that the word used in v. 6 for bowl (*קִיבִי*) is elsewhere exclusively used in connection with sacrifice; cp Driver (*ad loc.*), who, however, takes the passage as a description of effeminate luxury.

² The text, however, is very questionable. Many (e.g., Cheyne, *Psalms* (2), Baethgen), following S⁹BART Sym. Jer., point בְּלִי שְׁמֵחַ instead of בְּלִי שָׁח, and translate 'my old age' or 'my waning strength' instead of 'I am anointed.' In *Psalms* (2) Che. reads בְּלִי שָׁח = אֶחָדָה.

³ In Mk. 14⁸ 'anoint' is ἀνρίω (see MYRRH, 2).

9:6 2 K. 23³¹ Eccles. 46¹⁵), and so frequently of the Hebrew kings to whom the term 'Messiah of Yahwé' belonged pre-eminently, if not exclusively, in the days of the monarchy and even later (Lam. 4²⁰); for the anointing of a *Syrian* king (by a Hebrew prophet) see 1 K. 19¹⁵, and cp the general reference in Judg. 9⁸ 15, and Am. Tab. 376 'Manahé(r)ia, king of Egypt, . . . established my father . . . over the kingdom, and poured oil on his head.' (b) *The prophet.* How far it was usual to anoint a prophet we cannot say; but we have one allusion (in a narrative of the 9th or 8th cent.) to such an anointing which cannot be reasonably explained away; if 'anoint' in 1 K. 19¹⁵ 16a be literal, it would be unnatural to consider it in 7: 16b (as in Is. 61¹) metaphorical; cp Eccles. 48⁸. (c) *The priest.* References to the anointing of priests, as part of the rite of consecration, are numerous in P. We have to distinguish, however, between those passages which refer to the anointing of the high priest (Aaron) alone, and those which refer to the anointing of the priests in general (for the former cp Ex. 29⁷; Lev. 8¹² 6²⁰ [13], and, outside P, Ps. 133² Eccles. 45¹⁵; for the latter, Ex. 30³⁰ 40¹³ 15). It seems probable that passages of the latter class are secondary (cp We. *CH* 141 f.; Di. on Lev. 8¹⁰-12; Nowack, *Arch.* 2 124). In this case the anointing of the high priest may be inferred to have been an earlier custom than that of anointing all priests. This would account for the origin of the term *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל*, 'the anointed priest' applied to the high priest (Lev. 4⁵ 20⁹ 6²⁰ [13]; cp Nu. 35²⁵; Lev. 21¹⁰ 2 Macc. 1¹⁰, and perhaps Dan. 9²⁵ f.), and for its subsequent disappearance when all priests were anointed (cp *הַכֹּהֲנִים הַמְשֻׁחִים* Nu. 33). We may infer from Zech. 4¹⁴ that the custom of anointing the high priest was at least as ancient as the close of the sixth century; but we have no earlier evidence. On the other hand, the contrast between a priest and 'Yahwé's anointed' (1 S. 2³⁵—a Deuteronic passage), and the different terms in which the Chronicler (1 Ch. 29²²) and the earlier historian (1 K. 2³⁵) refer to Zadok's appointment, are worthy of attention. Cp further (for some differences of view) Baudissin, *Die Gesch. des AT Priesterthums* 25 f. 48 f. 140 253.

Lifeless objects also were anointed. (a) Gen. 28¹³ 31¹³ 35¹⁴ are, as far as OT is concerned, isolated references to the anointing of *sacred pillars*

4. Lifeless objects. (see MASSEBAH); but the custom was well-known in antiquity (cp Di. on Gen. 28¹³; WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 232). (b) *The tabernacle* and its appurtenances. P contains directions or statements about anointing 'the tent of meeting' and all its furniture (which is mentioned in detail, Ex. 30²⁶), or 'the tabernacle and all that is therein' (Ex. 40⁹ Lev. 8¹⁰ Nu. 7¹), as part of the rite of consecration. Special reference is made to the anointing of the altar (Nu. 7¹⁰ 8⁸). In Dan. 9²⁴ we find an allusion to the anointing of 'the most holy' (probably = the altar) in the reconsecration after the pollution of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes.

NT contains no reference to anointing as a religious rite, unless, indeed, we ought to infer from Mk. 6¹³ Ja. 5¹⁴ that magical—and so far religious—properties were attributed to the oil used in anointing the sick (as distinct from the wounded, Lk. 10³⁴); but before the close of the second century A.D. it had come to form part of the ceremony of baptism. See Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, s.vv. 'Chrism,' 'Uncion'; Mayor's *Comm.* on James (on 5¹⁴).

Anointing occurs repeatedly as a metaphorical term to express a religious idea. As we have seen (1) the

5. Metaphors. NT term (*χρίω*) always used metaphorically with God as subject. The metaphor may have originated in, as it was certainly subsequently used to express, the idea of God pouring out his spirit

on a man (or people) for a particular purpose—e.g., on Saul to smite the Amalekites (1 S. 15.17), on Jehu to smite the house of Ahab (2 K. 9.6 f.), on 'the Servant' to preach good tidings' (Is. 61.1). Thus, after Yahwé has anointed Saul (1 S. 10.1), the spirit of Yahwé comes mightily upon him (v. 6), cp 1 S. 16.13; and the connection between the outpouring of the spirit and anointing is clear in Is. 61.1 (Lk. 4.18) 2 Cor. 1.21, and especially in Acts 10.38. Similarly, 'the anointing from the holy one' (1 Jn. 2.20-27) is the illumination of the Holy Spirit, which teaches those that receive it concerning all things. Hence, the term 'anointed' could suitably be applied to Israel as a people—e.g., Hab. 3.13; see further MESSIAH, § 3. In Ps. 45.7 89.20, the whole phrase 'to anoint with oil' is used with God as subject; in these cases either the whole phrase is a metaphor, or *mišah* has acquired a quasi-causative sense.

On the relation of the various terms and customs to one another there have been different views, some of which must be briefly referred to.

6. Primitive significance. Some (e.g., Kamphausen in the article 'Salbe' in *HWB*²) derive the religious from the toilet use, seeing in the rite of anointing both the means of setting apart to God some person or thing as clean and sweet-smelling, and also the symbol of such a condition. But (1) it may be questioned whether the sharp distinction of terms relative to the two uses (cp § 1) be not against this view; (2) there is no positive evidence that the Hebrews interpreted the rite in this way, unless we so regard the custom of mixing sweet-smelling substances in the anointing oil—a custom which cannot be traced before P; and (3) the metaphorical use cannot be satisfactorily explained in this way. Reasons have been given in the preceding section for thinking that the religious rite of anointing men was at any rate understood at an early period to symbolise the outpouring of the divine spirit; but it is possible that this symbolism is not original, even in the case of persons. It certainly does not explain the anointing of things—particularly the pillar at Bethel. This custom Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*² 233 379 ff., especially 313 ff., cp SACRIFICE) seeks to explain as a sacrifice, the oil being a substitute for the animal fat which was smeared (smearing, it is to be remembered, being the original sense of *ḥṣṣ*) by the Arabs on similar pillars, and played a considerable part in many other forms of sacrifice. Fat being, according to ancient thought, one of the great seats of life, was peculiarly fitted for the food of the gods (hence the anointing of the pillar), and also for imparting living virtue to the persons to whom it might be applied (hence the anointing of things or other persons). In this case the view that anointing symbolised the imparting of the divine spirit, is a refinement of the idea in which the custom may be presumed to have originated (cp COVENANT, § 5 end). The anointing of the temple and sacred furniture will then be a survival similar to that of sprinkling them with blood. G. B. G.

ANOS (אַנֹּוֹס [BA; om. L], 1 Esd. 9.34, apparently VANIAH of Ezra 10.36.

ANT (אַנְתָּ) מַּיְמַחֵז [BXA]; *formica*, Pr. 6.6.80²⁵†.

1. Name and allusions. Classical writers often refer to the industry, forethought, and ingenuity of the ant, and especially to its habit

¹ The etymology of this word is very doubtful. It has been proposed to derive it (1) from a doubtful Heb. verb *an* (cp *an*) 'to cut', referring either to the shape of the ant's body (= 'insect'), or to its habit of cutting seeds from the corn-ears, or to the incision it is supposed to make in the seeds themselves to prevent their sprouting (though this last was hardly known to the ancient Hebrews); (2) from Ar. *anama* 'to creep' or 'to ascend by creeping'; (3) from supposed root akin to Heb. *an*, 'to make a slight sound'. The connection with Ar. *anama* is certain; but possibly the meaning of the verb may be derived from the noun. A kindred word is Ar. *anmul*, 'finger-tip' (Lag. *Ubers.* 21). The Syr. equivalent is *zūmānā* 'keen-scented'; Ar. has the same word as Heb. *namān*.

of storing grain-seeds beneath the ground in time of harvest.¹

Thus Ælian tells us that so great is the industry of ants that, when there is moonlight, they work by night as well as by day. It was noticed how carefully their work was organised; they were described as marching like an army, the oldest acting as generals; when they reached the cornfield, the older ants ascended the stalks and threw down the grains to the others, who stood around the foot. Each took its part in carrying away the food to their subterranean homes, which were carefully constructed with several chambers, and protected above by walls of earth to keep out the rain. The seeds were divided into two, sometimes into four, segments, and in other cases peeled, to prevent their sprouting; if wetted by rain, they were brought out and carefully dried in the sun. The ant showed a weather-knowledge far surpassing man's. It was in all respects a πολιτικὸν ζῷον, and is so classed by Aristotle along with the crane and the bee.

The same observations are repeated in later times by Arabic and Jewish writers.

The Mohammedans seem to have associated the ant with Solomon; the 27th chapter of the Koran is styled 'the ant', because it mentions that Solomon, on his march, once entered 'the valley of ants,' whereupon an ant said, 'O ants, enter into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you underfoot and perceive it not.' It was a custom with the Arabs, says Bochart, to place an ant in the hand of a new-born child, with a prayer that he might grow up wise and sagacious.

The only two passages in the OT which mention the ant obviously refer to some species of Harvesting Ant

2. Species.—probably either to *Aphaenogaster* (formerly called *Atta*) *barbara*, or to *A. structor*, or to *Pheidole megacephala*, which are to this day found in Syria, and, indeed, all round the Mediterranean basin.

Numerous other species of ant have been described in Palestine; but, as far as is known, they resemble in their habits the ants of temperate and colder climates, and do not lay up any store of provisions against the winter: it is possible that, like the latter, they pass the cold season in a torpor or winter sleep.

The harvesting ants all belong to the genus *Aphaenogaster*, or are closely allied to it. Their habits were well known to the ancients and

3. Harvesting ant. to mediæval writers. These observers, generalising on insufficient data, assumed that all ants stored up food for winter consumption.

When, however, the centre of learning shifting farther N. from the shores of the Mediterranean, the leaders of science were found in central and northern Europe, the position of things was reversed.

Naturalists, noticing that the ants whose habits they observed did not store grain and seeds, arrived at the conclusion that no ants did, and attempted to explain the accounts of the earlier writers by pointing out that they had probably mistaken for seeds the pupæ which, when anything disturbs the ants' nest, are at once seized and borne to a place of safety. The consensus of opinion, accordingly, until about a quarter of a century ago, was that ants never lay up stores of food.

The investigations of Moggridge and Lespès, however, showed that, although this opinion is probably correct as far as ants in more northern climates are concerned, many of the ants in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean store up seeds collected from different plants. Not only do they collect seeds that have fallen, but they also frequently tear the fruit or seed-pod off the plants and bear them to the *formicarium* or nest. They will, moreover, travel considerable distances to obtain their food, marching in two nearly continuous parallel lines, the length of the column sometimes measuring 24 yards or more. The two lines are moving in contrary directions—the one toiling laden with spoils towards the nest, the other hurrying back with empty mouths to the harvest ground.

The nests both of *A. barbara* and of *A. structor* are simply excavations in the ground—long cylindrical passages

4. Nests: are to some extent smoothed and cemented. In these hollows, about the size of a billiard

¹ See the list of passages quoted in Bochart, *Hier.*—among them *Hor. Sat.* l. 1. 33; *Virg. Æn.* 4.402; *Plin.* *NH* 11.30; Ælian, 2.25 4.43 6.43. A brief account of the Jewish notices by Rev. A. Lowy in *PSBA* 8.88 [1880-81].

ball, the seeds are stored. In one nest Moggridge counted seeds from twelve different species of plant, and he enumerates eighteen distinct botanical families containing plants which furnish ants with seeds. *A. structor* is frequently found in the neighbourhood of towns or villages, and even in the streets; *A. barbara*, usually in the country.

The ants' nests are entered by one or two holes, whose presence is usually indicated by small heaps of refuse, partly composed of the earth excavated from the nest, and partly built up of the husks and other useless matter, which is carefully removed from the seeds before the latter are stored up. All this refuse is scrupulously removed from the nest, which is kept very clean. The ants do not allow the seeds to sprout; possibly by making an incision in them.

The amount of seed collected and stored in the granaries is very considerable and may cause serious loss to the agriculturist; from one nest an amount of seed estimated at 1 lb. in weight was taken, and there must be many hundreds of nests to the acre. The seed stores of the ants of Palestine are sufficiently important to be mentioned in the Mishna, which records the rules adopted as to their ownership.

The industry of the harvesting ants, and the amount of work they accomplish, justify their being held up as examples of untiring energy. They begin work early in the morning and keep at it far into the night, working as hard in the dark as in the sunlight. Meer Hasan Ali in his *History of the Mussulmans* describes how eight or twelve very small harvesting ants will find it difficult to move a grain of wheat, and yet they manage to transport such grains over a distance of 1000 yards to their nest. Their great sagacity is shown in numerous ways—the complexity of the organisation of their colonies (involving the differentiation of individuals to perform different duties), their powers of communicating one with another, and their slavemaking propensities. Their habit of laying-up food for the future, and even (in some South-American species) of actually cultivating certain fungi for food, places them with the bees and wasps, as regards intelligence, second only to man in the animal kingdom.

The ants belong to the order Hymenoptera (which includes bees, wasps, and saw-flies), and to the family Formicidae. N. M.—A. E. S.

ANTELOPE (אַנְטֵלוֹפִּיָּה *Antelopya*, Du. 14 § 1; אַנְטֵלוֹפִּיָּה *Antelopya*, Is. 51 200; אַנְטֵלוֹפִּיָּה *Antelopya* in Du.; and *Ant. Syn. Theol.* in Is.); אַנְטֵלוֹפִּיָּה [ἄντιλοπος in Is.], an unclean animal mentioned along with the pygarg and chamois. The above is the rendering of RV and is much preferable to AV WILD OX, WILD BULL. (which is based upon Targ. Gr. Ven., and is accepted by Kim.), although wild oxen and wild bulls were common enough throughout Palestine and Mesopotamia (see CATTLE, § 4). The allusion in Is. (*i.e.*) to the capture of the animal by means of a net wholly agrees with what is known of the manner in which antelopes, gazelles, etc. were usually captured.

The species here intended may be the *Antelope leucoryx* (or oryx, cp אַנְטֵלוֹפִּיָּה), or the *A. bubalis*. Against the former proposal the objection has been raised that the oryx is called in the modern vernacular of N. Africa *yahmur*, which = Heb. אַנְטֵלוֹפִּיָּה 'fallow-deer' (see ROE); but it is not uncommon for the same name to be given to members of different species by different peoples.¹ On OX-ANTELOPE see UNICORN (*ibid.*). S. A. C.

ANTHOTHIAH (אַנְתֹּוֹתִיָּהָ *Anthothia*) 1 Ch. 8:24†, RV, AV ANTOOTHIAH (*q.v.*).

ANTICHRIST (ἀντιχριστός [Ti. WH]). *History of the Question*.² Researches into **1. History**: the meaning of 'Antichrist' have **Early Period**, always started from the exegesis of

2 Thess. 2:1-12 and certain passages in the Apocalypse (chap. 13).

The first period of the history of the discussion embraces the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers down to the beginning of the Middle Ages. Within this period the tradition is unusually stable. The Antichrist is taken to be a manifestation which is to be made at the end of time—a definite personality, as to whose origin, career, and end, perfectly definite and traditionally fixed views are set forth, which rest but partially on the NT. This exegetical tradition, the importance of which is greatly undervalued by recent commentators such as Bornemann, is, for reasons which will afterwards appear, of the utmost value. To say that the naive dogmatic belief of the church-fathers in 'the truth of this eschatological phantasy down to its least detail' was absolute does not in any way disprove the correctness of their exegesis.

Of the two methods that came into vogue during the Middle Ages—the ecclesiastical-political method with polemical purpose (since Joachim of Floris, afterwards in chief favour with Protestant scholars, especially in the form hostile to papal claims) and the universal-historical (perhaps, since Nicolas de Lyra)—neither advanced the question in the least.

The beginnings of a truly scientific manner of looking at these as well as at other eschatological traditions were made by certain Spanish and French **2. Modern** Jesuits, who threw themselves into the polemical Protestant attacks with great learning and acumen. Their first step was to revert to the tradition of the church fathers, which they embodied in extensive works.¹ Thus the futurist method was restored to its ascendancy.

This method maintained its ground, until quite recently, among all scientific interpreters of the apologetic school. There is one point, however, in which the exegesis of the moderns—as, for example, Hofman (*Schriftbeweis*) and Luthardt (*Die Lehre von dem letzten Zeitalter*)—differs almost throughout from all former writers on the subject—falls far below that of the church fathers; the concrete eschatological figures are more or less spiritualised. Thus, Antichrist becomes an impersonal general tendency; the 'temple' (2 Thess. 2:4) is interpreted as meaning Christendom; and the κατεχων, as law and order.

It is in the work of Ludovico Alcasar (*Investigatio arcani sensus in Apocal.*, Antwerp, 1614) that we find the earliest indications of a thoroughly scientific, historical, and critical handling of this question. The labours and the method of the Jesuit scholars, however, were afterwards made available for the Protestant Church by Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes*, Paris, 1644), who in the treatment of Antichrist may be regarded as the founder of the 'historical' or 'preterist' method. He interpreted 2 Thess. 2:1-12, point by point, as referring to the occurrences of the reign of Caligula. In this method he was followed by Wetstein, Hammond, Clericus, and Harduin; and, since Kern (*Tab. Z. f. Theol.*, 1833, i.), the preterist interpretation of the Antichrist has become almost universal, but as referring to Nero redivivus (so F. C. Baur, *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1855; Holtzmann, in *Bl.*; Hilgenfeld, *ZW*, 1862, 1866; Hausrath; and many others, including Renan, *L'Antechrist*, 1876). Following an example partly given by Klöpffer, however, Spitta (*Zam. Gesch. u. Art. des Christentums*, 109 ff.) has again sought the explanation of the predictions regarding Antichrist in the circumstances of the reign of Caligula.

Abandoning this (on the whole, mistaken) line, a few scholars have sought an interpretation of Antichrist in a

3. Recent. Jewish tradition dating farther back than the Christian era and not resting on any historical events.

Among these scholars may be named Reiche, De Wette, Linaemann, and Bornemann (in their respective commentaries) and Kähler (in *PA*). Kähler's observations in *PA*, 7, 200 ff., *WZ*, 1851, p. 250, and 1860, p. 241, are of special interest:

¹ Maivenda's *De Anti-christo* (Lyons, 1547) being perhaps the fullest. The commentaries of Ribeira (Salamanca, 1591) and Blasius Viegas (Ebora, 1601) were specially influential.

¹ For other examples see UNICORN, note.
² Cp. Luncke, *Evangel. in d. Offenb.*, 106, 205 ff.; Bornemann, 'Die Theosodotikerbriefe' in Meyer's *Handbuch*, 200 ff.

for the first time he combined 2 Thess. 2 with Mt. 24 15 ff. and Rev. 11 3 ff., and thus the problem ceased to be one of exegesis merely. The best work in this direction has been that of Schneckenburger (see Böhm's survey of his writings in *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1859), who endeavoured systematically (as the only true method) to ascertain the kindred Jewish tradition that lay at the basis of the NT passages. (Preliminary researches in the same sense had been contributed by Corradi, *Krit. Gesch. des 4. Jahrhunderts*, 1781, ff.; Bierschmid, *Christol.*, 1811, § 17; and Vitellesco, *Interpretazione dei V. e. 24 Mt. 24 ff. 30 ff. 31 ff.*) Schneckenburger also brought Mt. 24 Rev. 11 and 12. 24 into the field of his survey, and his view may be said on the whole to have stood the test of time.¹

Still more recently Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberrückführung des Judenthums, aus NT. u. der Alten Kirche*, 1895), following up the suggestions of Gunkel's *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (1895), and the method then for the first time securely laid down, has sought to supplement these investigations in two directions: (1) by a comprehensive induction based on all the eschatological portions of the NT that belong to the same circle of ideas, and the careful exclusion of all that do not so belong; and (2) by an attempt at a comprehensive and complete presentation of the tradition (which comes before us in the NT only in a fragmentary way) as it is to be met with in the Jewish sources, and, still more, in the later Christian exegetical and apocalyptic tradition. This tradition is in great measure quite independent of the NT, and in all probability dates, as far as its sources are concerned, from pre-Christian times.²

The NT Tradition. The name ἀντίχριστος occurs in the NT only in the Johannine Epistles (1 Jn. 2 18 22 :

43 : 2 Jn. 7), and thus in all probability its formation belongs to the late NT period. For an answer to the question who or what is meant by the name, it is best to start from the well-known (probably Pauline) passage in 2 Thess. 2 1-12, where we read that before the end of all things the man of sin, or, rather, of lawlessness (ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀνομίας), the lawless one (ὁ ἀνομίος), the son of perdition (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας), must be revealed. This 'man of sin,' it is clear, is to make his appearance as a false Messiah—an observation which, from the outset, precludes us from referring the expression to any foreign potentate such as Caligula³ or Nero. He is sent to 'them that are perishing' (namely the Jews), because they received not the love of the truth (the true Messiah).⁴ He does not employ any outward force, but accomplishes his work by means of false signs and lying wonders (cp the tradition of the Church fathers, as continued by De Wette, Ewald, Schneckenburger, B. Weiss, Lünemann, Bornemann). He will make his appearance in Jerusalem. In this account of the Antichrist the specially perplexing assertions are that he is to seat himself in the temple of God and that he is to declare himself to be God. This last act, at any rate, does not belong to the rôle of a false Messiah. It is also doubtful who or what ought to be understood by ὁ κατέχω, τὸ κατέχω, the power that stands in the way of the manifestation of Antichrist. If once a reference in the passage to a Jewish false Messiah be accepted, the mystery of iniquity (lawlessness; τὸ μυστ. τῆς ἀνομίας) will most probably mean the cruelty which the Jews as a whole had begun to show towards the Christians (same authorities as above). At this point we obtain a clear light upon Rev. 11. The perplexing fact that there the beast rises out of the deep and makes its appearance in Jerusalem (a view of the passage that appears certain—not only from 11 8, but also from the connection of 11 12 with 11 3—as against the other interpretations referring it to Rome) is explained by 2 Thess. 2. The beast that rises out of the deep and appears in

Jerusalem is the Antichrist. If this be so, we are supplied with the following additional elements in the tradition: (1) a great drought that comes over the world in the last times (in Rev. through the two witnesses); (2) the two witnesses, their slaughter by the Antichrist, and their resurrection; (3) a previous assemblage of many nations in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The dim and fragmentary character of the whole narrative, however, is striking. In another place in the Apocalypse we find another parallel to the figure of the Antichrist—in Rev. 13 11 ff. The beast that 'had two horns like unto a lamb' (RV) is designated by the author of Revelation himself as a False Prophet. When it is spoken of as 'coming up from the land' (not 'earth' as in EV), we may reasonably understand Palestine to be meant. This false prophet also does his work by means of signs and wonders. Here we meet with a new and rather perplexing consideration: the sealing on their foreheads and hands of those whom he has led astray, and the buying and selling of them that is thus made possible. To the same great group of traditions a part of the eschatological discourse in the Synoptic Gospels (especially in Mt.) also appears to belong. Older theories of the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως of Mt. 24 15 having broken down, and Spitta's explanation of it as referring to Caligula being beset with difficulties (indeed, an apocalypse which arose only in 40-41 A.D. could surely not have found its way among utterances of the Lord which were already becoming fixed), we seem compelled to fall back on an older tradition, and to explain the strange phrase of the Antichrist of 2 Thess. 2 4 sitting in the Temple (on these points cp ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION). In this case we arrive at new elements in the tradition: the subsequent flight of those who have believed, the shortening of the days (Mt. 24 22), and the picture of the end of the world and of the final judgment (Mt. 24 29 ff.). Here again the fragmentary brevity of the tradition is surprising.

If we now survey these eschatological fragments as a whole, two conjectures immediately force themselves on

us: (1) that all these eschatological phantasies were not independently conceived by the various authors from whom we derive them;¹ that, on the contrary, the authors are mostly reproducing a tradition which already lay before them; and (2) that it is a single consistent tradition that underlies all these (partly coincident, partly complementary) fragments. If the second conjecture be true, we may venture to think that the tradition in question has not been lost beyond all possibility of recovery. In point of fact, our very first glance at later Christian apocalyptic literature satisfies us that this literature rests upon a tradition which is but partially dependent on the NT.

*The Tradition of the Early Church regarding Antichrist. Sources.*² The tradition becomes tangible as soon as we have a

Christian literature copious enough. The influence of this tradition is already visible in the *Teachings of the Twelve Apostles* (chap. 16). Irenaeus (*adv. haer.* 2 25-30) also presents himself in this connection. Special importance, however, among the earlier witnesses, attaches to Hippolytus's ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ, the *Commentary of Commodian*, Lactantius's *Inst. Div.* 7 15 ff. (Commodian and Lactantius have a place of their own in the tradition), and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse of Victorinus*. A further group of writings ascribed to an ecclesiastical writer of very great influence, Ephraim Syrus, must be mentioned. Under his name are current three Homilies on the Antichrist: (1) One in Syriac (De Lamy, 3 187 ff.,—all of it genuine with the exception of a few chapters); (2) one in Greek (Assemani, 2 222-30 3 154-113), perhaps genuine; and (3) one in Latin (Caspari, *ut sup.* 208 ff.). The historical event from which all these prophecies start is the

¹ See the detailed argument for the impossibility of this in Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*.

² See Malvenda, *De Antichristo* (1647); Ebert, 'On Commodian's "Carmen Apologeticum"' in *Abh. d. Rom. Sacha. Ges. d. Wissensch.* 3 37 ff.; Caspari, *Brüche und Abhängigkeiten* ('90) 208 ff. 420 ff., and, for the later period, Zeschwitz, *Vom römischen Kaiserthum deutscher Nation*, 1877; Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* 5 505 ff.; W. Meyer, *Ludus de Antichristo*, 1880.

¹ This applies also to the first part of the *Apocalyptiche Studien* of B. Weiss, 1869.

² Attempts in this direction had already been made by Berthold and Schneckenburger.

³ 2 Thess. 2 4 does not at all fit in with Spitta's interpretation of the passage as referring to Caligula's proposal to set up a statue of himself in Jerusalem.

⁴ Cp Jn. 5 43.

beginning of the great barbarian migrations, the invasion of the eastward regions of the Roman Empire by the Huns (Gog and Magog).

Allied in character to the foregoing are Cyril's *Catechesis* (xv), the pseudo-Johannean Apocalypse (12ch. *Apoc. apoc.*), the Commentary on the Apocalypses by Nektarios of Cassinos. Dependent on Epiphanius' Greek homily are the *ἑσχατὰ τῶν χρόνων* (ed. Lagarde) of the pseudo-Hippolytus, and the *Visio* of Philip Solitarius (1330 ff.; Nigro, *P. Gr.* 127). This whole mass of tradition is essentially valuable on account of its anachronistic character. Of the older Slavonic fathers, Jerome also (*Ad Agrippam*, Quæst. 2; *In Danielis*, 12) and the Commentary on the Apocalypses (52), but not Augustine, and of the later, John Damascenus (*ἑσχατὰ* 47) claim special attention.

As, in the uniform view of these apocalyptic interpreters, the advent of the Antichrist is after the downfall of Rome, one might reckon almost with certainty on finding evidence of the currency of the tradition about the time of that downfall. Such evidence we actually possess in the primary document which was the common source of both the so-called Apocalypses of Daniel, the Greek (ed. K. Nitzschmann, 1866), and the Armenian (G. Kalendaris, *II* 100-12, 6-102 ff.; *op. Latins*, *ἑσχατὰ τῶν χρόνων* 3-113 ff.). Again, at the time of the Mohammedan conquests a new rallying-point was given for this eschatological tradition, as we see in the apocalypse of the pseudo-Methodius (7th century, *Orthodoxographia*², Basel, 1569), closely connected with which is the later Apocalypse of Peter, now extant in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic editions (Braske, *ZWT*, 1892), and also a series of late Byzantine (Vasiliev, *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina* 1, Moscow, 1893), and late Jewish apocalypses (Jellinek, *Bet-ha-Midrash*; cp Bousset, 64 ff. 173 ff.). This body of tradition reached the west through a compilation (*Libro Apocalypsis*) by the monk Avico (Nigro, *P. Gr.* 100, 124 ff.), based on the work of Methodius and on a Sybiline homily which is to be found also in a refracted form in the works of Beda (Migne, 90 1183) and dates perhaps from the fourth century. Lastly, an isolated and very archaic source is to be found also in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah (Stern, *Z.A.*, 1886).

7. He who Subjoined is a brief summary of this tradition as it occurs, almost uniformly, in the sources that have been named.

In the first place, the universally prevalent conviction is that the *καταρα* (2 Thess. 2) is the Roman empire. This, we may be sure, was the view of Pagan antiquity: if he executed a Jewish false Messiah, then the Jewish power left which could have been the Roman empire (cp on this point 4 Esd. 41 ff.). The political rôle played by this idea in the history of Christianity may be seen in Tertullian (*Apoc.*, ed. Saur, 2) and Lactantius (*Inst. div.* 725).

8. Antichrist. Of equally uniform prevalence is the conception of Antichrist, not as a Roman or Jewish ruler, but as a false Messiah, who is to arise among the Jews themselves in Jerusalem. Almost universally (with the exceptions to be afterwards mentioned) it is predicted that he is to establish himself in the temple and lay claim to Messianic (and, so far, divine) honours. (Sometimes, as in *Isidore*, *Isidore*, *Vitæ in apoc.* 1342, and in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, we read that he will set up his statue in the temple—doubtless a reminiscence of the Caligula episode.) After the destruction of Jerusalem, accordingly, the expectation that the Antichrist will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem becomes universal. He will show special favour to the Jews, will receive circumcision himself, and will compel others to do so. He will arise from the tribe of Dan (*q. v.*, § 9; Jewish haggada is at the root of this [cp *Testam. Dan* 57; also the omission of Dan in Rev. 7 § 8, to which see *Iran*, v. 302, perhaps also even the Jews themselves in *712*]; see Schneckenburger-Bühner, 412). If, hearing all this in mind, we once more turn to 2 Thess. 2 § 8, *In* 543 Rev. 11 3 ff., it immediately becomes plain that any 'historical' or preterist interpretation of the Antichrist is out of the question. On the basis of a haggadic view of Dan. 11 43 78, there came into the tradition this further element, that the Antichrist, at his first appearing, is to conquer the kings of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. Another invariable element of the tradition under consideration is the enumeration of the miracles to be wrought by the Antichrist, particularly celestial signs (Rev. 18 11 f.), and miracles of healing (although that of raising the dead is beyond his reach). Hereupon the Antichrist will achieve the dominion of the whole world, and gather round himself to his capital all peoples and vast armies (4 Esd. 13 1 ff., *Apoc. Bar.* 40 Rev. 11 9 ff.).

9. Conflict. Next, a given element and of course will come to mind, the whole earth (differently and less clearly put in Rev. 11 6), and in these straits the Antichrist will order his servants (spoken of also as demons) to mark men with his mark (according to the Latin Homily of the pseudo-Ephraim, a serpent mark), so that only those who bear it shall be permitted to buy bread (Rev. 18 7 ff.). Against the Antichrist come forward the two witnesses (almost unanimously taken to be Elijah and Enoch), who disclose his real character, so that many turn away from him (otherwise, and very obscure, what we read in Rev. 11 3 ff.). It is noteworthy that in many sources there is no mention of the resurrection of the two witnesses—doubtless an incident introduced for the first time by the author

of Rev. 11. At the preaching of the witnesses a considerable company of Israel are converted and begin to oppose to the Antichrist (perhaps Rom. 9 so is to be interpreted in this connection). The 144,000 who are sealed in Rev. 7 § 8, certainly have their explanation here. The faithful now betake themselves to the wilderness or to the mountains (Mt. 24 14 ff.); and the days of Antichrist's reign of terror shall be shortened. The years shall become months, the months days, the days hours (Mt. 24 22). Then the Antichrist will send his armies in pursuit of the faithful who have fled into the wilderness; but there they shall be delivered by the angels of God or by the Messiah (Rev. 12 13 ff.), and the army of the Antichrist destroyed (cp the mysterious angelic battle outside the city in Rev. 16 14 ff.); in connection with this, the appearance of the lamb with the

10. Defeat of finally slain, according to authorities, by the Antichrist. Messiah, with the breath of his mouth (Is. 11 4 2 Thess. 2—the same statement is found in late Jewish sources, such as Targ. Jon. on Is. 11 4 and others). Perhaps an older tradition may be traced in the view that the archangel Michael is to be the conqueror of the Antichrist (Dan. 12 1 Rev. 12 6, *Ass. Mos.* 10). Now is seen a mighty sign in heaven (Mt. 24 30)—the sign of the Son of Man—interpreted by later writers (cp already *Did. 10 6*, *συνεῖον ἐκτεταγμένον ἐν οὐρανῷ*) as referring to the Cross, but originally, we may be sure, betokening the Divine Judge of the world (Bousset, 154).

He follows the coming of the Divine Messiah to judgment, amid mighty convulsions of nature (Mt. 24 29; Rev. 6 12 ff.). From the four corners of heaven desolating storms burst upon earth and cleanse it (Rev. 7 ff.), and before the divine advent descends a tempest of fire, which burns the earth down to its depths, and dries up the sea and the rivers (Rev. 21 1).

At its very first glance it is plain that, in this tradition, we are dealing not with an artificial exegetical mosaic of the various passages of the New Testament (and the Old

11. Coherence which here come into account, but with an original body of tradition, organically and inherently consistent; and that the separate eschatological fragments of this tradition in the NT become intelligible only when they are brought into their organic place in the scheme of the tradition as a whole, so that their essential consistency becomes manifest.

Origin of the Tradition.—Naturally we turn, in the first instance, to the eschatological ideas of the OT.

12. OT Schneckenburger will have it that the idea of the Antichrist originates from the prophetic concerning Gog and Magog in Ezek. (38 ff.). That in every form of the tradition the prophecy concerning Gog and Magog occurs in close connection with the story of the Antichrist is indeed true to the extent that they are made to appear, sometimes after (Rev. 20 7 f.), and sometimes before, the time of his rule. Positive identification of Gog with Antichrist, however, does not occur till the seventh century, and even then only in Jewish sources. Many of the details of the traditions can be traced, as has been already said, to Jewish haggada. In this particular point Dan. 7 11 f. is approximated to most nearly; but even here there is a marked difference, and the originality of the view outlined above is conspicuous. In Daniel the disturber is a foreign power; but here the seducer, who personates God or simulates the Messiah, rises up from amid the people of God. Thus there has been an important development since Daniel. Perhaps, as was suggested in conversation to the present writer by Prof. Smend, the historical occasion for this advance was supplied by the experiences of Israel under the Maccabees and the Herods. In any case, we must note a parallel in Jewish Apocalyptic.

13. Belial. That ideas allied to those in our tradition were active among the Jews about the time of Christ is shown by 4 Esd. 5 1 ff. (56; regnabit quom non sperant), *Apoc. Bar.* 36-40, *Synell.* 3 65 ff. (2 10 ff.), *Test. Issak* 5, *Ass. Mos.* 8 ff., and the (probably Jewish) nucleus of *Asc. Jes.* (3 23-4 13). Now, in this tradition, the constantly recurring name of the great enemy of the last times—a name already known to the apostle Paul (2 Cor. 6 15)—is Belial (Beliar). But, according to many passages of the *Testaments*, Belial is a spirit of the air, ruler of the evil spirits. According to *Test. Dan* 5, the Messiah will fight against him in the last days. The supporters of Belial are the children of Dan. In *Sib. 3 63 ff.* (probably dating from the time of Cleopatra), Belial is already presented in an aspect closely resembling that

¹ For the references in detail see Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Gött. 1895.

of Antichrist (still more so in the *Ascensio*, which, however, has unquestionably undergone Christian revision). In the *Ascensio* the angel Sammael interchanges parts with Belial, and Sammael figures also in later Jewish tradition as the enemy of the last times¹ (on the origin of Belial, and on the various developments of meaning, see BELIAL). Suggestions of the same idea occur in Lk. 10:18 Jn. 12:31 (Col. 2:15). Here we would seem to have an aspect of the tradition that, in point of time and contents, comes a great deal nearer that of Antichrist (2 Cor. 6:15: 'and what concord hath Christ with Beliar?'), which is not of historical but of purely eschatological origin: the idea of a rebellion of an angelic power against God at the end of time. Perhaps it is out of this figure—behind which in

14. Dragon. turn stands the wilder figure of the dragon rising in rebellion against God in the last times, which Gunkel conjectures to have its origin in the Babylonian creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2f.)—that, under the experiences of the Maccabean period, the humanised figure of a pseudo-Messiah came into existence. In this way we can explain also the superhuman traits in the picture, such as his declaring himself to be God (2 Thess. 2:4), and his sitting in the temple of God (cp the myth of the storming of heaven by the dragon in Rev. 12:1 ff.). These conjectures find further confirmation in the fact that, in later tradition, the ghostly-demonic element in the portrayal of Antichrist comes again more conspicuously to the front, and the Antichrist is even represented as a demon who rebels against God (cp the writings of Ephraim Syrus, and Apoc. Zeph.).

Points of Contact with other Traditions. One legend that comes into relation with that of Antichrist in many ways is that of Nero redivivus.

15. Nero redivivus. Not that the figure of Antichrist had its beginning in the story of Nero. Originally both legends had currency side by side. It was only after Nero's return at the head of the Parthians (at first conceived of in a purely human way—cp the nucleus of Rev. 17) had become indefinitely delayed, and after men had begun to expect the returning Nero only as a spirit from the under-world, that they gradually transferred to him some traits belonging to the Antichrist² (cp *Sib. 361 ff.*, where, in like manner, Belial is interpreted to mean one of the Caesars; see APOCALYPTIC, § 95). Such an amalgamation of the two figures is already met with in Rev. 13 and 17 (in their present form). The old form of Antichrist, however, retains such vitality that in the end (Rev. 13:11 ff.) it appears as a second beast, servant of the first and on the same scene. A similar and (as far as its occasion is concerned) still more manifest doubling of Antichrist is seen in Commodian's *Carmen Apologeticum*, in Lactantius (as above), in Martin (see Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 214), and in the *βιβλίον Κλημεντος* (Lagarde, *Reliq. juris ecl.* 80 ff.). There is a complete fusion in the *Ascensio Jesaie*, and in the commentary on the Apocalypse of Victorinus. This complicated figure of Nero redivivus took special hold on the Sibylline literature of the second century,³ and here again, in the delineation of this, we meet once more with the old features of the dragon myth. A fusion between the Antichrist tradition and the Simon Magus legend has already been observed by Schneckenburger, and traced in a variety of points by the present writer. The same tradition comes into fusion with the later Alexander legend and the old German saga of the end of the world (Muspilli, *Edda*).

On this and other connected subjects see Bousset, *Dev. Antichrist*, in the English translation of which (1896) special attention has been bestowed on the index (see, e.g., 'Simon Magus,' 'Alexander'). See also E. Wadstein, 'Die eschatologische Ideengruppe: Antichrist, Weltabbath, Weltende und Weltgericht in ihrer christlich-mittelalterlichen Gesamtentwicklung,' *ZWT*, 1895 and 1896. On the Armenian form of the

¹ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum* 2:209; cp *Asc. Jes.* 7:9.

² This has been already remarked by Schneckenburger.

³ Cp Zahn, 'Apoc. Studien' in *Z. f. kirchl. Leben u. Wiss.*

Antichrist-legena see Conybeare, *Acad.*, 26th October 1895; and on a singular Mohammedan tradition see LVDDA at end.

W. B.

ANTILIBANUS (ΑΝΤΙΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ [BA], om. N). Judith 17. See LIBANUS.

ANTIMONY (ἄνθραξ), Is. 54:11 RV mg., EV 'fair colours.' See PAINT.

ANTIOCH (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ [Ti. WH]). 1. in Pisidia; more correctly, 'Antioch towards Pisidia' ('Αντιόχεια ἢ πρὸς Πισιδίαν), to distinguish it from the Antioch on the Meander (the form 'Pisidian Antioch,' 'Αντιόχεια ἢ Πισιδία [Ti. WH], Acts 13:14, arose to distinguish it from the more famous Antioch of Syria). It was really a Phrygian city; but in NT times it was of course included within the Roman province Galatia. Strabo (p. 577) accurately describes it as lying 'on a hill,' on the south side of the range now called Sultan Dagh, in Phrygia Paroreia; but it was not until 1833 that Arundell found its ruins at *Yalobatch*. The town was founded about 300 B.C. by the Seleucid kings, and the transportation of 2000 Jewish families to the fortresses of Lydia and Phrygia, as recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3), must in part refer to Antioch. By Augustus it was made a Roman colony (6 B.C.); hence its coins bear the legend Caesarea. Antioch was adopted as the centre of military and civil administration in Southern Galatia, and from it radiated the roads to the colonies designed to check the unruly highlanders of Pisidia and Isauria. As an element in the pacification of this district, the privileges of the Jews were confirmed by the Emperors, and Paul found a large Jewish colony in the city. The Romanisation of this part of Galatia was in especially active progress during the reign of Claudius, 41-54 A.D. At the time of Paul's visit, therefore, Antioch was at the height of its importance. Besides its relations with Apamea (on the W.) and with Ieonium, Lystra, and eastern Asia Minor, it must have had a commercial connection with the Pamphylian seaports, among them Atalia and Perga; and Paul must have reached Antioch by following this southern trade-route, which probably ran through Atlada (*Kara Baulo*, *Bavlo* being the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name). There was a large body of Jewish proselytes in Antioch, many of them women of position through whom the Jews were able to influence the magistrates against the apostles (Acts 13:50). The magistrates had summary jurisdiction over disturbers of the public peace, such as the apostles were alleged to be (cp v. 44, *πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη*, and v. 45, *ἰδόντες τοὺς ὄχλους*); but the 'casting of them out of the borders' of the colony could not imply permanent banishment—at any rate in the case of Paul, who was a Roman citizen. Accordingly we find the latter returning to Antioch from Derbe (Acts 14:21) and perhaps revisiting the city at least twice (Acts 16:18, 23; see GALATIA). If the trade of Antioch was concentrated in the hands of the Jews, we can the more easily understand Paul's first success here in Asia Minor: the new teaching did not conflict with any commercial interests of the gentle inhabitants, as it did at Ephesus and Philippi, while at the same time the Jewish proselytising had prepared the people for its reception. It is also not without significance that on the death of king Amyntas, some seventy years before Paul's visit, the ancient worship of 'Mên' (Μην Ἀρκαῖος, Ἀρκαῖος Strabo, Ἀσκηρός coins) had been abolished, so that there was probably no gentile hierarchy in existence to oppose the apostles. Hence the effect of their preaching was more marked here than in any other case, except Corinth (Acts 13:44, 48 f.). All the more strange is the subsequent unimportance of the South Galatian churches.

2. In Syria (1 and 2 Macc. AV ANTIOCHIA). This great city, the third metropolis of the Roman world,

1. City. the Queen of the East (ἡ καλή Athen. 175; orientis apex pulcher), and the residence of the imperial Legate of Syria, survives in *Antâkîeh*,

a town of only 6000 inhabitants. It is situated at the point of junction of the ranges of Libānus and Taurus, on a fine site hard by the left bank of the Orontes, just where the river turns westwards to run between Mt. Pieria on the N. and Mt. Casium on the S., to the sea 16 m. distant. A little higher up the river Antiochia had been built in 307 B.C. by Antigonos; but seven years later Seleucus Nicator transferred its inhabitants to his new city of Antioch.

Strabo's meagre account (p. 750) is the foundation of our topographical knowledge of the city. Like the district in which it lay, Antioch was a *τεράπιον*, an agglomeration of four parts.

The first contained the population of Antiochia; the second the bulk of the citizens. The third part was the creation of Seleucus Callinicus (246-226 B.C.), and the fourth, on Mt. Silpius, of Antiochus Epiphanes. Each part had its own wall; but in addition, the whole vast area, larger than that of Rome, was surrounded by huge walls running over the mountains and across the ravines. From Nicator's time dates the well-known statue 'the Fortune' (Τύχη) of Antioch, a work of the Sicilian Euxychides, a pupil of Lysippus (Paus. vi. 27). The memory of it is preserved on the coins, and in a small marble statuette in the Vatican. The goddess, a graceful gentle figure, rests negligently on a rock; while the river, a vigorous youth, seems to swim out from under her feet.

Seleucus Nicator also embellished DAPHNE (Δάφνη [VA]), 5 m. distant from Antioch, but reckoned a suburb. It was a spot musical with fountains; its groves, crowded with temples, halls, and baths, were the seat of a cult of Apollo and Artemis.

Among its artistic treasures was a statue of Apollo Musagētes by the Athenian Bryaxis. The precincts of Daphne were endowed with the right of asylum and naturally became the haunt of villany—of runaway slaves, debtors, and cut-throats (Tac. *Ann.* 366; Tiberius in 22 A.D. attempted to regulate this abuse in several cities); if we may trust the story of Onias in 2 Macc. 4.33, Daphne 'flung away the one rare chance of sheltering virtue.' The site is now called *Bēt el Mā'*, the 'house of Water.' It retains no traces of its former magnificence.

From this suburb, which Roman wealth, Greek art, and Oriental licentiousness conspired to make unique even in the East, Antioch took its distinguishing name—*ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ*. In itself the title bore no reference to the pleasure pursuits of the suburb—as though insinuating that there the true life of the city was to be found: it was a genuine official title.

Accordingly we find it on coins (cp. *Ἀντιοχείων τῶν ἐπὶ Κλαύδιον: τῶν ἐν Μυθόδοξοι; τῶν πρὸς τῷ Δάφνῃ*). Hence Pliny (*HN* 5.21 (18)) writes 'Antiochia Epiphaphnes.' Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.83) transliterates the Greek, and calls the suburb itself 'Epiphaphna.'

Holm has summed up in a striking sentence the historical position of Antioch under the Seleucid kings:

2. Character. Although close to the sea (*ἀνάπλοισι ἀθήμερον* Strabo, p. 751), it was yet no seaport; on the borders of the desert, it was yet something more than a centre for the caravan trade between the East and the West. The city reflected the character of the kingdom of which it was the capital, a kingdom which itself also was neither a genuine naval nor a genuine land power. Antioch was a Greek city, just as the Seleucid kingdom was an attempt to impose upon the Orient the political ideas and forms of Hellas. Yet, in the capital as in the kingdom at large, there was no true Hellenism; the commingling of Oriental and Western elements resulted in the perpetuation of the worst features of both races, and the moral worthlessness of the Syrian found in the brilliance and artistic temperament of the Greek merely the means of concealing the crudities of his own life. The characteristic failing of the Greek also was exhibited on a great scale. A third element, and that the one most important for biblical history, was provided by the Jews. The colony was in fact coeval with the city, for it dated from the time of Seleucus Nicator, who gave the Jews the same privileges as he gave the Greeks (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 31).¹ For this connection with the Syrian kings see 1 Macc. 11.42f. Herod completed the marble-paved street which we can

¹ According to 2 Macc. 4.9 (cp. also v. 19) Jason conferred on the people of Jerusalem the status of citizens of Antioch (ANTIOCHIANS) on which see *Th. T.* 12.544 (78).

trace from the 'Gate of St. Paul' to the modern town (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 53). Thus all the forms of the civilised life of the Empire found in Antioch some representative.

In its agora, said Libanius, the customs of the world might be studied. In no city was pleasure more earnestly pursued. *Daphnici mores* were proverbial; the Orontes was synonymous with superstition and depravity (Juv. *Sat.* 36a). Yet it would be of value to discover to what extent the lower and middle orders of the population were really affected by the luxury and *abandon* of which we hear so much; that is after all but one side of the city's life, and there is a temptation to exaggerate it. There was little real intellectual life; epigram and light prose were the most flourishing forms of literature. Cicero (*Pro Arch.* 3, § 4) is exaggerating with his 'eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis adfluenti.' Antioch is far less celebrated than Alexandria in the literature of the first and second centuries A.D. This intellectual attitude is a fact of some importance, in its relation to the first Christian teaching.

The mixture of Roman, Greek, and Jewish elements admirably adapted Antioch for the great part she played

3. Christianity. In the early history of Christianity, the city was the cradle of the church. There, as elsewhere, Judaism prepared the ground for the seed of the word (cp. Chrys. *Hom.* xxv.). 'Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch,' one of the first deacons (Acts 6:5), was only one of a 'vast multitude of Greeks' who in that city were attracted to the Jewish doctrine and ritual (Jos. *H.* vii. 33; cp. Acts 11.19-21). The ancient and honourable status of the Jews in Antioch gave to the infant church a firm and confident organisation. Very early the city became a centre on a level with Jerusalem in importance (Acts 11.22-30 13:1). The cosmopolitanism of its inhabitants inevitably reacted upon the Christians in the way of familiarising them with universalist ideas, and Antioch consequently became the centre of missionary labour. It was Paul's starting-point on his first journey with Barnabas (Acts 13:1-3), and thither he always returned with his report of work done (Acts 14.26f. 15.30 18:22). It was at the instance of the church at Antioch that the council of Jerusalem sent the circular letter to the gentle Christians (Acts 15.23 Gal. 2.4-14), and, according to Acts 11.26 (on which see CHRISTIAN, beginning, and § 2 [end]), it was in Antioch that 'the disciples were called Christians first'—undoubtedly as a nickname. We know that the people of Antioch were noted for their scurrilous wit (Philost. *Vit.* 3.16 Zos. 3.11 4.1 Procop. *BP* 2.3).

ANTIOCHIA (ΑΝΤΙΟΧ[Ε]ΙΑ [ANV]). 1 and 2 Macc. AV, RV ANTIOCH, 2.

ANTIOCHIANS (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΟΙ [VA]). 2 Macc. 4.19 (-χιῶν [A]), and in AV also v. 9 (-χων [V]), where RV has 'citizens of Antioch.' See ANTIOCH 2, § 2 n.

ANTIOCHIS (ΑΝΤΙΟΧ[Ε]ΙΣ [VA]), concubine of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4.30).

ANTIOCHUS (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ [ANV]; ΑΝΤΙΩΧΟΣ* once, V* once, A once). 1. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, was the son of Seleucus Callinicus, and ascended the Syrian throne at the age of fifteen, on the death of his brother Seleucus Ceraunus. He is the earliest of the great SELEUCIDÆ (q.v.) mentioned in the Apocrypha, but Antiochus II., Theos and Antiochus I. Soter (his grandfather and great-grandfather respectively) are alluded to in Dan. 11 (see DANIEL, § 6). His reign (223-178 B.C.) embraced a series of wars against revolted provinces and neighbouring kingdoms, wars in the prosecution of which his disasters and successes were equally great. The events of his life are briefly alluded to in Dan. 11.10 ff.—notably his expedition in Asia Minor in 197 B.C. (cp. v. 18) which, after varying fortune, ended in a crushing defeat at the hands of Scipio Africanus near Magnesia in 190 B.C. (cp. v. 18). This was one of the exploits of the Romans which

ANTIOCHUS

Judas the Maccabee is said to have heard of (1 Macc. 8:1-3).

The account in its present form is not free from inaccuracies. Thus, the writer states that Antiochus, the 'great king of Asia', had with him 200 elephants (6, 10, *ἑκατόν* [κ']); but according to Livy (37:30) there were only fifty-four. 'It is not unlikely that in the popular tradition the original number was exaggerated' (Cambr. Bible, *ad loc.*). Cp. MACCABEES, FIRST, § 10.

One of the conditions of the humiliating peace imposed in 188 B.C. was that twenty hostages, including a son of the king (cp 1 Macc. 1:10 and below, 2), should be sent to reside in Rome. Antiochus the Great was killed in an attempt to plunder the temple at Elymais (187 B.C.), and was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV. Philopator. See SELEUCIDÆ.

2. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes ('Ἐπιφανής' the illustrious' [cp 1 Macc. 1:10 where A -eis], called in mockery 'Ἐπιμανής' the madcap'), youngest son of no. 1. On his place as hostage (see above, 1) being taken by his nephew DEMETRIUS, he returned to the East, and—his elder brother, Seleucus IV., having meanwhile been murdered—seized the Syrian throne (175 B.C.), and soon became famous for his conquests in Coele-Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (cp 1 Macc. 1:16 ff.; 2 Macc. 5:1 ff. and see Dan. 11:21 ff.). During his Egyptian campaign he twice took Jerusalem (1 Macc. 1:21 ff.; 2 Macc. 5:13 ff.). In spite of the presence of a strong favourable Hellenistic party (see JASON, MENELAUS), Antiochus appears to have seen that he could never hope to subdue Judæa until he had rooted out the peculiar Jewish religion (see ISRAEL, § 69 f.). He accordingly promulgated a decree enjoining uniformity of worship throughout his dominions (1 Macc. 1:42 ff.), and even went so far as to endeavour to force upon the Jews the worship of heathen deities (see ABOMINATION, II.). His persecuting policy was responsible for the rise of the ASSIDEANS, and stirred up the successful resistance of the Maccabees. His end (164 B.C.) is variously described. According to 1 Macc. 6:1-16 he was visiting a rich and celebrated temple in Persia (see ELYMAIS), when tidings of the ill-success of his troops in Judæa, and remorse for his sacrilege at Jerusalem, caused his death—according to Polybius (31:2) at Tabæ in Persia.¹ The usually accepted reference to his end in 2 Macc. 1:10-17 is not very probable, see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7. He is doubtless alluded to in Ps. 75:4 f., and there are numerous references to his life and character in DANIEL (*q. v.*, §§ 1, 6, 8, 10, 18).

The post-Talmudic tract *Megillath Antiochus* is a legendary account, in Aramaic, of the persecutions in his reign; cp Schü. *C. l. v.* 11:3 (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 11). See SELEUCIDÆ.

3. Antiochus V. Eupator (*Ἐπάτωρ*), the young son of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (see 2, above), was left under the care of LYSIAS, whilst the father conducted his wars in Persia (1 Macc. 3:32 f.). On the death of Epiphanes (164 B.C.) Lysias obtained the regency, ousting his rival PHILIP, 5, and set up Epiphanes' son as king, giving him at the same time the surname Eupator (1 Macc. 6:14 ff.)—'on account of the virtues of his father' (Appian). Together they entered Judæa (see ISRAEL, § 75 beg.) and, encamping at Beth-zacharias, besieged Bethsura (see BETH-ZUR). The Maccabees were defeated and the famous ELEAZAR (*q. v.*, 7) was killed (1 Macc. 6:28 ff.).² The war was brought to an abrupt close, however, by the news that Philip had occupied Antioch, and a hasty peace was concluded restoring to the Jews the privileges they had enjoyed previous to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (cp ISRAEL, *l. c.*). In the following year (162 B.C.) the king and his guardian were put away by DEMETRIUS [*q. v.*, 1] (1 Macc. 7:1 ff.; 2 Macc. 14:1 ff.). See SELEUCIDÆ.

4. Antiochus VI., surnamed THEOS (Θεός), son of Alexander Balas, spent his early youth as a ward of

¹ His father, Antiochus III. the Great, died whilst engaged in this same district upon a similar errand. Tradition may have confused the son with the father.

² 2 Macc. 13:21 ascribes their ill-success to treachery (see RHODES).

ANTIPATRIS

an Arabian (see IMALCUE). He was brought forward by Tryphon, a former follower of Balas, and set up as king in opposition to Demetrius Nicator (see DEMETRIUS, 2) who was rapidly becoming unpopular (1 Macc. 11:39-54; 14:5 B.C.). On his coronation he received the surnames 'Epiphanes' and 'Dionysus.' Henceforth he became a mere tool in the hands of Tryphon, who ultimately found an opportunity of slaying him (1 Macc. 13:31). See further TRYPHON, SELEUCIDÆ.

5. Antiochus VII. Sidetes (Σιδήτης),—*i. e.*, man of Side in Pamphylia,—called also *Ἐδωκῆς* (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 82), was the son of Demetrius I. and younger brother of Demetrius II. Nicator. The capture of his brother by the Parthians gave Sidetes the opportunity of asserting his claim to the Syrian throne in opposition to the unpopular TRYPHON. To win over the Jews he wrote, from Rhodes, to Simon 'the chief priest and governor,' and by advantageous concessions, remission of royal debts, and the formal permission to coin money, attained his end (1 Macc. 15:1 ff.; *ἄντιπατρις* [n^o v. 1]). Tryphon was besieged at Dor (*v.* 25), and ultimately forced to flee to Orthosia (*v.* 37). The situation immediately changed. Antiochus felt his position secure, and sent Athenobius to Simon demanding Joppa, Gazara, the citadel of Jerusalem, and the arrears of tribute (28 ff.). The refusal of these demands brought about war, and CENDEBEUS was dispatched against the Jews (15:38 ff.). Sidetes appears no more in 1 Macc.; but in the time of John Hyrcanus (see MACCABEES, i. § 7) he came and besieged Jerusalem (133 B.C.), and five years later met his death whilst fighting the Parthians under Phraortes II. (Arsaces VII., 128 B.C.). See SELEUCIDÆ.

6. Father of NUMENIUS (1 Macc. 12:16 14:22).

ANTIPAS (ἄντιπᾶσις [Ti. WH], abbrev. from *ἀντιπασις*, see Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13; cp Cleopas from *Κλεοπάσις*). 1. See HERODIAN FAMILY, 2.

2. The faithful witness' of Pergamum named in Rev. 2:13. According to the *Acta Sanctorum* (Apr. 11) he was bishop of Pergamum, and suffered death (by the 'brazen bull') under Domitian.

ANTIPATER (ἄντιπατρις [ANV]), son of Jason [3], an ambassador sent by the Jews to the Lacedæmonians (1 Macc. 12:16 14:22). See SPARTA. For the Antipater from whom Antipatris (see below) was named see HERODIAN FAMILY, 1.

ANTIPATRIS (ἄντιπατρις [Ti. WH]) was founded by Herod the Great on 'the finest plain' of his kingdom

1. **Allusions.**—*i. e.*, Sharon—in memory of his father Antipater (Jos. *BJ* i. 21:9), but also, as the history of the town abundantly proves, for strategic reasons. The other details given by Josephus are, that it lay 'close to the mountains' (*BJ* i. 4:7) on the plain of Kaphar Saba (*Καφαρσαβᾶ*), fertile and well-watered, that a river encompassed the city, and a grove of very fine trees (*Ant.* xvi. 5:2). In another passage, probably from a different source, Josephus identifies it with Kaphar Saba (*Χαλκισαβᾶ* ἢ *νῦν* *Ἀντιπατρὶς καλεῖται*), and tells how, to resist Antiochus on his march against the Arabians (*circa* 85 B.C.), Alexander Jannæus made a deep ditch and a wall, which however Antiochus destroyed, extending thence, a distance of 150 (?) stadia, to the sea at Joppa (*ib.* xiii. 15:1). During Roman times Antipatris was a station at or near the junction of the military roads from Lydda and from Jerusalem respectively to Cæsarea, where the latter road issued from the hills. Thus Paul was brought by night from Jerusalem to Antipatris and thence, part of his escort returning, to Cæsarea (*Acts* 23:31). The return of so much of Paul's escort is explained by the fact that, Antipatris being according to the Talmud (*Talm. Bab.*, *Gittin*, 76a) on the limits of Jewish soil, all danger of an attack by the threatened Jewish ambush (*Acts* 23:16-20 ff.) was now past. There, in 66 A.D., Cestius Gallus halted on his way to Lydda (*BJ* ii. 19:1), and to this point, on his subsequent retreat from Jerusalem, he was pursued by the Jews (*ib.* 9). There,

too, in the same year, Vespasian halted on his march from Caesarea to Lydda (*id.* iv. 81).

Antipatris is not marked in the *Tab. Pent.* The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) gives it as 10 R.M. from the Lydda and 26 from Caesarea; the *Itin. Ant.*

2. Site. as 28 from Caesarea; and Eus. and Jer. in the *Onom.* as 6 S. from Galgulis (in all probability the present Jiljūliyah). Schürer (*Hist.* 3.130) and others, following Rob. (*BR* 4.139 f.), identify it with the present Kefr Sābā, 23 R.M. (as the crow flies) from Caesarea. But, as Kefr Sābā is no less than 17 R.M. from Lydda and 2 R.M. N. from Jiljūliyah; as, besides, it has no ancient remains, nor any such wealth of water or encompassing river as Josephus describes, it is more probable that Antipatris lay farther S. on the upper waters of the 'Aujeh, which are about 29 R.M. from Caesarea, 4 S. of Jiljūliyah, and about 11 N. of Lydda, in a district which better suits the data of Josephus. Here Dr. Sandreczky and Sir C. W. Wilson (*PEF Qu. St.*, 1874, p. 192 f.) have suggested the site of *Kal'at Rās el-'Ain*, at the very copious sources of the 'Aujeh, which they identify with the crusading castle of Mirabel (el-Mirr being a neighbouring place-name). They point out, too, that the valley of the 'Aujeh would be a more natural line for the great ditch of Alexander Jannæus than a line from Kefr Sābā to the sea. Although Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 80 ff.) thinks that the Talmud distinguishes between Kefr Sābā and Antipatris, this is doubtful, for, while their names are given separately, both are defined as border towns—between Samaria, a heathen country, and Judæa. These are all the data for the question of position. Without excavation on the sites named, and the discovery of the rest of the Roman road—probably the road by which Paul was brought—traced by Eli Smith in 1843 from Gophna to the plain, but lost at the edge of the hills (*Biblioth. Sac.* 1.478 ff.), it is impossible for us to be certain where exactly Antipatris stood. We cannot expect to find many ruins on the site. Unlike other Herodian sites, it is not stated to have been embellished by great buildings; and the town did not afterwards develop. Buhl (*Pal.* 199) favours Rās el-'Ain.

In 333 the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls it a *mutatio*, or change-house, not a *ciuitas* like Lydda (the next 'change' he mentions is Bethbar, 17 Km. towards Caesarea—perhaps the present *Beit Bar*, *PEF Mem.* 2.108). In 454 the *Itin. 2.3* *Palæst.* calls it 'seminarium oppidulum'. In 451 it had a bishop (*Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*: 54 *Presb. Irenæus* *Jerusalem*, 300, 301, 302), and in 744 it still contained Christians. With their disappearance before the Arabs, the Greek ecclesiastical name would vanish, and has not been recovered (but see the curious statement of a native in *PEF Mem.* 2.134, that the name of Kefr Sābā is Antipatris). The Crusaders wrongly identified Antipatris with 'Arsif, the ancient Apollonia. G. A. S.

ANTONIA. See JERUSALEM.

ANTOTHIJAH, or rather RV ANTHOTHIJAH (ענתותיה, ענתותיה [Gi.], ענתותיה [Ba.]; probably a feminine adjective formed from ANATHOTI [q. v.]), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (*Gen.* 46. 21, § 9 ii. 37, 1 Ch. 7. 34) [ΑΝΑΘΟΤΙΩΝ] [ΑΝΑΘΟΤΩΝ. Α] ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΙΝ [Α] [ΑΝΑΘΟΤΩΝ] [Α].

ANTOTHITE (ענתותיה), 1 Ch. 11. 28 AV. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANUB (אנוב); ENNON[?] [B], ERNΩB[?] [A], ANOB[?] [I.]; ANOB), a Judahite, descendant of Coz (RV Hakkoz) (1 Ch. 48). Probably to be identified with ANAB (We.).

ANUS (ΑΝΝΑC [B]). 1 Esd. 9. 48 AV = Neh. 8. 7 HANAN. 4.

ANVIL (פועם), Is. 41. 7. See METAL WORK.

APAME (ΑΠΑΜΗ [BA], -ΠΗ [I.]; *فامه*), *APAME*, daughter of Bartauc and concubine of Darius (1 Esd. 4. 29).

APAMEA (Jer. Talm. *Kil.* 9. 32c שפמיא, but oftener שפמיא), mentioned in the Yg. text of *Judith* 3. 14, apparently as a district ('pertransiens . . . omnem Apameam') in the line of march of Holofernes.

'Αφάρσιον, one of the ten districts of N. Syria under Rome (*Pal. Geog.* s. 15. 19), took its name from 'Αφάρσιος, a famous town (named after Seleucus Nicator's Persian wife), built on a hill some six or seven miles east of the Orontes, half-way between Emesa and Antioch, and now represented by an important town under the village that occupies the site of the old citadel, now called *Kal'at el-Mudik*. See Strabo, p. 728; Ritter, *Landtafel* 17, Abt. ii. 1075-86; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.* 71-72 (photographs and map); also *loc. cit.* Boettig. *Lea. Jes.*

APE (אֵפֶה, אֵפֶה; ΠΙΘΗΚΗ [BAL]; *stima*, 1 K. 10. 22, *Μηλον τομαριτων* [B]). עפ 2. 11; 2 Ch. 35. 7. An animal mentioned among the rarities brought from Ophir by Solomon's fleet. The Heb. *kōph*, 'ape,' is evidently a loan-word,¹ and is usually connected with *kapi*,² the Sanser. name of the ape; thus the home of the animal, though not necessarily the situation of Ophir, will be indicated. It is mentioned in each case, in MT (the phenomena of *ס* are here very peculiar), in connection with the peacocks (if the common theory is correct) imported by Solomon from OPHIR. Perhaps 'monkey' would be a more correct modern English rendering than 'ape,' which suggests the tailless *quadrumana*, while the animals of this order represented on the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions have tails. Just so, *kōphai* would have been a better Greek rendering than *πίθηκοι* (the LXX word), if Aristotle is correct in making the *πίθηκοι* tailless. Four kinds of monkeys are represented on the Assyrian monuments. Those on the black obelisk of Salmanneser II. seem to belong to an Indian species; they appear in company with the Indian elephant and the Bactrian camel (Houghton, 'On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures,' *TSBA* 5. 319 f. [77]). Monkeys (*gōb*) and baboons were much in request in Egypt. Queen Hatshepsut ('Hatasu,' 18th dynasty) received them among other rarities from the (African) land of Punt; see the picture of the native ambassadors leading specimens of the *Cynocephalus P. mandrillus* and the *Cynocephalus Babianus*.³ Halévy, however (*RE* 12. 63 f.), would identify Solomon's עֵפֶה and עֵפֶה (see PEACOCKS) with the *tuku* and *kikuyi* mentioned in the Amarna tablets in the requests of the Asiatic princes—i. e., different sorts of vessels full of aromatic oil, etc.⁴ Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 81) gives an account of the sixteen ingredients of the Egyptian *kōph*.⁵ S. M.—A. L. S.

APELLES (ΑΠΕΛΛΗC [Ti. WII], contracted from 'Απολλώδαρος) is saluted in Rom. 16. 10, where he is called 'the approved (δόκιμος) in Christ,' an expression which seems to suggest that he had shown constancy as a confessor in time of trial. Nothing further is known of him. Weizsäcker suggests that his Christian activity may have been chiefly within the household of Aristobulus also mentioned in *v.* 10 (*Apost. Age* 1. 359).

In the list of the 'seventy apostles' which we owe to Pseudo-Dorotheus, Apelles is represented as bishop of Heraclea; that of Pseudo-Epiphanius mentions Smyrna. According to the *ύπόμνημα* of Peter and Paul by the Pseudo-Symeon Metaphrastes, he was consecrated bishop of Smyrna by Peter.

APHAEREMA (ΑΦΑΙΡΕΜΑ [SV¹]), 1 Mac. 11. 24 RV. AV AMPHEREMA.

APHARSACHITES (אפארסאכיים [Ba.]; אפאר [Gi.]; ΑΦΑΡCΑΧΑΙΟΙ [BA], but -CΑΚΚΑΙΟΙ [B] in Ezra 56; -PACΘΑΧΑΙΟΙ [L]; see also next article), a word used (Ezra 5. 66 f.) apparently as the title of certain officers under Darius. Another form is APHARSATHTCHITES; see Ezra 4. 9, where the word is misunderstood (see EZRA, ii.

¹ If it belongs to the original text: see ELLIOTT, § 26.

² Whose also *apilob* or *omnis*, and *ling. ap.*

³ Edouard, *Pharaoles, Evénements, and P. pharaon* and. See also the apes and baboons on a wall-painting in a tomb at *Bersheh* (Egypt. Explor. Fund), Pl. II, plate xi.; cp p. 29.

⁴ See Am. Tab. B. 28 = *Wi.* 294, col. 2, 40; 1. kukupu ša . . . [ka]-du nakamtisii, 'a kukupu . . . with its lid'; col. 3, 43 . . . kukubu šamni [abi], ' . . . a kukubu of good oil'; B. 5, 1, 25 (recto) šamni ka tabu alhya ukiranni *li duk* kukupu 'send me, my brother, good oil, two vessels *kukupu*' (so Hal., not in *Wi.*). *Duk* or *tuk* (pl. *tukū*) is the ordinary ideogram for 'vessel, receptacle.'

⁵ The Assyriological notices are mostly due to Prof. Cheyne.

§ 10) and treated as the name of a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER. Its etymology is still very uncertain. See G. Hoffmann, *ZA* 254 f.; Marquart, *Fund.* 64; and Andreas in Marti, *Bibl.-aram. Gram.*, Glossary, p. 53^r.

APHARSATHCHITES, The (אִפְרָסְתְּחִיטִים [Ba.]; אִפְרָסְתְּחִיטִי [Gl.]; φαρσθαχαιοι [B]. ἀφάρσαθ- [A]. ἀφάρσταχ- [L.], Ezra 49f. See APHARSACHITES.

APHARSITES (אִפְרָסִיטִים [Ba. Gl.]; ἀφρασαιοι [B], ἀφρασαι [A]; φαρσθαχαιοι [L.], mentioned in Ezra 49f as a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER. Various attempts at identification have been made (*Persians*, by Rawlinson, *Pulp. Com.* ad loc., but see *KAT*² 376; *Parsua*, a Median tribe, by Del. *Par.* 327; but the word is best regarded as a scribe's error, related (some think) to אִפְרָסִיטִים (EV APHARSACHITES, Ezra 56 66), or, more probably, miswritten for סִפְרָיִם, 'scribes.' The last letter of אִפְרָסִיטִים (MT סִפְרָיִם, see TARPELITES was attached by dittography to the next word (Marquart, *Fund.* 64).

APHEK (אֶפֶק [B. AL]). It is not easy to determine how many places of this name are mentioned in the OT. Only one of them has been satisfactorily identified.

1. In Josh. 13₄ (אֶפֶק [B], ἀφεκα [A], -אק. [L]) Apek appears as the limit of the Sidonian country, apparently as its northern limit towards the Gîlbites or Byblians. This Apek, therefore, is commonly identified with Aphaca (now *Afka*), famous for its sanctuary of Astarte, which lies at the source of the river of Byblus, the Adonis or (as it is now called) Nahr Ibrahim; cp Lucian, *Dea Syria* 6-8.

2. The Apek assigned in Josh. 19₃₀ to the tribe of Asher is mentioned in Judg. 13₁ (where the name is written אֶפֶק, אֶפֶק, אֶפֶק [AL], אַעִי [B]) as one of the towns which the Canaanites were able to maintain against the invaders. Here also some suppose that Aphaca is meant; but it is difficult to believe that Asher ever attempted to extend so far north, and, as it appears from Josh. 17₁₁ that Asher had a theoretical claim to part of the plain of Sharon S. of Mt. Carmel as far at least as Dor, it is probable that Apek in Sharon (no. 3) is meant.

3. In Josh. 12₁₈ (אֶפֶק [B]) we read, in the list of the kings smitten by Joshua, 'the king of Apek, one; the king of Lasharon, one', but it is better to emend the verse with the aid of ⁵B ('Ὁφὲκ τῆς Ἀρώκ) and read 'the king of Apek in the (plain of) Sharon, one' (see Di. on the passage). This Apek in Sharon, as Wellhausen has pointed out, is the city (a) from which the Syrians of Damascus made repeated attacks on Samaria, 1 K. 20₂₅; (b) ἀφεκα [BA], -אק. [L.], 2 K. 13₁₇,² and (c) and from which the Philistines assembled their forces for war with Israel before the battles of Gilboa (1 S. 29₁) and of Eben-ezer (1 S. 4₁; Jos. ἀμπεκα or ἀφεκα).

(a) As regards the Apek of Kings: that it lay in a lowland plain is clear from 1 K. 20₂₃, and that the plain is that of Sharon follows from 2 K. 13₂₂ ⁵B, where we find the addition (undoubtedly genuine) 'and Hazael took the Philistine from his hand from the Western sea to Apek.' Apek therefore lay on the verge of Philistia —i.e., in Sharon—and we must understand that, both in Benhadad's time and in the time of Hazael, the Syrians avoided the difficulties of a direct attack on the central mountain-land of Canaan by striking into the maritime plain south of Carmel and so securing the mastery of the fertile coast-land without having to besiege Samaria. Their route would, in fact, be the present great road from Damascus to Ramleh through Megiddo.³ At Apek,

somewhere in the north of the Sharon Plain, they had a great military post from which they could direct their armies either against Samaria or against the Philistines (2 K. 12₁₇ [18]).

(b) As regards the Apek of Samuel: it is clear that a point in the northern part of the Sharon Plain, on the road to Megiddo and the plain of Esdraelon, is appropriate to 1 S. 29₁. The mustering-place of the Philistines cannot have been in the heart of the Hebrew territory, least of all at such a place as el-Fakū' on Mt. Gilboa (in the rear of Saul's army!) where it is absurdly placed by Conder and Armstrong. It is argued that the Philistines were at Shunem (1 S. 28₄) before they reached Apek; but to argue thus is to forget that 1 S. 28₃₋₅, the story of Saul and the witch of Endor, is a distinct narrative, by a different hand, and that 29₁ originally followed directly on 28₁f.

(c) Finally, the attack on central Israel which issued in the battle of Eben-ezer and the destruction of Shiloh (1 S. 4) would naturally be taken to have been made from the same Apek, were it not that commentators have assumed that the position of Eben-ezer, and therefore of Apek, is fixed somewhere near Mizpah by 1 S. 7₁₂. It is certainly safer, however, to distinguish the battlefield of Eben-ezer in 1 S. 4₁ from the stone Eben-ezer set up by Samuel many years later, than to assume the existence of two Apeks fitted to be the starting-point of a Philistine campaign (cp EBEN-EZER). And here also it is to be observed that chaps. 4 and 7 are derived from distinct documents, and that the historical value of the second is very insecure.

From what has been said it will appear without further argument that it is illegitimate to seek an Apek in the region, between Mt. Tabor and the Sea of Galilee, to which Eus. and Jer. give the name of Saron, or to place the Apek of Kings at the caravan-station of Fik in the mountains to the E. of the Sea of Galilee. This may be the Aphaca near Hippus or Hippe of OS 91 24 and 219 72; but is not a biblical site. W. R. S.

The existence of an Apek in Sharon is put beyond doubt by the following additional evidence. *First*, in the lists of Thotmes III. (c. 1600 B.C.) nos. 60-76 form a group by themselves; 62 is Joppa, 64 Lydda, 65 Ono. Then come 66 Apukn, 67 Suka, 68 Yhm. At this last place, Thotmes had to decide which of three roads he should take over Carmel. Yhm must therefore have lain near the most southerly road—that is, somewhat south of the mouth of the Wady 'Abu Nâr—and may be the present Yemma by the high road along the edge of the Samaritan Hills. Suka is doubtless the present Shuweikeh, 2 m. farther S. Apukn therefore lay between it and Ono. Maspero, it is true, identified Suka and Apukn with the Judæan Shochoh and Apeka of Josh. 15₄₈ 53; but W. Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 161) has shown that the list contains nothing S. of Ajalon. The *n* of Apukn may be the common termination of place-names ^π. Max Müller says it may also be read as *i*. *Secondly*, in the autumn of 66 A.D. Cestius Gallus, advancing on Jerusalem from Caesarea, reached Antipatris, and 'sent before' a party to drive the Jews out of 'the tower of Apek' (Πύργος Ἀφεκοῦ). After taking the tower he marched on Lydda (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 19₁). This agrees with the data of Thotmes III. and places Apek between the River 'Aujeh and Lydda. Here there is now no place-name which affords any help in the case, unless it be that of the village Fejeh—i.e., originally, Feggeh—about 9 m. NE. of Joppa (which, however, does not lie quite near enough to the E. limit of the plain to suit Lucian's text of 2 K. 13₂₂), and it ought not to be overlooked that in a list of mediæval Arab place-names quoted by Röhrich (*ZDPV*, 1896) there occur both Sar Fuka and Fakin. *Again*, in a fragment of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) a city Apku is described as 30 'kasbu-kakkar' from Raphia on the Egyptian frontier. Schrader (*KAT*² 204), who translates kasbu-kakkar by 'double leagues,' takes Apku to lie on

¹ On this passage see ASHUR, § 3.

² See We. *CH* 254; cp *Hist.*, E1, 39 [but cp GASm. *HG* 350

³ *ibid.* 3.

⁴ Cp the route of Al-Nābulus, ed. Thuch.

also attributed the work to Cerinthus (Eus. *HE* iii. 282). From the retortation of Iulian by Hippolytus (επιβολαα καρα Γαλου, Assen. *Bibl. Or.* vi. 115; fragments in Gwynn, *Hermach.* 6 307-118; cp also the writing catalogued in the inscription on the *Θεοσυνεσιον του κατα Ιουλιανου επισημασμενου και αποκαλυφτικου*) we learn that Caius directly took up and continued the criticism of the Alogi.

The criticism of Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus. *HE* vii. 25) was more moderate and more effective. He does not hold Cerinthus to have been the author of the Apocalypse, but conjectures that it must have been the work of some other John than the son of Zebedee, arguing from a comparison between the Apocalypse on the one hand and the Gospel and Epistles on the other as to style, language, and contents. The criticism of Dionysius was afterwards taken up by Eusebius, who was the first to provide a firm basis for the conjecture of Dionysius as to a second John by a reference to what Papias says of 'both' Johns (*HE* iii. 39) and inclines to class the Apocalypse with the spurious books, *ροβου* (*HE* iii. 254).

Henceforward the view of Dionysius and Eusebius became the prevailing one in the Eastern Church.

The book was recognised, indeed, by Methodius of Tyre (*Synops.* 136-84, 96) and Pamphilus (*Apoc.* ed. de la Rue, 425 31), but on the other hand unrecognised (by Cyril *Orthodox.* 438 70; *Orig.* 11, 1111).

5. Eastern Church. The Synod of Laodicea (Can. 64, see Zahn, *op. cit.* 217 ff.), the *Antilegomena* (Antilegomena) (Can. 85 [84]; Zahn, 2 102 ff.), the *Fanabites* of Seleucus (Zahn, 2 217). The Apocalypse is not mentioned by Theodore of Mopsuestia, or by Chrysostom (cp the *epitaphia* of the Synopsis of Chrysostom, Zahn, 2 230), or by Theodoret. In the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus manipulated in Jerusalem (circa 850; Zahn, 2 288 206 f.) it figures among the *Antilegomena*; in the list of the sixty canonical books it is not found, though it is again introduced into the *Synopsis* of Athanasius.

The unfavourable judgment of the Syrian church regarding it is very noteworthy.

The *Doctrine of Adlai* which, in the form in which we now have it, dates from about 400 A.D., recognises, as authoritative scripture, nothing beyond the four gospels.

6. Syrian Canon. The Pauline Epistles, and Acts. From **Church.** The Peshitta it is wholly absent. Whether Ephraim recognises the Apocalypse as canonical is, to say the least, doubtful. The Greek works that pass under his name, being of uncertain authenticity, cannot here be taken into account, and thus the evidence that he did appear to rest mainly on a single passage (*Opera*, Assen. 2 22, cp Rev. 51-2).¹ In any case, the noteworthy fact remains that Ephraim cites the Apocalypse but little, and develops his apocalyptic ideas on lines supplied by other writings. Besides, the Syrian Church did not look upon the book with favour.² Jacob of Edessa (ob. 708) cites it (Ephraemi opera, ed. Assen. 1 192), and ʿʿr Salib (ob. 1171), bishop of Mabug (Mabogh), comments on it (Gwynn, lxxviii 63); but Bar Hebraeus (ob. 1286) holds it to be the work of Cerinthus or of the 'other' John (Assen. *Bibl. Or.* 875), and 'Ebed Jesu' (ob. 1318) omits it from his list of canonical scriptures. In an Armenian Canon also, by Mechlitar of Aivirvan (1290), the Apocalypse is reckoned among the *Antilegomena*.

Though the opposition to the Apocalypse was thus persistent in the Syrian Church, it gradually died away in the other Eastern provinces.

7. Rest of East. The book is acknowledged by Athanasius, Didymus, Cyr. Alex., Nilus, Isidore of Pelusium (Egypt), Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Johannes Damascenus. Andrew, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, wrote his commentary on it in the first half of the fifth century. He was not, however, followed in this until the ninth century, when Arethas, his successor in office, also undertook the task.

In the Western Church, on the other hand, the Apocalypse was accepted unanimously from the first.

8. West. Hippolytus (see above) defended and commented on it in a no longer extant work, and makes copious quotations from it in his Commentary on Daniel and in his *De Antichristo*.

Similarly, it is recognised by Lactantius (*Inst.* 2 27 10, *epit.* 42; cp 715 ff.), Hilary (*De Trin.* 6 20 42), Ambrose

¹ Gwynn (*The Apocryphous of St. John in a Syriac Version*, Dublin-London, 1897, p. ciii) cites also De Lamy, *Hymn.* 1 66—a passage which the present writer finds himself unable to accept as proof.

² Thomas of Harkel, it is true, included it in his translation, as probably also (according to the latest researches of Gwynn) did Philoxenus of Mabug (Mabogh).

³ See Linke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis* (9, Bonn, 1852).

(*De Virg.* 14, *De Spiritu* 302), Rufinus (*Exp. in Synod.* 37); on Novatus, Commodian, Arnobius, and others see Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*.

Augustine (*in Evang. Joh.* 13 36, *Epist.* 118, *Civ. Dei* 217) insists on the identity of the author of the Gospel with the writer of the Apocalypse.

The book was acknowledged at the synods of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). As early as the end of the third century it was commented on by Victorinus, bishop of Pettau (ob. 303 A.D.). He was followed by the Donatist Ticonius (before 380).

An exceptional position was taken up by Jerome, who, under eastern influence, relegated the Apocalypse to the second class of *scripturae ecclesiasticae* (*in Pt.* 149), as also afterwards by Philastrius, if it be indeed the case that the book was not mentioned in the Canon of his *De haeresibus* 87 f.

At a later date the capitulum Aquigranense (*Corp. Jur. Germ.*, ed. Walter, i. 177 f., cap. 20), adopting the decision of the Synod of Laodicea, removed it from the Canon.

At the Reformation the view of Jerome was revived by Erasmus in his *Annotationes*. Luther's well-known

9. Since Re- adverse judgment, pronounced in his **formation.** preface of 1522, rests more on a religious than on a scientific foundation. Subsequently he gradually modified his view in a sense more favourable to the book.

In his translation, however, he indicated his unfavourable opinion so far as at all events that he relegated James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse to the end of the NT without pagination. The last edition of the NT in this form appeared in 1689. Carlstadt (*Libellus de canonibus scripturarum*, 1520), falling back on the criticism of Eusebius, classed the Apocalypse among the seven *Antilegomena*. The opposition to its reception lasted down to the following century, and disappeared only after the introduction of John Gerhard's cunningly devised distinction between canonical and deuterocanonical writings (*Loc. theol.* i. cap. 9, § 241). In the reformed churches the opposition disappeared much earlier—from the time of Calvin, indeed.

In the eighteenth century the question was again revived by Abauzit (*Discours hist. sur l'Apoc.* in *Œuvres diverses*, tom. 1, 1770); Hermann Oeder (*Christlich freie Unterricht*, 16. d. sogenannte *Offenb. Joh.*, published by Semler, Halle, 1769), reverting to the view of Caius of Rome, attributed the book to Cerinthus. He was followed by Semler (*Freie Unterricht des Canons*, 1772), and in many contemporary writings, and by Corrodi (*Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, 1781). The best defence was that of Hartwig (*Apologie der Apok.*, 1780-83). Cp also the successive editions of J. P. Michaelis, *Einl. in die göttlichen Schriften* from 1750 onwards.

Our sources for the text are the following:—

A. Greek MSS.—(1) Uncials. It exists in MAC (89-514 7 14-17 85-9 16 10 10-11 3 10 13-18 2 19 5-22 21 being absent), also in P Porfirianus Chioviensis sc. 2, Act. Cath. Pal.

10. Text.¹ Apoc. (16 12-17 1 19 12-20 2 26 21 being absent), the material, and Q (in Tischendorf, B). Vaticanus 2066 sc. 8 (Apoc. only). (2) Cursive. Of these some seventy are more or less collated. Their readings can be learned from the editions and collations of Mill-Kuster (1710), Bengel (1734 ff.), Weistein (1751-2), Matthæi (1782-88, tom. x.), Alter (1786-87), Birch (*l'arie Lect.* in *Apok.*, 1800), Scholz (30-36), Scrivener (*Codex Augienses*, 1859; *Adversaria Critica*, 93), Tregelles (57-72), Tischendorf (ed. octava major), Alford (*New Test.* vol. iv. ed. 2, 1885), Simcox (*J. Phil.* 22 205 ff.).

B. Versions.—(1) Latin.—A good deal is now known about these. The oldest stage is represented by h (Floriacensis), the Latin translation used by Primasius (Hausseleiter, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Kanons* iv.); the intermediate, by the Gigas Holmensis (ed. Belsheim, 79). The best material for the Vulgate is brought together in Lachmann (*Nov. Test.*) and Tischendorf. (2) Syriac.—A valuable Syriac rendering (probably the Philoxeniana) has recently been edited by Gwynn (*op. cit.*).² The Syriac MSS hitherto known (see Gwynn, xiv. ff.) represent the text of Thomas of Harkel. (3) Importance also attaches to the still comparatively unexplored Coptic (see Goussen, *Stud. Theol.* i.) and Armenian versions.

C. Church Fathers.—There are copious citations in Origen, Hippolytus (especially in the *De Antichristo*) and in the com-

¹ See F. Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde*, 1861; B. Weiss, 'Die Joh.-Apok.' in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 73 (91); W. Rousset, 'Text-kritische Studien in Texte u. Untersuch.' 114 (94); Gwynn, *The Apocalypse in a Syriac version*, 1897; on which see T. K. Abbot, 'Syriac version of Apocalypse,' *Hermathena*, 1897, pp. 27-35.

² See last note.

mentary on Daniel; see the new edition by Bonwetsch and Achelis, and Syriac. The text used by Andrew of Caesarea and Arethas in their commentaries has not as yet been fully established. The text of the last commentary of Ticonius can best be made out from the excerpt from the commentary on the Pseudo-Augustinian Homilies.

In the attempt to classify this material, it is best to begin with the class which shows the latest text—namely,

11. Classification. (1) the Arethas class, so named because a text of this order was used by Arethas for his Commentary (hence also many cursives of this class are, strictly speaking, MSS of Arethas-Commentaries). To this class belong C and about forty of the more or less known cursives. The material being so defective, separate groups within the class can hardly be distinguished.

Tentatively and under great reservation a few may here be suggested. (i) 3, 6, 10, 27, 33 are somewhat closely connected (cp *TLZ*, 1894, p. 658); (ii) 2, 8, (14), 140, 151, 29, 50, 97 (the last three very intimately related), 94; (iii) 6, 11, 21, (47); (iv.) 7, 16, 39, 45, 69 represent the transition-stage between this class (1) and the next class (2).

The second class, which we can detach from the rest as having arisen out of a later redaction, is (2) the so-called 'Andrew' class—the class to which the text used by Andrew (see above, § 10 C) in his commentary belonged. It falls into several clearly distinguishable subordinate groups.

(i.) The group consisting of 35, 68, 87, 121 stands almost entirely apart, presenting as it does many points of contact with the Arethas group, but often showing a very peculiar text. The following three groups, on the other hand, are very closely akin. (ii) 7, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21, with a very ancient Latinising substratum; (iii) 28, 73, 79, 89, 92; (iv) 10, 17, 37, 49, (72), 91, 96, (104), 105. C¹ and P¹ (products of being read with this class) as a whole, but cannot be associated with any of the subordinate groups in particular.

Of all the known cursives there are only (3) four—[26], 38, 51, 95—which it has hitherto been found impossible to classify; they show an amount text.

It is as yet difficult to detect the 'Western text' (see *FLX*) in the Apocalypse; but this will gradually become practicable as in recent years new sources have become accessible.

Witnesses to it, though only in part, are the uncial α (with a very erratic and only partially ancient text), the text of Primasius (identical, according to Hausleiter's investigations, with Cyprian's text, and thus old African), the fragments of δ , the Gigas Holmensis ζ , Ticonius (containing a later development of the text), and the Syriac version edited by Gwynn and designated Σ (the later version known as S shows a text almost everywhere corrected in accordance with the Arethas class, though in many places also it contains a text older than Σ). To the same category belong also, in part, the group 1, 12, 36, 81, 152 (cp Gwynn, cxi.), and, finally, the Armenian version, which, unfortunately, is not yet sufficiently known (note the coincidence of 1, 12, 36, etc. with arm.; cp Bousset, *Komm.*, 178). A further point worthy of notice is the close affinity of α , Σ (S), and Origen; one might almost venture to constitute α Or Σ a distinct group in the Western Class (Bousset, 181; Gwynn, lv ff.).

Distinctly the best text is that presented by ACVg. The Vulgate furnishes us with good means of controlling the text of ACV, especially where

13. Result. the two differ or where C is wanting. AVg., therefore, where C is wanting, often constitutes a stronger testimony than that of all the other witnesses together.

'I John am he that heard and saw these things' (22 α RV; cp 149). Are we to identify this John with the

14. Professed author. apostle, the son of Zebedee? Within the book itself 214 might fairly be urged against this identification. The

first to submit the question to thorough discussion was Dionysius of Alexandria (see above, § 4); in the result he attributed the book to another John. This theory of a second John, adopted also by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39: ff.), was revived in the present century (Bleek, Ewald, de Wette, Lücke, Neander, Düsterdieck, etc.), the John of the Apocalypse being usually in this case identified with the 'Presbyter' of *Eus. HE* iii. 39: ff. Criticism advanced another step, however,

and declared the whole tradition regarding the presence of John the Apostle (and Evangelist) in Asia Minor to have been due to a confusion between his name and that of the presbyter.

So Vaghi, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1874; *Lehrbücher*, *Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes*, 1893; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazareth*, 1877, I 101 f.; Scholten, *Das Ap. Johannes in Kleinasien*, 1872; Weidmann, *Das Fragment*, 1874; Thoma, *Das Johannieverb.*, 1882; and others. Against Scholten cp Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1876-77, also Zahn, *St. Kr.*, 1886, p. 649 ff.; *Acta Joannis* clv., Steitz, *St. Kr.*, 1888, p. 399 ff.; *Herzog*, *R. H.* 11: 38 ff.

The question is difficult. The first remark to be made upon it is that the assumption that there were two Johns

15. Only one John in Asia Minor. —the apostle and the presbyter —finds only slender support in ancient tradition. Whatever the interpretation we may put on the important testimonies of

Papias preserved by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39: ff.), it is at least certain that Papias speaks not of two Johns in Asia Minor—the apostle and the presbyter—but of one John, whom we are to look for as a near neighbour of Papias in space and time. Of a second John the second century and the first half of the third know nothing; he is unknown to Irenæus and to those who disputed the claims of the Fourth Gospel, to the Alogi and to Caius, to Tertullian, to Clement, and to Origen. Not till the time of Dionysius of Alexandria is reached do we find any indication of the sort (*Eus. HE* vii. 25:16). Even Dionysius alleges no other evidence than that in his day two graves of 'John' were shown.

The inference he draws from this—that there must have been two Johns—is by no means a reasonable one. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that in his day the precise burial-place of John was no longer known, or that the two $\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ represented two distinct holy 'places' of John (so Jer. *de vir. ill. 9: due memoria*; Zahn, *Acta Jo. clv*). For this supposition, Eusebius has supplied a plausible basis by combining the statement of Papias about two Johns with the traditions mentioned by Dionysius about two graves of John at Ephesus.

If the assumption that there were two Johns in Asia Minor proves to be a baseless hypothesis—and its baselessness is shown by the fact, among other things, that the John of Asia Minor is so often spoken of without distinguishing phrase of any kind—the question which next arises is as to whether this John was the apostle or the presbyter.

16. Viz., the Presbyter.

At this point the important testimony of Papias turns the scale in favour of the presbyter. For his contemporary and the authority whom he quotes is—next to Aristion—the 'presbyter' John (*Eus. HE* iii. 39:4); and Aristion and John are doubtless also to be identified with the $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\iota$ whom, according to *Eus. HE* iii. 39:3, Papias could still directly interrogate. The evidence of 2 Jn. and 3 Jn., claiming as they do to be written by the $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\iota$, points in the same direction. Moreover, as has already been pointed out (§ 1), the Apocalypse apparently does not profess to have been written by the apostle. On the other side, it is true, we already find Justin (*Dial.* 81; see above, § 2) asserting the apostolic authorship. It is, however, noticeable that Irenæus—for whom the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse are all by one and the same author—speaks of John as an apostle only in indefinite expressions similar to those in Gal. 1:10, but elsewhere invariably designates him as 'disciple' ($\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$); see Bousset, *op. cit.* 41 f. Further, Irenæus, who calls Papias a disciple of John, also speaks of Polycarp as his fellow disciple (*Eus. HE* iii. 39:1). If we refuse to suppose that Irenæus had already confounded the presbyter with the apostle, then the great teacher of Polycarp was also, according to Irenæus, the 'presbyter' John; for Papias was a disciple of the presbyter. In the Muratorian canon, further, John is called simply 'discipulus,' whereas Andrew is 'apostolus.' The testimony also of Polycrates in the letter to Victor (ap. *Eus. HE* v. 24: ff.) claims particular attention in this connection. Here, in a passage where everything turns upon the exact titles of the persons named, Polycrates designates

beginnings of an interpretation looking to contemporary conditions. Bullinger (*Predigten*, 1575) and Junius (*Apoc. Joh. Tetzelsatze*, 1591) have a good deal in common with Bisthauser.

Wildest and most fantastic of all are the English commentaries of this period.

Among them may be named Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms (*A Plain Discovery of the whole Revelation of Sacred John*, 1593), Thomas Brightman (*Apocalypsis Apocalypsis*, Frankfurt, 1625), Joseph Mede (*De locis apocalypsicis*, 1627), and Sir Isaac Newton (*Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, 1728—dependent upon Mede).

The history of a strictly scientific interpretation of the Apocalypse, on the other hand, must be held to

22. Scientific. begin with the learned commentaries of French and Spanish Catholic theologians. They meet the Protestant polemic with conspicuous and indeed often astounding erudition, and, going back to the point of view of the earlier Church fathers, lay the foundations of a cautious and for the most part purely eschatological interpretation.

In this connection the works of Francisco Kibeira (1578), Basilio Vargas (*Compendio de las Revelaciones de San Juan*, lit. text. De Antichristo), Benedictus Perona (1662), and Cornelius a Lapide (1682) are well worthy of mention.

Conspicuous above them all is the *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi* of Ludovicus ab Alcazar. That writer was the first to carry out consistently the idea that the Apocalypse in its earlier part is directed against Judaism, and in its second against Paganism, so that in chaps. 12 *f.* we read of the first persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire, and in ch. 19 of the final conversion of that Empire. He thus presents us with the first serious attempt to arrive at a historical and psychological understanding of the book.

His idea worked out by Alcazar had already been expressed by Hentenius in the preface to his edition of *Apothecia commentarii*, ed. Morelius et Hentenius 2), and by Salmeron (*Opera*, 12, Cologne, 1614, 'In sacrum Jo. Apoc. præliudia'). It ought to be added here that the explanation of the wounded head as referring to Nero Redivivus is found for the first time since Victorinus) in the commentary of the Jesuit Juan Mariana. It was from the Jesuits that Protestant science first learned how to work this field.

Grotius (*Annot. ad NT*, Paris, 1664), who is so often spoken of as the founder of scientific exegesis, is, in his remarks on the Apocalypse at any rate, entirely dependent on Alcazar, whose interpretation, indeed, he has not improved by the details assuming references to universal history and contemporary events which he has introduced into it.

Grotius in turn was followed by Hammond (cp the Latin editions of Clericus, tom. 1, Amsterdam, 1698, and Clericus's notes to Hammond), Bossuet (1693), and Hervey (1684). In Holland and Germany the fantastic school of interpretation continued to flourish for some time longer, prominent representatives being, in Holland, Vitrings, with his profoundly learned *ἀνακρισις ἀποκαλιψεύου* (1705; dependent on Mede), and his many followers, and in Germany, Bengel, with his commentary (1740-46-58) and sixty practical discourses on the Apocalypse. Much greater sobriety is shown by Joh. Marck in his *In Apoc. Comm.* 1699, with its copious exegetical material and valuable introduction; also by a group of eschatological interpreters in which are included Eleonora Peters (1696), Antonius Driessens (1717), and Joachim Lange (*Apokalypstische Lieder des Rosenk.*, 1704).

In the eighteenth century, although Aubert de Verse (*La clef de l'apocalypse*, 1703) followed the lines laid

23. Since down by Grotius, Hammond, and Bossuet, the interpretation founded on **18th century.** allusions to contemporary events gained the ascendancy, and in a very narrow form. At this period it took for the most part the very unfortunate course of endeavouring to treat the whole of the Apocalypse, after the analogy of Mt. 24, as a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem.

In this category must be placed the expositions of Abauzit (*Essai sur l'apoc.*, 1723), Harduin (1741), Wetstein (*Lectures de crisin atque interpretationem NT* ed. Semler, 1766), Harenberg (1759), Hartwig (cp § 9), and, finally, Züllig (1834).

On the other hand, we find much that is rightly said in Semler's notes to Wetstein in Corrodi's *Gesch. des Chiliasmus*. And a return was made to the sounder general principles of Alcazar by Herrenscheider

(*Inaugural diss.*, Strassburg, 1786) and by Eichhorn (*Commentarius*, 1761). Even those strands of the interpretation that look to universal history, which had still persisted in showing themselves in Alcazar's work, were now stripped away, and thus a provisional resting-place was reached.

This stage is seen in the works of Bleek (*Die 72 Episteln des Heiligen Johannes Evangelisten über die Apokalypsis*, 1821), and in other, especially German, works, *Die Jesuiten*, 1820; *Die Wege der Erkenntnis*, 1821-24; *Lehrbuch der christlichen vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung*, 1821 and 1822; Volkmar ('62), and also, for the most part, Döderlehn (1877).

In all these works the interpretation from contemporary history is consistently carried out. All set forth from the decisive observation that in chap. 11 the preservation of the temple is predicted, and all, accordingly, date the book from before 70 A.D. Further, they all rightly recognise that the main drift of the Apocalypse is directed against Rome; all, too (except Döderlehn), recognise Nero Redivivus in the wounded head. In particular, since the discovery, independently arrived at by Fritzsche, Benary, and Reuss, that the number 666 is intended for קמץ קמץ, the reference to Nero has become the *rocher de bronze* of all exegesis of the Apocalypse.

In passing, mention may be made of some works which, although following obsolete exegetical methods, are not without a scientific value: Hengstenberg (49^o-51^o-61), Ebrard (53), Elliott (*Howe's Apocalypsis*, 1851; univ.-hist.), Auberlen (54^o-74), Christian ('61), Luthardt ('61), Alford (*New Testament*, 4, 2), Kliefoth ('74), Bleek (*Zerkl. von Offenb.*, 1-xii; eschat.) and Kübel (in Strack-Zöckler's *HT*, 1888; this takes a mediating course between the standpoints of contemporary history and eschatology). See also Zahn, 'Apokalyptische Studien', in *ZKW L*, 1885-85.

The interpretation of the Apocalypse entered on a new phase¹ as soon as doubts arose regarding the unity

24. Question of the work and the method of literary **of unity.** criticism to be applied. The conjecture, which had been hazarded more than once,² that the Apocalypse was really a composite work was again taken up independently (1) by Daniel Volter, at the suggestion of Weizsacker, whose pupil he was. The particular hypothesis put forth by Volter³ as to the composition of the Apocalypse may for convenience be called the redaction hypothesis (*Ueberarbeitungs-Hypothese*).

It assumed in his first sketch, which he has not substantially modified, a fundamental text (*Grundtext*) consisting (apart from single verses) of 11-4 4-6 7-1-8 *f.*, 14-17 18-19-4 14-14-20 19-5-10 dating from the sixties, and an appendix 10-11-13-17, dating from 68-70 A.D. This underwent three (or rather four) redactions, of which the latest was in 140 A.D.—or, at all events, later than 130.

The work of Volter is based on a few happy observations. For example, he saw that 14-14-20 really forms the close of an apocalypse, recognised the divergence between 7-1-8 and 7-9-17, the true character of 10-11-13, —and so forth. Nevertheless, broadly, Volter's performance gave the student an impression of excessive arbitrariness, and was rejected on almost every hand.

Against the first edition see Harnack, *TLZ*, 1882, Dec.; Harnack, *ZLZ*, 1884, p. 188; W. H. W. 1884, p. 188; against the second edition, Jülicher, *GG A*, 1886, pp. 25-38; Zahn, *ZKW L*, 1886.

The question was next taken up from an entirely different side (2) by E. Vischer ('Die Offenb. Joh. eine jüdische Schrift in christlicher Bearbeitung,' in *Texte u. Unters.*, 1886, 2nd ed. 1895); the result has been a lively and fruitful discussion. Vischer believed himself to have discovered that the ruling chapters (11 *f.*) of the Apocalypse can be understood only on the as-

¹ In connection with what follows see Holtzmann, *JPT*, 1891; Baldensonges, *St. J. Revue*, 11, 2, 1892, 1894; A. Meyer, *Lehrb. Kyntheus*, 1897, Hefte 2-3.

² Grotius, Hammond, Vogel (*Comm. vii. De Apoc. Joh.*, 1811-1816), Bleek (*Berl. theol. Ztschr.*, 2 240 *f.*); he abandoned his view in *Beir. u. Evang.-Kritik*, 1846, p. 81; *St. Kr.*, 1855, p. 220 *f.*

³ *Die Entsch. der Apok.*, 1860, 2nd ed. 1885; *Th. J.*, 1861, pp. 259 *f.*, 608 *f.*; *Prot. KZ*, 1880, p. 32 *f.*; *Das Problem der Apoc.*, 1893.

sumption of a Jewish origin. As he nevertheless continued to be convinced of the essential unity of the book, he inferred that in the form in which we now have it it is a Christian redaction of a Jewish writing. To the Christian redactor, besides isolated expressions, he attributed the following passages: 1-3 6-14 7 9-17 12 13 13a 14 15 15 16 15 17 14 19 20 18 20 4-6 21 26-8 22-24.

Vischer's able treatise found wide acceptance. Among those who signified their acceptance of his main thesis were Iselin (*Biblioth. des bibl. de Bern*, 1877; Apocalyptic studies); an anonymous writer in *Die Zeit.*, 1877; *Ostwald* in *VLZ*, 1879; p. 19; *Mosler* in *Rev. des bibl.*, 1881, p. 10; *Krause* in *GLZ*, 1887, pp. 46-7; *Simon* in *Hebräisch*, 1887, p. 405 f. On the other hand, Volter (*Die Offenb. Joh. eine jüdische Schrift*, 1884, 1886), *Beyschlag* (*Dr. Kr.*, 1885), and *Halgensfeld* (*Dr. F.*, 1890) declared themselves against it.

Although it must be cordially acknowledged that to Vischer belongs the honour of having first raised the question in its entirety, it must be said that he was not successful in his attempt to solve it. He has neither proved the Jewish character of chap. 11 f. nor justified his fundamental thesis regarding the unity of the book. We shall be doing him no injustice if we classify him among those who uphold the 'redaction' hypothesis.

The earliest exponent of the 'sources' hypothesis (*Quellen-Hypothese*), which has lately come into competition with that of redaction, was Weyland, who wrote almost contemporaneously with Vischer (*VLZ*, 1886, pp. 454-470; and *Annuaire de la Commission biblique internationale de l'Apoc.*, 1888). Weyland finds in the Apocalypse two Jewish sources (K and L) which have been worked over by a Christian redactor.

K corresponds, roughly, to Volter's primary document; L to the first and second of Volter's redactors (in Volter's Appendix K and L are separated). Weyland's Christian redactor corresponds to a general way with Vischer's redaction. *Ernst* (*Die Offenb. des J.*) signified his adherence to Weyland.

Against both the hypotheses we have just described serious and far-reaching objections present themselves.

27. Objections. Against the 'sources' hypothesis must be urged, in substance, the linguistic unity of the book (see below, § 34); against the redaction theory it has to be observed (a) that the fundamental document made out by Volter and his followers (see above, § 25) has no special character of its own, inasmuch as all the really living and concrete passages occurring within it are attributed to the redactor; (b) that the disappearance of every trace of these numerous later redactions is remarkable.

From such considerations the necessity for a third way became apparent. This third way was first pointed out by Weizsäcker in his *Apostolic Age*. He rightly discerned in the

28. Fragment hypothesis. Apocalypticist's thrice repeated number of seven the fixed plan of an author who wrote the Apocalypse as a whole, and gave to his work the character of a literary unity. Into this literary unity certain interpolations intrude with disturbing effect (7 1-8 9-17 11 1-13 12 1-11 12-17 13 17). Thus Weizsäcker arrived at his fragment hypothesis. According to him the Apocalypse is a literary unity proceeding from a single author, into which, however, apocalyptic fragments of various date have been introduced by the author himself. In the opinion of the present writer these are the lines along which the true solution of the problem is to be sought. All later investigators in this field have followed one or other of the three hypotheses just enumerated.

Oscar Holtzmann (*GV 2* 658-664) assumes a Jewish groundwork into which again a still older source (18 14-15) has been worked in a Christian revision. Pfeleider (*Urchristenthum*, 1887, pp. 318-56) steers an eclectic course; Sabatier (*Les origines littéraires de l'Apocalypse*, 1887) and Schen (*L'origine de l'Apoc.*, 1889) represent a combination of Weizsäcker and Vischer (regarding the Apocalypse as the work of a Christian author who has embodied Jewish fragments in his book).

A thoroughly elaborated 'sources' theory is that of Spitta (*Offenb. Joh.*, 1884). In diametrical opposition to Weizsäcker, he claims to see, in the thrice repeated series of seven, three sources.

These are (a) the seal source or Christian primitive Apocalypse (U \approx $\text{U}^{\text{U}}^{\text{U}}^{\text{U}}^{\text{U}}^{\text{U}}$), written soon after the A.D. 68, (b) the trumpet source J (J = $\text{J}^{\text{J}}^{\text{J}}^{\text{J}}^{\text{J}}^{\text{J}}$), written shortly after the reign of Caligula (7 1-8 9 10 1-7 11 12 13 14-15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24); (c) the vials source J², from the time of Pompey (containing, approximately, the remainder of the book).

These three have been worked together into a collected whole by a Christian redactor. (The additions assigned to him by Spitta are of about the same extent as those assigned to him by Vischer.)

The sources theory was next carried to the utmost by P. Schmidt (*Anmerkungen über die Comp. der Offenb. Joh.*, 1891).

Erbes (*Die Offenb. Joh.*, 1891) in his separation of the literary sources agrees in the main with O. Holtzmann, but also maintains with Volter (whose hypothesis he simplifies) the thoroughly Christian character of the whole book. Bruston (*Les origines de l'Apocalypse*, 1893) proposes a path of his own. *Annales de bibliogr. théol.*, 1 [188] pp. 41-45 assumed two Jewish apocalypses and a Christian redactor.

The unity of the book is defended by certain scholars: Not only by the critics of Vischer mentioned above, but also by B. Weiss (*Zeits. des Ver. d. bibl. Stud.*, Bonn (*Revue de théol. et phil.*, 1887, pp. 329-62), Hirsch (*Die Apoc. u. ihre neueste Kritik*, 1895), and Blom (*Dr. F.*, 1885-84). An expectant attitude is taken by H. Holtzmann (*Rev.*, 1892; *Handk.*, 1893).

Finally, altogether new lines of investigation were opened up by Gunkel in his *Schöpfung u. Chaos* ('94). He controverted sharply, and sometimes per-

30. Gunkel.haps not altogether fairly, both the current methods of interpreting the Apocalypse (that which looks to contemporary history for a clue, and that which adheres to literary critical methods), and proposed to substitute for them, or at least to co-ordinate with them, a history of apocalyptic tradition. He insisted with emphasis upon the thesis that the (one) Apocalypticist was not himself the creator of his own representations; that his prophecies were only links in a long chain of tradition. In his investigation of this apocalyptic tradition he greatly enlarged the scope of the usual question 'Jewish or Christian?' by his endeavours to prove for chap. 12 a Babylonian origin, and in other places also (see below, § 40) to trace Babylonian influences in the book. Even if we grant that Gunkel has often overshot the mark,—as, for example, when he refuses to recognise Nero in the beast and its number—it is undeniable that his book marks the beginning of a new epoch in the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

Stimulated by Gunkel, and accepting some of his results, Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des neuen Testaments, und der neuen Kirche*, 1895) proceeded

to illustrate Gunkel's method by applying it to a definite concrete example, investigating the entire tradition regarding Antichrist, and endeavouring to show that in this instance a stream of essentially uniform tradition can be traced from New Testament times right through the Middle Ages and beyond them. In his view the Apocalypse can be shown to be dependent in a series of passages, particularly in chap. 11, on this already ancient tradition regarding Antichrist.

This view has been controverted by Erbes (*Theologische Arbeiten aus dem biblisch-archäologischen Prolegomena gewandt*, Neue Folge, 1, Freiburg, i. B., 1897), who, as against it, argues for the contemporary-history method in its most perverse form.

Finally, in the *Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar* ('96), Bousset has sought to bring to a focus the result of the labours of previous workers. In his method of interpretation he follows Weizsäcker (fragment hypothesis), and therefore gives a continuous commentary, describing the character of each particular fragment in its own place. In his exegesis he has given special attention to

book predicts is the great conflict about to break out all over the world between Christianity on the one hand and the Roman Empire (with the Roman state religion, the worship of the emperors) on the other (cp ANTICHRIST, § 7).

(d) This great battle will begin with the return of Nero Redivivus.

In common with the rest of the men of his day, the Apocalyptic shares the popular expectation of the coming again of that emperor. Nero (13-12 p. 1) the head-tin was wounded to death and afterwards healed. He is only 'as it were' (6c) slain, like the lamb (5f). For as the latter continues to live on in heaven, so does Nero prolong a shadowy existence in hell. Out of the abyss (17b) he will again return, and as Roman Emperor demand adoration. Then will be the days of the great future struggle. Hence the name of the beast is Nero, 6c, 6d, 6e (cp ANTICHRIST, § 7).

(e) Thus the date of the Apocalypse admits of being approximately determined. The end of the first century is already sufficiently indicated by the fact that the Apocalyptic expects the return of Nero from hell (Th. Zahn, 'Apocal. Stud.' in ZA¹W, 1885, pp. 561-76, 1886, pp. 337-52 393-495; see below, § 45). The following consideration points to the same inference. Behind the Apocalyptic in point of time there already lies a great persecution. He himself is again living in times of persecution, and is expecting worse to come. Inasmuch as the former persecution must be assumed to be the Neronian, we are compelled to carry the Apocalypse down to the later period of Domitian. When we do so the fact that 11.1 ff. points to a time before the destruction of Jerusalem need not cause us any misgiving: doubtless the passage comes from an earlier source. On the other side we should be able to fix an inferior limit for the date, could it be shown that the epistles were already known to Ignatius (see above, § 2). The date thus indicated—the close of the first century—was in point of fact the date at which, it would seem, the general persecutions of the Christians, turning substantially on the rendering of divine honour to the emperor, first broke out (see CHRISTIAN, § 6). The Apocalypse, as we now have it, presupposes conditions very similar to those which we meet in the well-known correspondence between Pliny and Trajan. In this it is not implied that the Apocalypse could not have been written some ten years or more earlier.

In the conclusion just indicated we find ourselves in agreement with the best attested tradition as to the date of the writing of the Apocalypse.

According to Irenæus (v. 30.2; cp v. 20.7), the Apocalypse was "seen" at the close of Domitian's reign at Patmos, and therefore, of course, to say the least, not written earlier (cp Vict. Pettau. *Comment. on Apoc.* 1911; *Pass. H. E.* iii. 15; *Jes. [v. 19. 23]* 190; *Sulp. Sev. Chron.* 2.31). A different tradition is met with, it is true—perhaps in Tertullian, who (*De preser. Her.* 36) mentions the martyrdom of John (by boiling oil—a death from which he was miraculously delivered), and his subsequent banishment, in connection with the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul (but see, on the other hand, *Scorpice* 13). It is certain that at all events Jerome (*Adv. Jov.* 1.26 1.16; *ibid.* 4.33). Finally, as assigning this martyrdom and banishment of John to the reign of Nero (cp Eus. *Dem. Evang.* 3; the superscription of the Syriac translation of the Apocalypse edited by Ludovicus de Dieu; the Gnostic *Acts of John*; Theophylact [who gives the date as thirty-two years after the Ascension; cp the notes of some of the Greek cursives of the Fourth Gospel; thirty years after the Ascension, under Domitian (9); Erbes, 43). Finally, Epiphanius (*Her.* 51 12 33) will have it that the book was written under Claudius. The same statement occurs in the Commentary of Apringius (upon whom see Bousset, *GGN*, 1895, p. 2), whence it found its way into that of Beatus (ed. Florez, 33).

The Apocalypse is distinguished from the apocalyptic literature of Judaism from the time of the book of

36. Personality of Apocalypticist. Daniel onwards by the high prophetic consciousness which it displays. The Apocalypticist as he stands at one of the turning-points of the world's history looks with a clear eye into the future and feels himself to be a prophet. He is a Christian of an especial type. For the prophets are servants of God in a peculiar sense (1: 10; 11: 8 226 [cp 15.3]); they are the fellow-servants of the angels (22g); other Christians are so only in so far as they follow the revelation of the prophets

(22g). God is master of the spirits of the prophets (226 cp 17 17 19.10). Hence the author directly claims for his work the rank of a sacred book. It is intended from the first to be publicly read (1.3); those who hear it and obey what is written therein are blessed (1.3 227), and whosoever adds to or takes away from it falls under the most grievous curse (22: 18 f.). The frequent mention of the prophets along with the saints (*i.e.*, Christians in general)—see 11: 8 16 18 20 24—is a proof, not, as many critics have supposed, of the Jewish, but of the Christian, origin of the related passages. The Apocalypse in this respect was the forerunner of Montanism, and it is no matter for surprise that it was specially valued in Montanistic circles. It is also noteworthy that the Apocalypticist speaks to his own age and time. Whilst Daniel is represented as receiving, at the close of his vision, the command to seal the book for long, here in sharp contrast we read (22: 10) 'Seal not up the words of the prophecy.' The Apocalypticist seems to have been a Jewish Christian of universalistic sympathies. For him the name of Jew is a name of honour (2: 9 3: 9); he seems to uphold a certain prerogative for the Jewish people (7: 8 11: 1-13 20: 7 f.). He shows himself intimately familiar with the language of the OT.

Into the apocalyptic unity thus defined, isolated fragments have been introduced in a manner which can

37. Details of criticism. Of these the more important at least must now be discussed, and some detailed account of the more noteworthy results of criticism given.

Of recent critics the majority (Vischer, Völter, Weyland, Pfeleiderer, O. Holtzmann, Schmidt) regard the epistles to the seven churches (chaps.

38. Chaps. 1-6. 1-3) as having been originally separate from the rest of the book and as having been prefixed only after the Apocalypse had in other respects assumed its present form; but Spitta has shown good grounds for believing that chaps. 1-3 and 4-6 ought not to be separated, and (as against Vischer and others) has established for the whole of chaps. 4-6 that Christian character which unquestionably belongs to 5: 6 ff. Thus Spitta takes chaps. 1-6 as a single original document (Christian primitive apocalypse = U).

He seeks to prove this by pointing out that there is a definite close at the end of 6, and a fresh beginning of a new apocalypse in 7: 1 (so also P. Schmidt). But the sixth seal (6: 12 ff.) does not represent the final catastrophe; it only pictures a great earthquake in the typical apocalyptic manner. In 6: 15 ff. the end is still to come, and if, with Spitta, we pass on to 7: 9-17 immediately after 6: 17, any representation of the end of all things has completely disappeared from our reconstructed Apocalypse. In any case, it is impossible that one should fail to recognise an interpolated fragment in the short passage (6: 9-11) relating to the fifth seal. We have an exact parallel to it in 4: 5-6. 4: 35 (cp also *Æthiop. Enoch* 47). And the tradition of 4: 5-6 should be regarded as the original one. It speaks quite generally of a predestined number of the righteous which has to be fulfilled before the coming of the end, whilst in the Apocalypse the conception is applied to the predestined number of the martyrs—a modification which can be explained very easily from his general position (see above, § 35).

Spitta's view that 7: 1-8 constitutes a fresh beginning, which has nothing to do with the preceding chapters,

39. Chap. 7: 1-8. is certainly correct; but neither has the passage anything to do with that which follows it (7: 9-17); as to this practically all critics are agreed. These facts, however, will not justify us in attributing 7: 9-17 to the redactor (as do Völter, Vischer, Pfeleiderer and Schmidt), nor yet in carrying out a system of deletions in chap. 7 (as do Erbes, Weyl., Rauch) until the two disparate sections have been brought into harmony. Our proper course is to recognise (cp also Spitta) in 7: 1-8 an interpolated fragment—probably Jewish.

The sudden mention of the four winds, which are held by the angels and are nowhere in the succeeding narrative left loose, points to this conclusion, as also does the introduction of the 144,000 Israelites of the twelve tribes—a number which in 14: 1 ff. is interpreted in a sense inconsistent with the original intention.

Bousset has hazarded the conjecture that here we have a fragment of the Antichrist legend.

The next passage which presents special difficulties is 11:1-13. Here all critics are agreed in recognising a

40. Chap. fragment interpolated between the sixth trumpet and the seventh (cp 9:11 and 11:1-13, 11:14). Further, almost all critics agree in regarding chap. 10 as an introductory chapter connected with this fragment. On closer examination it is found, moreover, that 11:1-13 really consists of two smaller fragments: (a) 11:1 f., a prediction of the preservation of the temple, written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and presenting points of contact with Lk. 21:24; (b) the prophecy relating to the beast and the two witnesses (11:3-13). This latter piece is of an extremely fragmentary and enigmatical character.

Certain matters are introduced without any preparation: the two witnesses, the beast from the abyss, the war of the beast with the witnesses, the peoples and tribes rejoicing over the death of these last. All these are *disjecta membra* which point to some larger connection.

In this passage, too, Bousset has sought to show that we have a fragment from the Antichrist legend.

In accordance with Jewish and primitive Christian anticipation the Antichrist is destined to appear as a god-defying ruler in Jerusalem, to lead the people astray and tyrannise over them, and to gather together a great army from all nations. Against him will arise the two prophets Elijah and Enoch, and Israelites to a definite number (7+8?) will be converted. A great famine and drought will come. Then Antichrist will put to death the two witnesses, and the end will draw near. It is evident that here we have a coherent tradition, of which some fragments are preserved in chap. 11.

Chap. 12 is the most difficult in the book. It also falls into two sections, 12:1-12 and 12:13-17, and

41. Chap. betrays itself as a foreign intrusion both by its unfamiliar character and by its strange and bizarre representations.

A. Dietrich (Abraxas) was the first who sought to trace in the chapter an adaptation of the myth of the birth of Apollo; he held the pregnant fugitive woman to be Leto, the dragon was the Python, Michael being a later introduction) was Apollo. The water which in the Greek myth figured as a protecting power has here become auxiliary to the dragon.

Recently Gunkel, in his *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, has directed special attention to this chapter, and shown that an adequate understanding of it could be arrived at neither on the assumption of a Christian nor on that of a Jewish origin (Vischer, Weyland, Spitta)—that on either hypothesis there remains an intractable residuum, bearing a mythological character. Here, accordingly, as elsewhere in the Apocalypse (cp the seven angels, stars, candlesticks, torches [EV 'lamps'], eyes, pp. 294-302; the twenty-four elders, 302-8; Armageddon, 263-66, and p. 325 n. 2; the number 33, pp. 266-70; also chaps. 13 and 17, 379 ff.), he found elements taken from Babylonian mythology, and in particular the myth of the birth of the sun-god Marduk and of the persecution of Marduk by the dragon Tiāmat. The difficulty in this construction of Gunkel's is that down to the present date it has been impossible to find in the Babylonian mythology any trace of the myth of the birth and persecution of the youthful sun-god. Bousset (*Apok.* 410 f.), however, has called attention to parallels with one chapter in Egyptian mythology (the myth of the birth of Horus).

In the result, there seems much probability in the supposition that chap. 12 embodies a myth of the birth of the sun-god and the persecution of the young child by the dragon, the deity of winter and of night. The Apocalypticist has changed the sun-god, however, into the *παῖς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, the persecutor into the devil, and the deliverance of the child into the resurrection (observe the inconcinnity of this adaptation). In this treatment of the material laid to his hand, he was not able to give full significance to the flight of the woman, which is so prominent a feature in the original myth. This is accordingly only briefly touched on in 12:6; but it receives copious and special treatment in the second half of the chapter (vv. 13-17). Hence the incongruity between 12:1 ff. and 12:13 ff. which Weizsäcker pointed out.

What historical occurrence is intended by the flight of the woman in 12:13-17 is not quite clear. Usually the

42. Chap. flight is taken as referring to circumstances connected with the destruction of Jerusalem 12:13-17. —either to the destruction and (in a sense) the deliverance of Judaism, or, better, to the flight of the primitive Christian Church.

Erlies, who seeks to explain ch. 13 as referring to the Caligula period (see below), interprets the flight and deliverance of the woman in connection with the first persecution of Christians at Jerusalem, strictly taking st. 17, 'the remnant of her seed who hold the testimony of Jesus,' as pointing to the Jews (?) at the time of the Caligula persecution. Spitta actually takes the persecution of the woman as representing an occurrence in heaven. 'The remnant of the seed of the woman' represents, he thinks, the actual Israel as contrasted with the ideal pre-existent Jerusalem (Israel?). Others (Vischer) interpret the remnant as meaning believers as distinguished from the Messiah.

Chap. 13 also contains two passages of a peculiar character—those describing the first beast and the

43. Chap. 13: second. O. Holtzmann, Spitta, and Erlies were agreed in recognising here a Jewish (Holtzm., Sp.) or a Christian (Erl.) source dating from the time of Caligula.

Independently of each other, they all (as had already been done by Th. Zahn) accepted the number 616 which is given in some MSS (C. 11 Ticonius), instead of 666, and interpreted it as meaning Ἰάσος Καίσαρ. The beast demanding worship, whose image (εἰκόνη) is repeatedly spoken of, is, on this view, the half-mad tyrant Caius Caligula, who in 39 A.D. ordered his procurator, Petronius, to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. Parallels to this prophecy belonging to the same date were found in Mt. 24 ('abomination of desolation') and in 2 Thess. 2. The 'wound' (πληγή) of the beast was interpreted by Spitta as meaning the sickness which befel Caligula towards the beginning of his reign. These conjectures are by no means impossible; but if they are accepted, certain important particulars in the chapter must be deleted—in particular, references to the wounded head of the beast. This and the number 666 (ἑξήκοντα ἑξήκοντα) show distinctly that (in its present form) the chapter was intended to be understood of the return of Nero Redivivus. Whether an older source dating from Caligula's time has here been worked over remains doubtful.

As compared with this interpretation, the view which takes the wounded head to be Julius Caesar (Gunkel, Bruston) has little to be said for it—since the number 666 in that case remains unexplained; nor can we reasonably interpret the death-wound to mean the interregnum of Galba-Otho-Vitellius, or refer the number to the Roman empire (Ἀρτέμιδος, Dünsterdieck; קיסר רומי, Ewald).

Still greater has been the perplexity of interpreters over the second beast. All attempts to make it out to be some definite personality have hitherto

44. The second beast. been unsuccessful. Bousset (*op. cit.*) upholds the view that it is in reality a modification of the older conception of Antichrist, who is here represented as serving the first beast, the Roman emperor, and perhaps is to be interpreted as signifying the Roman provincial priesthood, the active agency in promoting the worship of the emperor.

The objection usually urged against referring the passage to Nero—that the beast whose number is 666 cannot mean Nero the man; that it must mean the Roman empire—is not valid. To the Apocalypticist Nero Redivivus is at the same time the incarnation of all that is dreadful in the Roman empire. The number of the beast is the number of a man: cp 17:11, 'and the beast . . . is himself also an eighth' (καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοος ἔσται).

Chap. 17 is intimately connected with chap. 13, and this duplicate treatment of the same subjects is in itself proof

45. Chap. 17. sufficient that the Apocalypticist had before him older prophecies, which he has worked over more than once. In this chapter also the reference to the returning Nero is clear. Since Eichhorn, however, it has further been recognised on all hands (cp De Wette, Bleek, Lübeck), and with justice, that the kings with whom the beast returns for the destruction of Rome are

the Parthians, whose satraps might already be regarded as independent kings (Mommsen, *Röm. Kaisergesch.* 521). Thus our present chapter also comes into a larger historical connection. As early as the year 69 A.D. a pseudo-Nero had raised commotions in Asia Minor and Greece (Tac. *Hist.* 28f.; Dio Cassius, 649; Zonaras, 1115); in the reign of Titus a second pseudo-Nero showed himself on the Euphrates (Zonaras, 1118) and was acknowledged by the Parthian King Artabānus (Mommsen, 521). About 88 A.D. a third pseudo-Nero again made his appearance, also among the Parthians, and threatened the Roman empire (Suet. *Nero*, 50; Tac. *Hist.* 12). In this form we find the same expectation also in the fourth Sibylline book, written shortly after 79 A.D. (Sibyll. 419 ff. 132 ff.), and in the oldest portion of the fifth book, written about 74 A.D. (5143 ff. 361 ff.); in the last passage it is associated with a denunciation of Babylon and a prophecy of the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Rev. 1821); cp Zahn's exhaustive researches (as above, § 38). By both passages our chapter (perhaps associated with the threatening utterance against Rome and the prophecy of a new Jerusalem) belongs to the same circle of expectations and predictions. It was doubtless written in Asia Minor; but the exact date is disputed.

According to 17 the Apocalypst represents himself as being among the sixth emperor, but having lived a seventh before and to come, to be succeeded by the eighth, who is the one of the seven (Nero). In reckoning it is possible to begin either with Julius Caesar or with Augustus, to count or not to count the interregnum of Galba-Otho-Vitellius, and finally to ask whether the passage was really written under the sixth emperor, and not, rather, as a *raucium ex eventu*, under the seventh or eighth. Thus interpreters have taken the sixth emperor to be now Nero (so all who hold the Apocalypse to have been written before 70 A.D.; also Völter), now Vespasian, and, conformably, take the chapter to have been written now under the last-named emperor, now under Titus (the seventh; Weyland) or Domitian, who is then taken, on rationalising lines, as Nero Redivivus (Erlécs).

The parallels cited above appear to render the reign of Vespasian the most probable date. The writer—probably a Christian—expected after Vespasian a short reign for his successor also. The tradition was that seven Roman emperors were destined to reign. Thereafter Nero was to come back with the Parthians, and, in alliance with these, to take vengeance on Rome, the bloody persecutor of the Christians (176; 'with the blood of the saints'; the words 'with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus' appear to be a gloss). The denunciation of Rome (chap. 18) connects itself very well with this prophecy (see *Sibyll.* 5).

It is further to be noted that chap. 17 has already, in the form in which we now have it, undergone redaction.

On the one hand, Nero is simply the eighth ruler who was one of the seven; on the other, he is the beast who comes up from the abyss. On the one hand, he wages war along with the Parthians against Rome; on the other, he wages war along with the kings of the earth against the lamb. In this redacted form (17812-14 or 15; cp also Völter) Nero is designated as the dread spectre of the time of the end who comes back from hell. Now, we find the same expectation in chap. 18, where Nero is plainly represented as dead (ὡς ἐθαψάνην, 'as though it had been smitten unto death') and as counterpart (Wiederspiel) of the lamb that had been slain and is to come again. This mode of representing Nero probably comes from the latest redactor. Parallels to it can be found in the later portions of the fifth book of the Sibyllines (33f. 215-26), and in the eighth book (1-215).

The legend of Nero Redivivus first arose towards the end of the century, a full generation after Nero's death, when he could no longer well be supposed to be still alive among the Parthians (cp Zahn, as above). Its reception into the Apocalypse supplies one of the elements for determining the date of the book.

Chap. 1612 ff. (the sixth and seventh vials) also must have originally belonged to chap. 17. In this passage the

46. Various fragments. angel pours out his vial upon the Euphrates, 'that the way may be made ready for the kings from the east' (cp 913 ff., with its reference to the angels bound and loosed at the Euphrates; on which, see Iselin in *Theol. Z. aus der*

Schweiz, 1887, as above, § 25). The representation of the gathering of the kings at Armageddon (Har-Magedon) in this passage is noteworthy; it is not very intelligible, as we read of no mountain of Megiddo, but only of a plain (but see ARMAGEDDON). It recalls the ancient accounts of battles of the gods upon the mountains (Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 263 ff. 389 n. 2).

Chap. 1414-20 also appears to be an ancient fragment. It thus early sets forth a final judgment by the Son of Man. The passage, however, is so very fragmentary that it is hardly possible for us to make out what its original character may have been (cp the expression 'without the city' in 1420). Bousset has sought to explain it by reference to the Antichrist legend.

Fragments of older date seem to have been introduced into the account of the chaining of the dragon, the millennium, the irruption of Gog and Magog (2010-15; cp 209, παραβολή των ἀντων, πάντες ἡγαπημένοι, and Athiop. *Enoch* 56, *Sibyll.* 3319-322). The description of the binding and loosing of Satan recalls the Persian legend of the chaining of the dragon Azi Dahak on Mt. Demavend. Finally, a continuous piece—perhaps of Jewish origin (see 2124-26 222)—lies before us in the description of the new Jerusalem, 219-225.

We ought to compare Tob. 1316 ff., Ps. Salom. 1723 ff., *Sibyll.* 5247-85, 414-33, and the Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elijah*, edited by M. Buttenwieser, 65-67. In this last-named Jewish source also we find the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven.

To summarise the results of the foregoing analysis: With the conclusion of the epistles to the seven churches

47. Summary. (chaps. 1-3) the Apocalypse, properly so called, begins. Here the first six seals succeeded one another uninterruptedly, till the interpolated fragment in 71-8 is reached. As a pendant to this fragment, with its distinctly Jewish character, the Apocalypst prophetically introduces in 79-17 a picture of the blessedness of believers from every nation who have come out of the great tribulation. Now follow the seventh seal and, arising out of this, the seven trumpets (chaps. 8-11). Between the sixth and the seventh trumpet, the passage 101-113 has been interpolated. In chap. 10 the Apocalypst indicates to some extent what the 'disposition' of the remainder of the book is to be (cp 1011). It is to be observed that in chaps. 9 ff., in addition to the distribution under seven trumpets, the Apocalypst has attempted a second under three woes. The first wo answers to the fifth trumpet; the second, the mention of which might have been expected after the sixth trumpet, does not come up until 1114, after the great interpolation has been reached. The third great wo (which is not expressly named by the Apocalypst) is doubtless indicated in 1212. It is hardly likely that we have here a redaction from an older source. Before, then, he comes to the culmination of his prophecy, in chap. 13, the Apocalypst casts his glance backwards in chap. 12. Borrowing the imagery of an ancient sun-myth, he depicts the birth, persecution, and rescue of the Saviour, and afterwards the persecution of the Church. In chap. 13 he goes on to foretell the coming final struggle, the last great and decisive battle between the faithful ones and the beast who demands adoration. For him the supreme crisis of this struggle still lies in the future, when Nero Redivivus is to appear. In the bright picture which he prophetically introduces at 145 by way of contrast to chap. 13, he adapts and modifies 71-8. 146-13 is intended to effect the transition to what follows. 1414-20 is a smaller interpolated fragment. The great finale remains. The Apocalypst still had to work in the prophecies contained in chap. 17 f.; by way of introduction to these, chap. 15 f. are given. Then follows, after an intermediate passage (191-10), the picture of the final judgment (1911-218); after which we have a new fragment, 219-225, followed by the close.

Literature.—The literature of the subject has been indicated in the course of the article.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

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Introductory (§§ 1-4)	Ascension of Isaiah (§§ 42-47)	Testaments of xii. Patriarchs (§§ 68-76)
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Enoch; Ethiopic (§§ 12-15); Slavonic (§§ 33-41)	Assumption of Moses (§§ 49-47)	Sibylline Oracles (§§ 86-95)

See *APOCRYPHA* for references to the following less important apocalypses.

Abraham (<i>APOCRYPHA</i> , § 1)	Elias (<i>APOCRYPHA</i> , § 10, 100, 10)	Paul (<i>APOCRYPHA</i> , § 1)
Adam (§§ 1, 10)	Esther (§§ 22, 100, 11)	Zephaniah (§§ 2, 100, 1)
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INTRODUCTORY: The objects and nature of apocalyptic literature (§§ 1-4).

I. APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH I.—A composite work derived from at least five authors, written mainly in

1. Synopsis Palestine, if not in Jerusalem, by Pharisees of **Article**, 770. A.D. 100. Preserved only in SYRIAC (§§ 5-17).

II. ETHIOPIC BOOK OF ENOCH.—Written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic by at least five Assidean authors (200-64 B.C.) in Palestine. Part I, chaps. 1-36 earlier than 170 B.C. Part II, chaps. 38-90, 166-161 B.C. Part III, chaps. 91-104, 134-95 B.C. Part IV. (the Similitudes) chaps. 37-70, 93-94 B.C. Part V. (the Book of Celestial Physics) chaps. 72-78, 82, 70. Part VI. (Fragments of a post-Apocalyptic Noah) (§§ 11, 10).

III. SLAVONIC BOOK OF ENOCH, OF THE BOOK OF THE SEVENTH OF ENOCH.—Written by an Alexandrian Jew, mainly from pre-existing materials, about A.D. 150. Eclectic in character; preserved only in Slavonic (§§ 33-41).

IV. ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.—A composite work, written originally in Greek, partly by Jewish, partly by Christian authors, A.D. 1-100. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Latin (§§ 42-47).

V. BOOK OF JUBILEES.—Written originally in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, probably 40-10 B.C. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Hebrew, SYRIAC, GREEK, LATIN, and SLAVONIC (§§ 48-53).

VI. ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—Written in Palestine, in Hebrew, 70-100 A.D., by a Pharisee. Preserved only in Latin (§§ 49-47).

VII. TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.—A composite work written originally in Hebrew by two Jewish authors representing respectively the legalistic and the apocalyptic sides of Pharisaism, 130 B.C.-10 A.D., and interpolated by a succession of Christian writers from the close of the 1st century down to the 4th century A.D. Preserved in Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic versions (§§ 68-76).

VIII. PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Written originally in Hebrew, possibly in Jerusalem, by two or more Pharisees, 70-40 B.C. (§§ 77-85).

IX. SIBYLLINE ORACLES.—Written in Greek hexameters by Jewish and Christian authors, mainly by the latter—the earliest portions belonging to the 2nd century B.C., the latest not earlier than the 3rd century A.D. (§§ 86-95).

INTRODUCTORY.—The object of apocalyptic literature in general was to solve the difficulties connected with

2. Problem. a belief in God's righteousness and the suffering condition of his servants on earth. The righteousness of God postulated the temporal prosperity of the righteous, and this postulate was accepted and enforced by the Law. But while the continuous exposition of the Law in the post-exilic period confirmed the people in their monotheistic faith and intensified their hostility to heathenism, their expectations of material well-being, which likewise the Law had fostered, were repeatedly falsified, and a grave contradiction thus emerged between the old prophetic ideals and the actual experience of the nation, between the promises of God and the bondage and persecution which the people had daily to endure at the hands of their pagan oppressors. The difficulties arising from this conflict between promise and experience might be shortly resolved into two, which deal respectively with the position (1) of the righteous as a community, and (2) of the righteous man as an individual.

The OT prophets had concerned themselves chiefly with the former, and pointed in the main to the restoration (or 'resurrection') of Israel as a nation, and to Israel's ultimate possession of the earth as a reward of righteousness. Later, with the growing claims of the individual, and the acknowledgment of these in the

religious and intellectual life, the second problem pressed itself irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers, and made it impossible for any conception of the divine rule and righteousness which did not render adequate satisfaction to the claims of the righteous individual to gain acceptance. Thus, in order to justify the righteousness of God, there was postulated not only the resurrection of the righteous nation but also the resurrection of the righteous individual. Apocalyptic literature, therefore, strove to show that, in respect alike of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and the final consummation of all things; and thus, in fact, it presented a Semitic philosophy of religion (cp *CHRONOLOGY OF OT*, § 1). The righteous as a nation should yet possess the earth either in an eternal or in a temporary Messianic kingdom, and the destiny of the righteous individual should finally be determined according to his works. For, though he might perish untimely amid the world's disorders, he would not fail to attain through the resurrection the recompense that was his due in the Messianic kingdom, or in heaven itself. The conceptions as to the duration and character of the risen life vary with each writer.

The writings that are treated of in the rest of this article, however, deal not only with the Messianic expectations but also with the exposition and application of the Law to the numberless circumstances of life. As Schürer has rightly observed, the two subjects with which Jewish thought and enthusiasm were concerned were the Law and the Messianic kingdom. These were, in fact, parallel developments of Pharisaism. As we have the former—its legalistic side—represented in the *Book of Jubilees*, so we have the latter—its apocalyptic and mystical side—set forth in the *Book of Enoch*. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* give expression to both sides of Pharisaism; but this book, as we shall see in the sequel, is really a composite work and springs from authors of different schools. The rest of the books here discussed belong mainly to the apocalyptic side of Pharisaism.

It is a characteristic of apocalyptic as distinguished from prophecy that the former trusts to the written, the latter to the spoken, word. This is due

3. Method. largely to the fact that the prophet addresses himself chiefly to the present and its concerns, and that, when he fixes his gaze on the future, his prophecy springs naturally from the circumstances of the present. The apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, almost wholly despairs of the present; his main interests are supramundane. He entertains no hope of arousing his contemporaries to faith and duty by direct and personal appeals. His pessimism and want of faith in the present thus naturally lead him to pseudonymous authorship, and so he approaches his countrymen with a writing which purports to be the work of some great figure in their history, such as Enoch, Moses, Daniel, or Baruch. The standpoint thus assumed is as skillfully preserved as the historical knowledge and conditions of the pseudonymous author admit, and the future of Israel is 'foretold' in a form enigmatical indeed

¹ On other Apocalypses of Baruch, see below, *APOCRYPHA*, § 20.

² On chaps. 71-80, see § 30.

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but generally intelligible. All precession ceases, however, when we come to the real author's own time: his predictions, thenceforward, are mere products of the religious imagination, and vary with each writer. In nearly every case, we should add, these books claim to be supernatural revelations given to the men by whose names they are designated.

It will not be amiss here to notice the gross misapprehension under which Jobst, Graetz, and other Jewish writers laboured when they pro-

4. Historical nounced this literature to be destitute of value for the history of Jewish religion. To such statements it is a sufficient answer that from 200 B.C. to 70 A.D. the religious and political ideals that really shaped the history of Judaism found their expression in this literature. It is not in the discussions and logomachies of the Rabbinical schools that we are to look for the influences and aims that called forth some of the noblest patriotism and self-sacrifice the world has ever witnessed, and educated the nation for the destinies that waited it in the first century of our era, but in the apocalyptic and pseudépi-graphic books which, beginning with Daniel, had a large share in preparing the most religious and ardent minds of Galilee and Judea either to pass over into Christianity, or else to hurl themselves in fruitless efforts against the invincible might of Rome, and thereby all but annihilate their country and name. Still it is true that the work of the scribes and the exposition of the schools had opened the way for this new religious and literary development. The eschatological element, moreover, which later attained its full growth in such pseudépi-graphic writings as Daniel, Enoch, Noah, etc., had already strongly asserted itself in later prophets such as Is. 24-27, Joel, Zech. 12-14. Not only the beginnings, therefore, but also a well-defined and developed type of this literature had already established itself in the OT. Its further developments were moulded, as we have pointed out above, by the necessities of the thought and by the historical exigencies of the time.

(Continued in introductory essay on Jewish apocalyptic, *ZATW* 3:200-28 (3); Schurer, *Hist.* 5:44 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Die jüd. Apokalypsen ihrer geschichtlichen Entstehung*, 137f. (Erbil).)

1. THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.—The Apocalypse of Baruch was for the first time made known to the modern world through a Latin version of Ceriani in 1866 (*Mon. Sacr.* i. 273-98). This version was made from a Syriac MS of the sixth century, the text of which was also in due course published by the same scholar, in ordinary type in 1871, and in a photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. An examination of the Syriac version makes it clear that this version is a translation from the Greek. It occasionally transliterates Greek words, and the text is at times explicable only on the supposition that the wrong alternatives of two possible meanings of certain Greek words have been followed by the translator. Even before Ceriani's publication, however, we had some knowledge of the Apocalypse of Baruch; for chaps. 78-86, which contain Baruch's Epistle to the nine tribes and a half that were in captivity, had already appeared in Syriac and Latin, in the London and the Paris Polyglots, in Syriac alone in Lagarde's *Lib. Vet. Test. Apoc. Syr.* 1861, in Latin alone in Fabricius's *Cod. Pseudep. Vet. Test.*, and in English in Whiston's *Authentic Records*. Ceriani's Latin version was republished in Fritzsche's *Lib. Apoc. Vet. Test.* ('71) in a slightly emended form; but, as the Syriac text was still inaccessible, Fritzsche's emendations are only guesses more or less fortunate—generally less.

We have just remarked that the Syriac version is a translation from the Greek. We shall now enumerate the reasons from which it appears that the Greek was in turn translated from a Hebrew original.

7. The original Hebrew.

(i.) The quotations from, or unconscious reproductions of, the OT agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against Q. (ii.) Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text. Thus there are many instances of the familiar Hebrew idiom of the infinitive absolute combined with the finite verb, and many breaches of Syriac grammar in the Syriac text are probably to be explained as survivals of Hebrew order and Hebrew syntax. (iii.) Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. Thus, among many others, the passages 21:9, 11, 13, 21:2 and 42:7 can be restored by retranslation into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of *δικαιοσύνη*, and this in turn of *צדק*; but *צדק* also *δικαιος* *εἶναι*, and this is the meaning required in the above passages, where the Greek translator erroneously adopted the commoner rendering, (iv.) Many *paronomasiae* disclose themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 41-53.

The final editor of this work assumes for literary purposes the person of Baruch, the son of Neriah.

8. Contents. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; the supposed time is the period immediately preceding and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldeans. Baruch, who begins by declaring that the word of the Lord came to him in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah,¹ speaks throughout in the first person. If we exclude the letter to the tribes in the captivity (chaps. 78-87), the work naturally divides itself into seven sections, separated from one another in all but one instance (*i.e.* after 35) by fasts which are, save at the end of the first section, of seven days' duration. The omission of a fast after chap. 35 may have been due either to an original oversight of the final editor or to the carelessness of a copyist.

That the text requires the insertion of such a fast is to be concluded on the following grounds:—According to the scheme of the final editor events proceed in each section in a certain order (see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 9, 36, 61). Thus first we find a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or disclosure, and finally an announcement of this to an individual or to the people. Thus in the fifth section, 21-34, we have a seven-days' fast (21), a prayer (24-26), a revelation (22-30), and an address to the people (21-24). Then another seven-days' fast should ensue at the beginning of the sixth section (36-40). With the exception of this omission events follow in this section as in the others.

These sections are very unequal in length—1-56

57-8 9-124 125-20 21-35 36-46 47-77—a fact that, though it does not in itself make against unity of authorship, confirms the grounds afterwards to be adduced for regarding the work as composite.

1. The first section (1-56) opens with God's revelation to Baruch regarding the coming destruction of Jerusalem. But a time of prosperity should return.

2. According to the next section (57-91), Baruch fasts until the evening, and the Chaldeans encompass Jerusalem next day. In a vision Baruch sees the sacred vessels removed from the temple by angels and hidden in the earth till the last times. The angels next overthrow the walls, the enemy are admitted and the people carried away captive to Babylon.

3. In the third section (92-124), Baruch fasts seven days, and receives a divine command to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon; but Baruch himself is to remain at Jerusalem to receive God's revelations regarding the future. Baruch bewails Jerusalem and the lot of the survivors. God sends him a sign of his anger, and that that hods a heart, O dust, that ye might go and announce in Sheol and say to the dead: "Blessed are ye more than we who live."

4. In the fourth section (125-20), Baruch fasts for seven days, and is told by God that he will be preserved till the end of time in order to bear testimony against the nations that oppressed Zion. When Baruch complains of the prosperity of the wicked, and the calamities of the righteous, God answers that the future world is made on account of the righteous—that the blessings of life are to be reckoned not by its length but by its quality and its end. Baruch is bidden not to publish this revelation (20:3).

5. In the fifth section (21-35), Baruch fasts, as usual, seven days. He deplores the bitterness of life, and supplicates God to bring about the promised end. God sends him of his ignorance, and declares that the end, though close at hand, cannot arrive till the predestined number of men be fulfilled, and again, in answer to Baruch's question respecting the nature and the duration of the judgment of the ungodly, describes the coming time of tribulation, which will be divided into twelve parts. At its close the Messiah will be revealed. Baruch summons a meeting of the elders in the valley of Kedron, and announces to them the future glory of Zion.

6. The sixth section (36-46) should begin with the missing fast of seven days. Shortly after, he has a vision of a cedar and a vine

1 We may observe here that Jeconiah reigned only three months, and was carried captive to Babylon eleven years before the fall of Jerusalem.

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which symbolise the Roman power and the triumph of the Messiah. When Baruch asks who shall share in the future blessedness, God answers: "To those who have believed there will be the blessedness that was spoken of anon:time. Baruch then (44-47) unites together his first-born son and seven of the elders, tells them of his approaching end, and exhorts them to keep the law, for 'a wise man will not be wanting to Israel, nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.'

7. After a fast of seven days, Baruch in the seventh section (47-77) prays for Israel. The revelations that ensue tell of the coming tribulation. Baruch bewails the evil effects of Adam's fall. In answer to his request, he is instructed as to the nature of the resurrection body, and in a *new vision* (53-74), he sees a cloud ascending from the sea and covering the whole earth. There was lightning about its summit, and soon it began to discharge first black waters and then clear, and again black waters and then clear, and so on till there had been six black waters and six clear. At last it rained black waters, darker than had been all that were before. Thereupon, the lightning on the summit of the cloud flashed forth and healed the earth where the last waters had fallen, and twelve streams came up from the sea and became subject to that lightning.

In the following chapters the vision is interpreted. The cloud is the world, and the twelve successive discharges of black waters and clear waters symbolise six evil periods and six good periods of the world's history. The eleventh period, symbolised by the black waters, pointed to the supposed present tribulation of Jerusalem. The rest of the interpretation follows to the future tense. The twelfth clear waters point to the renewed prosperity of Israel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The last black waters that were to flow pointed to troubles, earthquakes, and wars over the whole earth. Such as survived these were to fall by the hands of the Messiah. These blackest of all the waters were to be followed by clear waters, which symbolised the blessedness beyond a line between corruption and incorruption. "That time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is incorruptible." Baruch thanks God for the revelation vouchsafed. He is then informed of his coming departure from the earth, but is bidden first to go and instruct the people. He admonishes them to be faithful (chap. 77), and at their request sends two epistles, one to their brethren in Babylon (the two and a half tribes) and the other to the tribes (nine and a half) beyond the Euphrates. The latter is given in chaps. 78-87. It is probable that the lost letter to the two tribes and a half is identical with, or is the source of, the Greek Baruch 3:9-29. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 65-67.

From the discovery of the Apocalypse of Baruch in 1866 till 1861, it was regarded by scholars

9. Kabisch's theory of sources. In 1866 till 1861, it was regarded by scholars as the work of one author. In the latter year, Kabisch, in an article entitled 'Die Quellen der Apokalypse Baruchs' (*JPT*, 1870, pp. 66-107), showed beyond the possibility of question that the work was composite and derived from at least three or four authors.

This he distinguishes 1-24, 30-34, 41-52, and 75-87 as the groundwork written after 70 A.D., since these chapters imply the destruction of the temple. He further observes that these parts are marked by a despair which no longer looked for peace and happiness in this world, but fixed its regards on the world of incorruption. In the other pieces of the book there is a strong faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks for the consummation of Messianic bliss in this life; and, as Kabisch rightly remarks, the temple is still standing. Between these sections, however, are the work not of one writer but of three, being constituted as follows: a short *Apoc.* 24: 29, the Vine and Cedar Vision 36-40, and the Cloud Vision 53-74: 30: 52-4, 35 are due to the final editor.

This theory is certainly in the right direction. It is open, however, to unanswerable objections. There is no unity in the so-called groundwork.

10. Present writer's results. When submitted to a detailed criticism, it exhibits a mass of conflicting conceptions and statements. The results of such a criticism may be stated briefly as follows (for the details see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 53-67). 1-26 31-35 41-52 75-87 were written after the fall of Jerusalem, and were derived from three or possibly four authors, B₁, B₂, B₃, and possibly S.

B₁ = 1-9 43-44 47 57-82 84 86 f., written by a Pharisee who expected Jerusalem to be rebuilt and the dispersion to be brought back from exile.

B₂ = 12 13-25 30-35 41 f. 44-45 47-52 75 f. 88, also by a Pharisee who looked for no national restoration, but only for the recompense of the righteous in heaven.

B₃ = 85, written by a Jew in exile.
S. = 106-124, possibly by a Sadducee, but perhaps to be assigned to B₂.

The rest of the book was written before the fall of Jerusalem. It consists of an Apocalypse 27-30 (= A₁)

and the two Visions 36-40 (= A₂) and 53-74 (= A₃) already mentioned. All these different elements were combined by the final editor, to whom we owe also 4-6 26 28 47 52-4 and possibly some other additions.

Jewish religious thought inspired itself, as already observed, mainly with two subjects, the Messianic hope

11. Critical criteria. and the Law, and in proportion to the one became more prominent the other fell into the background. Now, the chapters written before 70 A.D. are mainly Messianic.

Chaps. 27-30 (A₁) and 36-40 (A₂) take account of the Law only indirectly, whereas in those written after that date the whole thought and hopes of the writers centre in the Law as their present mainstay and their source of future bliss. In chaps. 53-74 (A₃), again, the Messianic hope and the Law are equally emphasized. This writing marks the fusion of early Rabbinism and the popular Messianic expectation. (See Charles, *op. cit.*)

In the sections B₁ and B₂, on the other hand, written after the fall of Jerusalem, we have two distinct outlooks as to the future. In B₁ the writer is still hopeful as to the future of Jerusalem.

It is delivered into the hands of its enemies indeed, but only for a time (41:6). The consolation of Zion should yet be accomplished (44:7 81:4), and the ten tribes brought back from their captivity (75:84-10). Moreover, the tribulation of the Gentiles was close at hand (82:9), and in due time would arrive the judgment, in which God's justice and truth should exact their mighty due (85:9).

In B₂, on the other hand (and if possible still more in B₃—chap. 85), the writer is full of irremediable despair as to the earthly fortunes of Zion and its people in this world (106-11).

Destruction awaits this world of corruption (21:19 31:3). The righteous have naught to look for save the new world (44:12) the world that dies not (51:3), the world of incorruption (85:5). Only in the world to come will every man be recompensed in the resurrection according to his works (50:7), when the wicked shall go into torment and the righteous shall be made like unto the angels.

In the sections written before the fall of Jerusalem, the Messianic element, which was wanting in B₁, B₂, and B₃, is predominant. The three Apocalypses 27-30 (A₁) 36-40 (A₂) 53-74 (A₃) have many features in common—such as an optimistic outlook as to Israel's earthly prosperity, the earthly rule of the Messiah till the close of this world, and the material blessings of his kingdom. There are, however, good grounds for regarding them as of different authorship. The Messianic reign is to close with the final judgment. On the Eschatology of the book see, further, *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 78.

All the elements of this book are distinctly Jewish. Its authors, as already observed, were Pharisees, full of confidence in the future glories of their nation, either in this world or in the next, notwithstanding their present humilitations. They entertain the most lofty conceptions as to the divine election and the absolute pre-eminence of their race.

It was on Israel's account that not only the present world (14:19) but also the coming world (15:7) was created. Israel is God's chosen people whose life is not on earth (48:20); the perpetual felicity of Israel lay in the fact that they had not mingled with the nations (48:22). The one law which they had received from the one God (48:24) could help and justify them (51:3); for so far as they kept its ordinances they could not fall (48:22); their works would save them (14:12 51:6 83:3). In due time also all nations should serve Israel; but such of them as had injured Israel should be given to the sword (72:6). The carnal sensuous nature of the Messiah, and the resurrection (72:6-74) is essentially Pharisaic. There was to be a general resurrection (42:8 12); but apparently only Israel should be saved (51:4).

1 It is possible to determine approximately the earlier limit of the composition of A₃ by means of what we might call the Enochic canon. This is: *No early Jewish book which extols Enoch could have been written after 50 A.D., and the assertion of Enoch's words and achievements as a law-giver to other OT heroes is a sign that it was written after the Pauline A.D. onwards (cp. Enoch) is to be traced to Enoch's acceptance among the Christians as a Messianic prophet.* For the grounds and illustrations of this canon see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 21-22, 107. Now, in 50 51:11 of this Apocalypse many of Enoch's functions and revelations are assigned to Moses. Hence A₃ was written after 50 A.D.

The affinities of Apoc. Bar. with 4 Esdras are so striking and so many that Ewald ascribed the two books to the same author. Though this view has not

13. Affinity with 4 Esd. been accepted in later criticism, it will not be amiss to draw attention to these affinities. (1) The main features of the two books are similar. They have one and the same object—to deplore Israel's present calamities and awaken hope in the coming glories, temporal or spiritual, of their race.

In both the speaker is a notable figure of the time of the Babylonian captivity. In both there is a sevenfold division of the work, and an interval (as a rule, of seven days) between each two divisions; and, whereas in the one Ezra devotes forty days to the restoration of the scriptures, in the other Baruch is bidden to spend forty days in admonishing Israel before his departure from the earth.

(2) They have many doctrinal peculiarities in common. According to both, man is saved by his works (4 Esd. 7 77 8 33 9 7, *Ap. Bar.* 2 24 12 etc.); the world was created in behalf of Israel (4 Esd. 6 85 7 119 13, *Ap. Bar.* 14 19 15 etc.); man came not into the world of his own will (4 Esd. 8 5, *Ap. Bar.* 14 11 48 75); a predetermined number of men must be attained before the end (4 Esd. 4 36 7, *Ap. Bar.* 23 45); God will visit his creation (4 Esd. 5 55 6 33 9 2, *Ap. Bar.* 20 24 4); Adam's sin was the cause of physical death (4 Esd. 3 7, *Ap. Bar.* 23 4); the souls of the good are kept safe in treasures till the resurrection (4 Esd. 4 35 37 32 8 9 55, *Ap. Bar.* 20 20 0).

This list might have been indefinitely added to. On the other hand, there are clear points of divergence.

14. Divergence with 4 Esd. In Esdras the Messianic reign is limited to 400 years (7 28 f.), whereas in Baruch this period is quite indeterminate. Again, in the former (7 29) the Messiah is to die, and the Messianic reign is to close with the death of all living things; whereas in the latter, according to 30, the Messiah is to return in glory to heaven at the close of his reign, and, according to 73 f., this reign is to be eternal, though it is to belong partly to this world and partly to the next.

Again, in Esdras the writer urges that God's people should be punished by God's own hands and not by the hands of their enemies (5 29 f.), for these have overthrown the altar and destroyed the temple, and made the holy place a desolation (10 21 f.). In Baruch it is described at length how the holy vessels were removed by angels and the walls of Jerusalem demolished by the same agency before the enemy drew nigh (6-8).

On the question of original sin likewise these two books are at variance. Whilst in Esdras the entire stream of physical and ethical death is traced to Adam (3 7 21 f., 4 30 7 48), and the guilt of his descendants minimised at the cost of their first parent (yet see 8 55-61), Baruch derives physical death indeed from Adam's transgression (17 3 23 4 54 15), but as to ethical death declares that "each man is the Adam of his own soul" (54 19; yet see 48 42).

It will be clear from the facts set forth above that the relations of these two apocalypses constitute a complex problem. If we attempt to deal with this problem on the supposition that each book is derived from a single author, no solution is possible; and the barrenness of criticism hitherto in this direction is due to this supposition of their unity. When, however, we come perforce to recognise their composite nature, we enter at the same time on the road that leads to the desired goal. For a provisional study of the relations between the various constituents of this apocalypse and 4 Esdras, the reader can consult Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 67-76. The results of this study tend to show that, whilst some of the constituents of 4 Esdras are older than the latest of Baruch, other constituents of Baruch are decidedly older than the remaining ones of 4 Esdras.

The points of contact between this apocalypse and the NT are many; but they are for the most part insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side. The thoughts and expressions in questions are explicable from pre-existing literature or as commonplaces of the time.

15. Real relation. Such, among many others, are Mt. 3 16, *Ap. Bar.* 23 1, Mt. 26 24, *Ap. Bar.* 10 6, Lk. 21 28, *Ap. Bar.* 23 7, Rom. 8 18, *Ap. Bar.* 15 8. The following passages are of a different nature and postulate the dependence of our apocalypse on the

NT, or possibly, in one or two of the instances, of both on a common source.

With Mt. 16 26, 'For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' cp *Ap. Bar.* 51 15, 'For what then have men lost their life, or for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?' Also with 1 Cor. 15 19, 'If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable,' cp *Apoc. Bar.* 21 13, 'For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.' Also with 1 Cor. 15 35, 'How are the dead raised and with what manner of body do they come?' cp 49 2, 'In what shape will those live who live in that day?' Cp also Lk. 1 42 with *Ap. Bar.* 54 10, Jas. 1 2 with 52 6, and Rev. 4 6 with 51 2.

As the Apocalypse of Baruch was written between 50 and 100 A.D. it furnishes us with the historical setting and background of many of the NT problems, and thereby enables us to estimate the contributions made in this respect by Christian thought. Thus, whereas, from 49-51, we see that the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection in 1 Cor. 15 35-50 was not an innovation but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism, it is clear, on the other hand, from the teaching of this book on Works and Justification, Forgiveness and Original Sin and Freewill (see Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 80-85), what a crying need there was for the Pauline dialectic, and what an immense gulf lay herein between Christian and Rabbinic teaching. No ancient book is so valuable in attesting the Jewish doctrine of that period.

17. Value. *Bibliography.*—In addition to the works already mentioned, the reader may consult Langen, *De Apoc. Bar. comm.* (67); Ew. *GGA* (67), 1706-17, 1720; *Hist. of Israel*, 8 57-61; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (77), 117-132; Kneucker, *Das Buch Bar.* (79), 190-198; Di. 'Pseudep.' in *PRE* (2), 12 356-358; Deane, *Pseudep.* (91), 130-162.

II. THE BOOK OF ENOCH.—By the exegesis of later times, the statement that Enoch walked with God (Gen. 5 24; see ENOCH) was taken to mean that he enjoyed superhuman privileges of intercourse with God, and in this intercourse received revelations as to the nature of the heavens and the earth, the present lot and the destinies of men and angels. It was natural, therefore, that an apocalyptic literature should seek the shelter and authority of his name in ages when such literature became current. In the *Book of Enoch* preserved in Ethiopic we have large fragments of this literature proceeding from a variety of Jewish writers in Palestine; and in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* preserved in Slavonic we have further portions of it, written originally by Hellenistic Jews in Egypt. To the latter book we shall return.

The Book of Enoch as translated into Ethiopic belongs to the last two centuries B.C. All the writers of the NT were familiar with it and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production in the Epistle of Jude (14 f.) and as Scripture in that of Barnabas (*Ep.* 4 3 16 5). The authors of the *Secrets of Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Apoc. Bar.* and 4 Esd. laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book; but towards the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries it began to be discredited, and finally it fell under the ban of the Church. The latest references to it are to be found in Synellus and Cedrenus, who have preserved large fragments of the Greek version. The book was then lost sight of till 1773, when two MSS of the Ethiopic version were discovered by Bruce. From one of these MSS Lawrence made the first modern translation of Enoch in 1821.

18. Jewish view of Enoch. Enoch was originally written in Heb. or Aram., not in Greek. On this question the chief Apocalyptic scholars are practically agreed.

19. Book of Enoch: its fortunes. In the case of chaps. 1-82 this view is established beyond the reach of controversy; for in 10 9 19 18 8 27 2 28 1 29 1 31 1 of the Greek version we find that the translator transliterated Heb. or

Enoch was originally written in Heb. or Aram., not in Greek. On this question the chief Apocalyptic scholars are practically agreed.

20. Language. In the case of chaps. 1-82 this view is established beyond the reach of controversy; for in 10 9 19 18 8 27 2 28 1 29 1 31 1 of the Greek version we find that the translator transliterated Heb. or

Aram. words that were unintelligible to him. The same view as to the remaining chapters has been amply proved in the *Journ. As. Soc.* (187) 352-355 by Halevy, who regards the entire work as derived from a Hebrew original. See also Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 21-22, 305. Recently some Dutch and German scholars have argued for an Aram. original on the ground that three Aram. forms have been preserved in the Gizeh Greek fragment—viz. *fovea* in 184, *ἄσπασμα* in 281, and *ἄσπασμα* in 291. The first is, it is true, an Aram. form of *ῥῶ* and the two latter of *ῥῶ*. This argument, however, is inconclusive. We find *fovea* in 2 k. 147 [BA⁷] as a transliteration of *ῥῶ*, and *Asa* in Neh. 2:14 [BR] as a transliteration of *ῥῶ*; and there are other instances of the same peculiarity in *ῥῶ*. Hence the presence of such Aramaisms in a text is not sufficient in itself to establish an Aram. original.

The Heb. original was translated into Greek, and from Greek into Ethiopic and Latin. Of the Greek

21. Versions

—Greek. version chaps. 6:9-8:10-14 15:16: have come down to us through Syncellus (circ. 800 A.D.), and 89:42-49 through a Vatican MS.; but the most important fragment of this version—the Gizeh Greek fragment—was discovered only a few years ago by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published in 1892.

M. Lods's critical edition of this fragment, accompanied by a translation, appeared almost simultaneously, and next year it was edited by the present writer, with an exhaustive comparison of the Greek and Ethiopic versions of 1-32, as an Appendix to his work on *Enoch*. The other Greek fragments will be found in the same work. The Gizeh fragment was edited also by Dillmann (*SB.H.* [97], li. iii. 1039-1054, 1079-1092). The fragments of the Greek *Enoch* with a critical apparatus are to be published in the 2nd edition of vol. iii. of Swete's Cambridge LXX.

The Latin version is wholly lost—with the exception of 19, which is found in a treatise of the Pseudo-Cyprian

22. Latin.

mentioned in *Act. Apostolorum* (see Zahn's *Grundr. d. N.T. kanon. 2:57-58*), and 106:1-18, which owes its discovery to Mr. James, in an eighth-century MS in the British Museum. This fragment is critically edited in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 372-375. *Times*, *Illustrated Annual*, 149-150.

The Ethiopic version alone preserves the entire text, and that in a more accurate and trustworthy form than

23. Ethiopic.

the other versions. It has fewer additions, fewer omissions, and fewer and less serious corruptions.

I. *The Ethiopic MSS.* The Ethiopic MSS are comparatively many. There are about twenty scattered throughout the libraries of Europe; half of them are found in the British Museum. The best of all the known MSS is undoubtedly that designated *Bezae*, 78 in the British Museum.

II. *Editions of the Ethiopic Text.*—Only two editions have appeared: that of Lawrence in 1868 from one MS, and that of Dillmann in 1851 from five MSS. Unhappily, these MSS were late and corrupt. The present writer hopes to issue a text based on the incomparably better MSS now accessible to scholars. Such a text is actually presupposed in his Translation and Commentary of 1893.

III. *Translations and Commentaries.*—Translations accompanied by Commentaries have been issued by Lawrence (21), Hoffmann (33-38), Dillmann (53), Schodde (52), and Charles (93). Of Dillmann's and Schodde's Translations the reader will find a short review in Charles (6-9).

IV. *Critical Inquiries.*—Some account of these will be found in Schürer, *Hist. Jews*, and in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 302-311. Of the many works on this book the following deserve special mention here. Lücke, *Einl. in d. Offenb. des Joh.* (2d ed.) Ew. *Abhandl. über d. heb. Buches Henoch* (Leipzig, 1852), *Sinn, und Zusammensetzung* (55); Köstlin, 'Ueb. die Entsteh. d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, pp. 240-279 370-387). Hilgenfeldt, *Die jüdische Apokalypsis* (57), 91-94; Goldbardt, 'Die 70 Hirten des Buches Henoch und drei Deutungen' (*Merk's Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A.T.* 1872, vol. ii. Heft 2:163-246); Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (87), 175-1; Lipsius in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* (89), 2:14-128; Schürer, *Hist.* 5:54-73; Lawlor, *Journ. Phil.* vol. 88, pp. 164-168 [87].

The Book of Enoch is a fragmentary survival of an entire literature that once circulated under his name.

24. Compositeness.

To this fact the plurality of books assigned to Enoch from the first may in some sense point to: as, for instance, the expression 'books' in 104:12; *Test. xii. Patr.* Jud. 18; Origen, *c. Celsum*, 5:54, and elsewhere. Of this literature five distinct fragments have been preserved in the five books into which the Book of Enoch is divided (1-36

37-71 72-82 83-90 91-108). These books were originally separate treatises; in later times they were collected and edited, but were much mutilated in the course of redaction and incorporation into a single work. In addition to this Enoch literature, the final editor of the book made use of a lost apocalypse, the Book of Noah (mentioned in Jubilees 10:13 21:10), from which he drew 6:11 (7) 17-19 34:14 41:1 43:17 54:7 55:4 59:7 65:69-75 106:6. Another fragment of the Book of Noah has been embodied in the Book of Jubilees (see below, § 57).

We have already remarked that in the five books into which the whole work is divided we have the writings

25. Criticism. of five different authors. Before we proceed to give some of the grounds for this statement, we shall give in merest outline the different constituents found in the work by the chief scholars who have studied the subject.

Lücke in his *Einl.* (see above, § 23) regards the book as consisting of two parts. The first part embraces 1-36 72-105, written at the beginning of the Maccabean revolt, or about the year of his later view, in the reign of John Hyrcanus; the second consists of the Similitudes (36-71), and was written in the early days of Herod the Great. In the latter, however, there are some interpolations. Hoffmann (J. Chr. K.) ascribes the entire work to a Christian author of the second century. In this view he was followed later by Weisse and Philippi. Hoffmann deserves mention in this connection on the ground of his having been the first to give the correct interpretation of the seven shepherds in 89:6. Ew. in his *Abhandl.* (see above, § 23) gives the following scheme:—Book I. (67-71) (72-105) 106:1-18; Book II. (1-4) 1-4 74 74-105 (106:1-18); Book III. (20-26) 20-26 100:7 (106:1-18) 106:1-18; 108 later; Book IV., the Book of Noah (65:6-7 8:1-9 10:13 11:1 12:1 17-19 51:7-9 52:1-3 53:1-3 54:1-3) somewhat later than the preceding. Köstlin in his essay (see above, § 23), a contribution of great worth, arrives at the following analysis:—the groundwork, 1:1-15 21:1-26 72:10-11, 73:1-10; the Similitudes (37-71 and 17-19) before 64 B.C.; Noachic fragments 64:7-10 65:1-3 66:1-3 67:1-3 68:1-3 69:1-3 70:1-3 71:1-3 106:1-18; 108 is an Enochic addition. Hilgenfeldt (see above) regards the groundwork, consisting of 1-16 20-36 72-105, as written before 98 B.C.; and the remaining chapters as coming from the hand of a Christian Gnostic after the time of Saturninus. The interesting study of Tideman (*ZfM.* [1875] 261-266), and the works of Lipsius, Schürer, Drummond, enumerated above (§ 23), and Schodde (*The Book of Enoch*, 2d ed. 1893) only be mentioned here. As Dillmann changed his mind three times, and in each instance for the better, it will be enough to give his final analysis. The groundwork (1-36 72-105), in the time of John Hyrcanus; the Similitudes and 17-19, before 64 B.C.; the Noachic fragments (65:6-7 8:1-9 10:13 11:1 12:1 17-19 51:7-9 52:1-3 53:1-3 54:1-3) 106:1-18; 108 from a later hand.

We shall now proceed to discuss this question *disjunct*, and endeavour to find the criticism of the book one further stage towards finality.

Disregarding the interpolations from the Book of Noah already mentioned as well as the closing chapter, we find that all critics are agreed in ascribing the Similitudes (37-70) to an authorship different from the rest. The remaining chapters (1-36 72-104) have been regarded by all critics except Ewald and Lipsius as proceeding from one and the same author; but these scholars, while differing from each other, have not persuaded any one but themselves as to the justness of their respective analyses. In their contention, however, as to the compositeness of these chapters they were undoubtedly right. This question has been gone into at length in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 55 f., 187-189, 220 f., 260-263, where grounds are given for believing that sections 1-36, 72-82, 83-90, and 91-104 are writings distinct as to authorship, system of thought, and date. We must now proceed to sketch briefly the various independent writings contained in the entire work, assigning to each its most probable date.

Part I., consisting of chaps. 1-36 (for the Noachic interpolations, see § 24), was written at latest before

27. Chaps. 170 B.C., and mainly from the prophetic standpoint of such chapters as Is. 65.

1-36. This is, undoubtedly, the oldest part of the book, being anterior to 72-82, 83-90, 91-104, as it is used by the writers of these sections.

As 83-90 was written not later than 161 B.C., 1-36 must be some years earlier, and, as there is no allusion to the Maccabees

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of Antiochus Epiphanes, the above date, 170, is the latest reasonable limit for its composition.

This book (1.1-1.36) is the oldest piece of Jewish literature that teaches the general resurrection of Israel, describes Sheol according to the conception that prevails in the NT as opposed to that of the OT, or represents Gehenna as a final place of punishment (cp *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 63). The problem of the author is to justify the ways of God to men.

The righteous will not suffer always (11). Sin is the cause of this suffering, and the sin of man is due to the lust of the angels—the Watchers (9.6-10.9). Hence the Watchers, their companions, and their children, must be punished. Their destruction will form the prelude to the first world-judgment, of which the Deluge will form the completion (10.1-3). Sin still prevailed after the Deluge, however, through the influence of the evil spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (10.1). These act with impunity till the final judgment. In the meantime character finds its recompense in some measure immediately after death (22). In the last judgment the Watchers, the demons, and all classes of Israelites with one exception, will receive their final award (1.9-2.213). This judgment is preceded by a general resurrection of Israel (22). The wicked are cast into Gehenna (27.2); the earth is cleansed from sin (10.20-22); the Messianic kingdom is established, with Jerusalem as a centre (25.5); and God abides with men (25.3). The Gentiles are converted (10.12). The righteous eat of the tree of life (25.4-6) and thereby enjoy patriarchal lives (5.9). As to what befalls the righteous after the second death there is no hint in this fragmentary section.

Part II., consisting of 83-90, was written between 100 and 170 B.C., mainly from the same standpoint as Daniel. On a variety of grounds, we are obliged to discriminate this section from the preceding.

It will be enough to mention that, whereas in this there is a Messiah, in the preceding there was none; in this the life of the righteous is apparently unending, in the other it was finite; in this the scene of the kingdom is the New Jerusalem set up by God himself, in the other it was Jerusalem and the entire earth unchanged though purified. Finally, the picture in 83-90 is developed and spiritual, whilst that in 1-36 was naive, primitive, and sensuous.

The date assigned above is not difficult to fix.

The Hasidim (see *ASIDEANS*), symbolised by the lambs that are born to the white sheep (90.6), are already an organised party in the Maccabean revolt; the lambs that become horned are the Maccabean family, and the great horn who is still waxing while the author of the section is writing is Judas the Maccabee (90.9), who died in 161 B.C.

Chapters 83-90 recount two visions: 83-7, dealing with the first world-judgment; 85-90, dealing with the entire history of the world till the final judgment. In the second vision the author considers the question of Israel's unmerited suffering.

Israel has indeed sinned; but the punishment immeasurably transcends its guilt. These undue severities, the author shows, have not come from the hand of God; they are the doing of the seventy shepherds into whose care God committed Israel (89.59). These shepherds or angels have proved faithless to their trust; but not with impunity. An account has been taken of all their deeds (89.61-64), and for them and for their victims there is laid up a due recompense (90.33). Moreover, when the outlook is darkest, a league of the righteous is organised in Israel (90.6). In it there will arise a family from which will come forth the deliverer of Israel, Judas the Maccabee (90.9-16). Every effort of the Gentiles to destroy him will prove vain, and God's appearance in person to judge will be the signal for their destruction. The apostates will be cast into Gehenna, and the wicked angels into an abyss of fire (90.20-25). God himself will set up the New Jerusalem (90.25-29); the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Israel (90.29); the righteous dead will be raised to take part in the kingdom; and finally the Messiah will appear among them (90.37). The Messianic kingdom lasts on earth for ever, and its members enjoy everlasting blessedness.

It will be observed that this is the earliest appearance of the Messiah in non-canonical literature (see *MESSIAH*, § 5; *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 60). He has, however, no rôle to play: he has not as yet vindicated for himself a place in the apocalyptic doctrine of the last things.

Part III., consisting of 91-104, was written between 134 and 95 B.C. The well-defined opposition of the

29. Chaps. 91-104. Pharisees and the Sadducees depicted in this section cannot have been earlier than the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees (see *ISRAEL*, § 78; *SCRIBES*, § 18); hence not earlier than 134 B.C. On the other hand, it cannot

have been later than 95 B.C. as the merely passing reference to persecution in 103.15 could hardly be interpreted of Janneus after his savage massacres of the Pharisees in 95 B.C., which won for him the title, 'the slayer of the pious.'

This section was originally, like 83-90, an independent writing. In adapting it to its present environment, the redactor of the entire work broke up its original arrangement. In order to recover this we must read it in the following order—92.01-1-10 93.1-10 91.12-10 94-104. On a variety of grounds (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 260-263), we must attribute this work to quite another author than that of either of the preceding sections.

In passing from 83-90 to 91-104 we enter on a world of new conceptions (cp *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 64. f.). In all previous apocalyptic writings the resurrection and the final judgment have been the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom; whereas in the present writing these great events are relegated to the close of the Messianic kingdom, and not till then do the righteous enter into their reward. This kingdom is temporary (91.12-15); there is no Messiah; the righteous with God's help vindicate their just cause and destroy their oppressors. On the close of the kingdom follow the final judgment (91.15) and the risen spiritual life of blessedness in a new heaven (91.10-92.3). In this view of the future the centre of interest has obviously passed from the material world to the spiritual, and the Messianic kingdom is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their faith finds its satisfaction only in a blessed immortality in heaven itself. This immortality is an immortality of the soul only (103.3-4). As for the wicked, they will descend into the pain of Sheol and abide there everlastingly (98.3-104.7). Here (103.7) Sheol appears as Hell for possibly the first time.

Part IV. The Similitudes, consisting of **30. Similitudes**; 37-70, were written between 94 and 79 B.C., or between 70 and 64 B.C.

'The kings and the mighty,' so often denounced, are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters: the later Maccabean princes, for the blood of the righteous was not shed (as the writer complains, 47.2.2) before 95 B.C.; not the Herods, for the Sadducees were not allies of the Herods, and Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers. This last fact necessitates an earlier date than 64 B.C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judaea.

In his attempt to solve the problem of the suffering of the righteous, the author of the Similitudes has no interest save for the moral and spiritual world. His view, too, is strongly apocalyptic, and follows closely in the wake of Daniel.

The origin of sin is traced one stage farther back than in 1-36. The first authors of sin were the Satans (40.7). The Watchers fell through becoming subject to these and leading mankind astray (54.6). Though the Watchers were forthwith confined in a deep abyss, sin still flourishes in the world and sinners deny the name of the Lord of Spirits (38.2) and of his Anointed (48.10), and the kings and the mighty oppress the children of God (62.11). Suddenly there will appear the Head of 140ys, and with him the Son of Man (40.2-3 48.2), to execute judgment upon all alike. To this end there will be a resurrection of all Israel (51.1-61.5), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41.9 69.27), who will judge all according to their deeds (41.1). Sin and wrong-doing will be bani-shed from the earth (49.2), and heaven and earth be transformed (45.4.5), and the righteous will have their mansions in Paradise (39.6-41.2). The Elect One will dwell among them (45.4); they will be clad in garments of life (62.15.16), become angels in heaven (61.4), and continue to grow in knowledge and righteousness (68.5).

It will be observed that the Messianic doctrine in this section is unique, not only as regards the other sections of Enoch but also in Jewish literature as a whole (see, further, *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 66).

The Messiah exists from the beginning (48.2); he sits on the throne of God (45.3 47.3), and possesses universal dominion (62.6); and all judgment is committed unto him (69.27). If we turn to the other sections we find that in 1-36 and 91-104 there is no Messiah at all; whilst in 83-90 the Messiah is evidently human, and has no rôle to play in the doctrine of the last things.

If the reader will turn to the list of Noachic interpolations (see above, § 24) he will find that many of them are to be found in this section.

They have as a rule been drawn from an already existing Apocalypsis of Noah, and adapted by an editor to their present context in Enoch. This he does by borrowing from the Similitudes characteristic terms, such as 'Lord of Spirits', 'Head of Days', 'Son of Man', to which, however, either through ignorance or of set intention, he generally gives a new connotation.

Chapter 71 does not belong to the Similitudes. It shows the same misuse of characteristic phrases as the interpolations just referred to (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 183 f.).

Part V., the Book of Celestial Physics, consists of

31. Celestial 72-78 82 79. This, like the preceding
Physics (chaps. sections, is a work of independent
72-78, 82, 79). authorship. There are no means of determining its date.

It has suffered from both disarrangements and interpolations at the hands of the editor of the whole work. In the first place, 80 f. is a manifest intrusion written from a standpoint quite different from that of the rest. In the next place, 82 does not stand in its original position. The opening words of 79 in fact presuppose 82 as already read. We have found a similar dislocation of the text in Part III.

Part VI., the Noachian and other interpolations. These have been enumerated above (§ 24).

The influence of Enoch on Jewish literature (to exclude

32. Influence for the moment the NT) is seen in
of Enoch. *Jubilees* (written about the beginning of the Christian era), in the Slavonic *Enoch* (1-50 A.D.), *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Apo. Bar.*, and in 4 Esdras.

In Jewish apocalyphe before 40 A.D. Enoch was the chief figure next to Daniel; but his acceptance by the Christians as a Messianic prophet led to his rejection by the Jews. See note on § 10.

In patristic literature, Enoch is twice cited as Scripture in Ep. Barn. (43 165). It is also quoted with approval, though not always by name, by Justin Martyr, Iren. and Athenag., Tert., Clem. Alex., Orig., Anatolius. Thenceforward it is mentioned with disapproval by Hilary, Chrys., Jer., August., and finally condemned in explicit terms in the *const. Ap. 6* 16.

Far more important than its influence on Jewish literature, was its influence on NT diction (a) and doctrine (b).

(a) We shall here draw attention only to the indubitable instances. Enoch is quoted directly in Jude 14 f. Phrases, clauses, or thoughts derived from it, or of closest kin with it, are found in *Judea* 1: 7; *Rev.* 2: 7 3: 10 4: 6 7: 9 9: 1 14: 20 14 5; *Rom.* 8: 28 9: 5; *1 Joh. 1: 1*; *1 Joh. 1: 13*; *Acts* 9: 14; *Jn.* 5: 22 27; *Lk.* 9: 35 16: 25 1; *Mt.* 19: 28 25: 41 29: 28.

(b) The doctrines in Enoch that had a share in moulding the analogous NT doctrines, or formed a necessary link in the development of doctrine from the OT to the NT, are those concerning the Messianic kingdom and the Messiah, Sheol and the resurrection, and demonology, on which reference must be made to the separate articles on these heads and to ESCHATOLOGY. We here content ourselves with remarking, as regards the doctrine of the Messiah, that four titles, afterwards reproduced in the New Testament, are first applied to the personal Messiah in the Similitudes. These titles are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One,' 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' and 'the Son of Man.' The first title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time (48 to 52 4) applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is here associated with supernatural attributes. The second and the third of these titles, found first in Enoch, have passed over into the NT—the former occurring in *Acts* 3: 14 7: 52 22: 14, the latter in *Lk.* 9: 35 23: 35. The last title, that of 'the Son of Man,' is historically the source of the New Testament designation. To the latter it contributes some of its most characteristic contents (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 312-317).

III. THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH.—This book has, as far as is yet known, been preserved only in

33. Secrets Slavonic. For the sake of convenience
of Enoch: we shall call it 'the Slavonic Enoch,'
its fortunes. in contradistinction to the older book, which for the same reason we shall designate 'the Ethiopic Enoch.'

This new fragment of the Enochic literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS, some of which were found in Russia and some in Servia. Although the very knowledge of such a book was lost for probably twelve hundred years, the book was much used by both Christians and heretics in the early centuries.

Citations appear from it, though without acknowledgment, in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, *Apo. Bar.* and *Pand.* (400-500 A.D.), *Sibylline Oracles*, *Asc. Joh.* and *h. of Bar.* (70-90 A.D.). It is quoted by name in the apocalyptic portions of the *Test. of the xii. Patr.* (circa A.D.). It was referred to by Orig. and probably by Clem. Alex., and was used by Iren. Some phrases of the NT may have derived from it.

There are five Slavonic MSS: in two of them the complete text is found, while the remaining three supply only a shortened and incomplete redaction. For the edition published by the present writer the two best of the above MSS (A and B) were translated and put at the service of the editor by Mr. Morfill.

34. The The editor had at his disposal also Mr. Morfill's translation of Prof. Sokolov's text, which is founded on these and other MSS. In 1856 Prof. Bonawitsh published his *Das Slavonische Henochbuch*, in which he gives a German translation of the MSS A and B side by side, preceded by a short introduction.

(a) The main part of the 'Slavonic Enoch' was written in Greek.

This is clear from such statements as (1) 80 13, 'And I gave him a name (i.e., Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is thus derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters—*ανατολη*, *δυσος*, *αρκτος*, *μεσημβρια*. This derivation was first elaborated in Greek: it is impossible in the Semitic languages. (2) The writer follows the chronology of *Eccl.* (3) In 50 4 he reproduces the *Eccl.* text of *Eccl.* 32 35 against the Hebrew. (4) He constantly uses Ecclesiasticus, which was current chiefly in Egypt.

(b) Certain portions were based on Hebrew originals. Such a hypothesis is necessary to account for the quotations from it or references to it which appear in the *Test. xii. Patr.* The fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author drew upon Hebrew originals in quotations and references.

36. Place. The book was written in Egypt.

This is deducible from the following facts:—(1) The variety of speculations which it holds in common with Hellenic and other Hellenistic works; these souls were created before the foundation of the world, 23 5 (ep. Philo, *De Somn.*, 102; *Wisd. Solom.*). Again, man had seven natures, 80 9 (ep. Philo, *De Mundi Op.*, 40). (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the OT does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenised Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with most of its books. (3) Such monstrous creatures as appear in chap. 12 are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The fantastic character of the creation narrative in 25 f. betrays Egyptian elements.

Materials originally derived from this book are discoverable in Joel and Cedrenus (1050-1200 A.D.), though in these authors the materials are assigned to other names. Two passages of the *books of Adam and Eve* (see

37. Relation to other works.

to other works. *ΜΕΤΕΦΥΣΙΑ*, § 10) in 1E and 1E are all but quotations from 29 f. and 31 f. of our book. Again in the *Apo. Mosei*, 10 (ed. Tisch. 1866), we have a further development of 14 2-4 of our text, just as in *Apo. Paul.* 64 οὐδὲ ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, εἶδη . . . δένδρον . . . ἐν ᾧ ἐπαυκασιετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is a Christian adaptation of 83, 'And in the midst (of Paradise) is the tree of life—on which God rests when he comes into Paradise.' The section on the derivation of Adam's name in the anonymous *De Montibus Sinae et Zion*, 4, is to be referred to 23-30 13, and Augustine's speculation, *De Civ.* xxii. 80 50, on the eighth eternal day to 32 2.

Still earlier we find almost a verbal reproduction of 50 5-51 1 in the Sibylline Oracles, 275. In Irenæus, *Contra Her.* v. 28 3, the Jewish speculation of 33 f. is reproduced, and possibly in Origen (see Lommatschek ed., vol. xxi. 59). However this may be, there is no doubt as to the derivation of 23-30 13 in the *De Princ.* 1: 32, 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui esse fecit omnia . . . sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' There are good grounds for believing that in a still earlier period (50-100 A.D.) the writers of *Asc. Isr.* 8: 16 and of *Apo. Bar.* 4: 5 were acquainted with the Slavonic book respectively. In *Ep. Barn.* 15 8-9 and in 23-30 13 the thought and diction are dependent on 32-33 and 30 15.

In the NT the similarity of matter and language is sufficiently great to establish a close connection if not a literary dependence.

With *Mt.* 50, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' cp 52 11, 'Blessed is he who establishes peace'; with *Mt.* 5 34 35 37, 'I swear not at all,' etc., cp 40 1, 'I will not swear by a simple oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word,

yea, yea, or nay, nay.' Again, with Mt. 7:30 and 26:34, cp 42:24 and 9:1; with Ju. 14:2 cp 61:2; with Ezech. 4:25 cp 42:12; with Rev. 9:1 and 10:7 cp 42:1 and 46:7. Still earlier we find this book not only used but quoted by name in the *Test. Iosef.* 5, where the statement reads *καταμαρτυροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Σατανᾶς* is drawn from 18:3. 'These are the Origi (i.e. *Egypti*) who with their prince Satanai rejected the holy Lord.' Finally, the references to Enoch in *Test. Napht. 4, Test. Sim. 5, Test. Benj. 9*, are adaptations of 84:2-3.

The question as to the date has, to a large extent, been determined already. The portions which have a Hebrew background are at latest pre-Christian.

38. Date. This follows from the fact of their quotation in the *Test. xii. Patr.* Turning to the rest of the book, we find that the *terminus a quo* is determined by the fact that it frequently uses *Ecclus.* (cp 43:2 f., 47:5 52:8 61:2, 4, etc.; see the writer's edition of the Slavonic Enoch). The Ethiopic Enoch, further, is continually presupposed to be in the background. Its phraseology and conceptions are reproduced (7:17 f., 33:19 f., 39:2, etc.). At times its views are put forward in a developed form (8:15 f., 40:13 64:5), and occasionally divergent conceptions are enunciated (16:7 18:4). Finally, explanations are claimed to have been given by this writer which, as a matter of fact, are to be found not in his writings but in the *Eth. En.* (see 40:5 f., 8 f.). It is possible that the Book of Wisdom also was used by our author; see 65:4.

Since, therefore, *Ecclus.*, the *Eth. Enoch*, and *Wisdom (?)* were used by this author, his work cannot have been earlier than 30 B.C.

The *terminus ad quem* must be set down as earlier than 70 A.D. For (1) the temple is still standing. (2) This book was known and used by the writers of *Ez. Barn.* and *Asc. Isa.*, and probably by some of the writers of the NT. We may with reasonable certainty, therefore, assign the composition of the book in Greek to the period 50 A.D. The author is thus a contemporary of Philo, with whom, accordingly, we find that he holds many speculations in common. Much of the book, however, goes back to a Hebrew background of an earlier date.

The author was thus an orthodox Hellenistic Jew who lived in Egypt. He believed in the value of sacrifices

39. Authorship. (42:6 59:1 66:2)—though he is careful to regard to them 15:3 f., 61:4 f.)—in the law (52:8 f.), and in a blessed immortality (50:6 55:8 f.), in which the righteous will wear 'the raiment of God's glory' (22:8). In questions affecting the origin of the earth, of sin, and of death, he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows from every quarter. Thus Platonic (30:16), Egyptian (25:2), and Zend (58:4-6) elements are incorporated in his system. The result is highly syncretistic.

The book opens with a short account of Enoch as 'a very wise man' whom 'God loved and received so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, and never-changing God.'

40. Contents. In chap. 1 two angels appear to Enoch and bid him make ready to ascend with them into heaven. In chap. 2 he admonishes his sons and directs them not to seek for him till he is brought back to them. Thereupon (3-11) he is carried up through the air into the first heaven, where he beholds a great sea, and the elders, the rulers of the orders of the stars, and the treasures of the sun and the four streams of honey, milk, oil, and wine, that water the garden, and go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. The angels inform Enoch that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who turn their eyes from unrighteousness, and accomplish a righteous judgment, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen. . . and walk without blame before the face of the Lord.' Enoch and his sons then to the northern region of this heaven (10), and shown 'a very terrible place' of 'savage darkness and impenetrable gloom,' with 'fire on all sides, cold, and ice.' He is told that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who commit evil deeds on earth, sodomy, witchcraft' . . . who oppress the poor, who are guilty of stealing, lying, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder, who 'worship gods without life.'

Then Enoch is conducted to the fourth heaven, where he is shown the courses of the sun and moon (11), and the phoenixes,

and the chalkadri (?) (12; cp CUCKATRICE), and the eastern and western gates of the sun (13-16), and 'an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs' (17).

In 18 he is taken up to the fifth heaven, where he sees the Watchers who had rebelled; their brethren were already confined in torment in the second heaven. Then he passes to the sixth heaven (19), where are the angels who regulate all the powers of nature and the courses of the stars, and write down the deeds of men. Finally, he is raised to the seventh heaven (20 f.), where he sees God sitting on his throne, and the heavenly hosts in their orders on the steps of the throne, and the Seraphim singing the trisagion. He falls down and worships (22). At God's command, Michael takes from him his earthly robe, anoints him with the holy oil, and clothes him with the raiment of God's glory. Thus Enoch becomes like one of the glorious ones. Under the instruction of Vretil (chap. 28), he writes 365 books, in thirty days and thirty nights, about things in heaven and earth, and about the souls of men created from eternity, and their future dwelling-places.

In 24-26 God makes known to Enoch how he created the invisible out of the visible; how he commanded Adol (possibly a corruption of Uriel, regarded as=light of God), and Arkhas (possibly from ארץ or Aram. ארץ=earth), to come forth and burst asunder; and so the light on high and the world below were produced. And God divided the light and the darkness (27), and made the seven heavens, and caused the waters under the heaven to be gathered into one place, and made the earth from the waters (28). Such were the creations of the first day. And on the second day God created the heavenly hosts (29:1-3). And one of the archangels (Satanai) rebelled, and God cast him down (29:4 f.) from the heights. On the third day (30:1 2) God caused the earth to produce trees and herbs, and planted Paradise. On the fourth (30:3-5), he ordered great light to be in the various arch into one place, and made Venus, Mars, the Sun, Jupiter, Mercury, the Moon. . . On the fifth (30:7-15), he created the fish of the sea, and the fowl of heaven, and every thing that moveth on the earth, and on the sixth he made man from seven substances, and called him Adam, and showed him the two ways. While Adam was in Paradise he could see the angels in heaven (31); but Satan envied him and deceived him (32), and God established the eighth day (33:1-2), at the beginning of which time should be no more. The corruption of the earth and the deluge are then foretold, and the preservation of Noah (35). God bids Enoch return to the earth for thirty days and teach his sons during that time (36-38). Enoch admonishes and instructs his sons, tells them what he has seen, and gives utterance to nine beatitudes (39-42). He impresses on them the incomparable dignity of goodness—'none is greater than he who fears God' (43). They are not to revile the person of man, but to present their offerings; yet they must not value these unduly, but consider the heart from which they spring (44-46). Enoch gives his books to his sons (47); instructs them not to swear (49); and bids them in meekness accomplish the number of their days, and be open-handed to those in need (50 f.). Again he enumerates seven beatitudes and the woes which they are to undergo (52). The departed saints, he says, do not intercede for the living (53). At the close of the appointed time (55-59) Enoch again addresses his sons. He declares that no soul shall perish till the final judgment, and that the souls of beasts will then bring charges against the men who ill-treated them. Further instruction follows, as to sacrifice and man's duty to the needy, and warning against pride and lying (60-63). The people assemble in Achuzan to take leave of Enoch, who addresses them on various topics and exhorts them to faithfulness. He is then carried up to the highest heaven. His sons build an altar in Achuzan and hold high festival, rejoicing and praising God (64-68).

The value of the book, in elucidating contemporary

41. Value. and subsequent religious thought, may be exemplified by the fresh evidence it contributes on the following beliefs:—

1. *The millennium.*—This Jewish conception is first found in 32:3-32. From this its origin is clear. The account in Genesis of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded not only as a history of the past, but also as a sketch of the future of the world. Thus, as the world was created in six days, its history was to last 6000 years; for 1000 years with God are as one day (Ps. 90:4; Job. 4:30; 2 Pet. 3:8); and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of 6000 years there should be a rest of 1000 years—i.e., the millennium.

2. *The seven heavens.*—The detailed account of the seven heavens in this book has served to explain difficulties in the NT conceptions of the heavens, and has shown beyond the reach of controversy that the sevenfold division of the heavens was believed by Paul, by the author of Hebrews, and probably by the author of Revelation. On the Secrets of Enoch see also ESCHATOLOGY, § 75.

IV. THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.—This apocryph has come down to us in its entirety only in the Ethiopic **42. Ascens. Isa.**; version. It is a composite work, as we **its fortunes.** shall see; and two, if not three, of its constituents existed independently before their incorporation in the present work. Of these the oldest is undoubtedly 21-312 and 51-14, which contains an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (cp ISAIAH, i. § 1, end). From this section, which is of Jewish authorship, seem to have been derived such statements as: 'they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, . . . they went about in sheepskins . . . being destitute . . . wandering in deserts and mountains' (Heb. 11 37f.; cp 210-12 31-2).

The next probable reference is in Justin Martyr (*c. Tryph.* 120), where he says: 'ye sawest (Isaiah) in twain with a wooden saw. So we find it in 51. In Tertul. (*De patientia*, 14) the reference is unmistakable, while in Origen the book or its matter is discussed; it is there called ἀποκρυφὸν Ἠσαίου, or simply ἀποκρυφόν (*Ep. ad Africanum*, 9; *id. Blatt.* 13 97 23 27; *In Isaiam homil.* 15). The first reference to the second part (6-11) is in Ephraim (*Haer.* 40 and 67 3), where we are told that certain heretics made use of this work, which he calls τὸ ἀρπακτικὸν Ἠσαίου, to support their opinions. Jerome speaks of an *Ascensio Isaiae*, and in the list of the Canon edited by Montfaucon and others it is called Ἠσαίου ὄρασις.

The various constituents of the book were written originally in Greek. Thus, in 419-21 63 6 is

43. Language. followed where it differs from the Hebrew. Of the Greek the greater part has come down to us in a MS found in the National Library in Paris, and edited by Gebhardt in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* (1878)—though it is not the original work, but a free recast and rearrangement of it (see below).

Translations from the Greek were made into Latin, Ethiopic, and Slavonic. Of the *Latin* version, 6-11

44. Versions. were extant in the sixteenth century and were printed at Venice in 1522, but had long been lost to view when Geseler re-edited them in 1832. Two other fragments, 214-313 and 71-10, were discovered and published in 1828 by Mai, though that editor was not aware that they belonged to this apocryph. Happily, as remarked above, the entire work has been preserved in *Ethiopic*, and on the whole faithfully, as we can infer from the Greek and the Latin fragments.

The sources of its corruptions are often immediately recognisable by retranslation into Greek. Thus in 9 35 the Ethiopic = 'qui se ad te advertit,' the Latin = 'precipiens.' The original of both is ἐπιτρέπω, as we find in the Greek; but the Ethiopic translator has followed an inappropriate meaning. That followed by the Latin translator is admissible; but the context requires the ordinary sense of ἐπιτρέπω = 'permitting.'

The Ethiopic version was first edited by Laurence in 1819 from one MS, and afterwards in 1877 by Dillmann from three MSS. To the latter edition are appended the Latin fragments. Next year, as we have already noticed, Gebhardt edited the Greek text. Although a free recast of our apocryph, it is very valuable for critical purposes, and in many respects confirms the critical acumen of Dillmann. Still there is need of a work which will give a text emended and corrected with the help of this Greek MS as well as of the Slavonic version and will deal more exhaustively with the different elements from which the apocryph is composed. This need Charles has tried to meet in his forthcoming work, *The Ascension of Isaiah*.

Ewald was the first to recognise the composite structure of this book, finding in it the works of three distinct authors. Subsequent criticisms,

45. Composite-ness. however, have only in part confirmed his analysis, and the best work as yet done in this direction is that of Dillmann. Dillmann's hypothesis is as follows:—There were originally two independent works: one, an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (21-312 52-14), of Jewish origin; the other, the vision of Isaiah (6-11 23-40), of Christian authorship. These two works were next combined into one volume by a Christian, who supplied them with a prologue and an epilogue (1 1 f. 4b-13 11 4a f.). Finally,

when the book had assumed this shape, another editor inserted 1 34a 313-51 15 f. 11 2-22 41. This will do as a provisional hypothesis, but it is not final; and Gebhardt, Schürer, and Deane are wrong in saying that it is borne out by external testimony, averring that in the Greek work there is no trace of the sections 313-5 11 2-22. By a minute examination of the Greek certain phrases which imply the author's acquaintance with 313 17 48 11 19 are discoverable (see Charles, *op. cit.*). Thus the final editing was completed before the composition of the Greek legend. Further, since 313 is found in one of the Latin fragments published by Mai, this section (*i.e.*, 313-51) was already present before the Latin version was made. Too much stress must not be laid on the fact that 11 2-22 is represented in the Latin version by only a few lines; for it is characteristic of this version to abridge the text it is rendering.

The following is an outline of the contents of the book.

In the twenty-sixth year of his reign Hezekiah summons Manasseh in order to entrust to him certain writings touching the future of Israel. Hezekiah directs to Hezekiah

46. Contents. *Isaiah's martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh (17-13).* On the death of Hezekiah, Manasseh abandons the service of God for that of Satan; and thus, owing to the evils perpetrated in Jerusalem, Isaiah and other prophets withdraw into the wilderness (2). Thereupon Balkira, a Samaritan, accuses Isaiah and the prophets of professing evil things against the king's heart, and Isaiah has gained possession of the king's heart, the king sends and seizes Isaiah (3-12). There is a sudden break in the narrative here (the conclusion of the martyrdom of Isaiah follows in 52-14), to explain the reason of Berial's anger—viz., Isaiah's vision and the revelation in which he laid bare the future rule and destruction of Sammael, as well as the coming redemption by Christ. In fact, we have the history of the Christian Church summarised briefly from the coming of Christ to the New Testament persecution and the last judgment (313-51). In this short apocalypse we have the account of an eye-witness of the condition of the early Church, 50-80 A.D. Church organisation is still in its infancy; the rulers are called presbyters and pastors; bishops are nowhere mentioned. There are disputes about the second advent; prophecy has not yet disappeared; the vice and greed of the Christian teachers are conspicuously dealt with. The writer feels that the end is at hand. On 510 4, see above.

With 6 begins the vision which Isaiah saw in the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah; he discloses it to the king and to Josab his son. In this vision Isaiah is conducted by an angel through the firmament and the six lower heavens, and is shown the chief wonders in each (7 f.). Next he is raised to the seventh heaven, where he sees people, the righteous from Adam downwards. He is then told of the coming advent of the Beloved into the world, and of his crucifixion and resurrection. Finally, he sees the Beloved in the form of an angel, and likewise the Holy Spirit in the same form, and 'the Great Glory'—*i.e.*, God—worshipped by the Beloved and the Spirit (9). In 10, Isaiah hears God commissioning his Son to descend into the world, and thereupon follows an account of this descent. In the concluding chapter are revealed the birth of Jesus and the history of his life on earth down to his crucifixion and resurrection, and ascension through the seven heavens to his seat at the right hand of God.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah proper (21-312 52-14), which is of Jewish authorship, was written some time in the

47. Date. first century of our era; the Vision (6-11) probably about its close; and the apocalyptic section (313-51) *circa* 50-80 A. D.

For additional bibliography on this book, see Schürer, *Hist.* 5 143-148; C. Oulton, *The Ascension of Isaiah*.

V. THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.—The Book of Jubilees, which is really a haggadic commentary on Genesis, is important as being the chief monument

48. Book of Jubilees; its value. (practically the sole monument) of legalistic Pharisaism belonging to the century immediately preceding the Christian era.

Just as we have the other side of Pharisaism, its apocalyptic and mystical side, represented in the Book of Enoch, so here we have its natural complement in the hard and inexorable legalism to whose yoke, according to the author, creation was subject from the beginning and must be subject for evermore.

Jubilees is not only indispensable to students of the NT and of the history of the Pharisaic movement; it is likewise of first-class importance as a witness to the readings of the Hebrew text of Genesis about the

beginning of the Christian era. In this respect it comes next in worth to **6** and the Samaritan text, and presents us with much earlier readings than are to be found in the Syr. or Lat. versions, or in Targ. Onk. In the matter of determining the respective values of the Samaritan, **6**, and Massoretic chronologies its evidence will be practically of decisive weight.

This book has been variously named at different stages of its career. Its original name seems to have

been 'Jubilees,' and not the 'Book of Jubilees.' So we find it in the Syriac fragment, and likewise in Epiphanius, where it is designated $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ $\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$ or $\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$.

It is also called η $\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in Epiphanius, Syncellus, and others—a title pointing back to $\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$. This name was given to it not because of its smaller bulk—for it is greater than that of the canonical Genesis—but on the ground of its inferior authority. Other variations of this title are $\chi\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$ and $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\alpha\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$. In the Abyssinian Church it is named the 'Book of the Division,' from the first words of the inscription at the beginning, and we find still other designations. Thus, in the decree of Gelasius, according to Rönisch's emendation, we find 'Liber de filiabus Adæ, hoc est Leptogenesis.' This name, as Ceriani observed, was given to the book because it contains the names of all the Patriarchs' wives and assigns them a prominent rôle in the course of events—a view that is confirmed by the Syriac fragment. Again, it seems to be identified by Syncellus with 'the so-called Life of Adam'— δ $\alpha\gamma\iota\omega\gamma\alpha\sigma$ $\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\delta\alpha\mu$ —for he cites as from that book three passages that occur in Jubilees. This *Life of Adam* may have been identical with a part of Jubilees, or a later enlargement of a portion of it. Jubilees is once described as the 'Testament of Moses,' and once as the 'Apocalypse of Moses,' but only by very late writers.

Such being the origin of Jubilees and the conditions under which it was produced, it was naturally written

50. Language. in the sacred language of Palestine. Of this we have direct testimony in Jer. *Ep.* 78, *ad Fabiolam*, *mansione* 18, where he discusses a Hebrew word for which he could cite no authority save that of this book. The entire cast and the idiom of the book confirm the statement of Jerome.

We have further testimony to the same effect in the title of the Syriac fragment, in which the present book is designated 'The Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It is, further, impossible to deal with the textual corruptions unless we deal with them on this presupposition. In the case of many of these it is only necessary to retranslate them into Hebrew in order to discover the original misconception or misreading of the Greek translator. Some interesting transliterations of Hebrew words, moreover, still survive in the text.

Finally, fragments of the Hebrew original have come down to us embedded in the Midrashim. In these at times an entire sentence survives, preserving not only the words, but even their original order, as we can infer from the evidence of the versions.

There were probably four versions of Jubilees—Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Latin. The first two were

51. Versions. made from the original Hebrew. Of the Greek only some fragments have come down to us in Epiphanius and through such annalists as Syncellus and Cedrenus. Of the Syriac only a small fragment, containing the names of the Patriarchs' wives and a few other facts, survives.

The Ethiopic and the Latin versions were made from the Greek version, not from the original text. The

52. Ethiopic. former survives almost in its entirety, and from an exhaustive comparison of the best attainable text with all existing materials we find that it is most accurate and trustworthy. It is, indeed, as a rule, servilely literal.

It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incidental to transmission through MSS; but it is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis must have been great. Only in about a dozen instances did the temptation prove too great, with the result that changes were introduced into the text in subservience to that version.

Of the Latin version (made, as we have seen, from the Greek) more than a fourth has been preserved.

53. Latin. First published in 1861 by Ceriani (*Mon. sacra et prof. tom.* 1, fasc. 3, pp. 15-62), it was next edited with great learning by Rönisch in 1871 (*Das Buch der Jub. unter Berufung d. recensionen Testes der . . . lat. Fragmente*). Rönisch

emended the text in many passages; but as he was not aware that it had been corrected in conformity both with **6** and with the *Vg.*, and as, further, he had only a late representative of the Ethiopic version before him, his work is defective and far from final. A critically revised text of these fragments is given in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text.

The Ethiopic MSS, of which there are four, belong respectively to the National Library in Paris (A), the British Museum

(B), the University Library in Tübingen (C), and to M. d'Abbadie (D). B is by far the

54. Text of most valuable; next in value comes A; and D are late and very corrupt. In addition to these MSS, however, there is a vast wealth of materials for the criticism and reconstruction of the text in the Mas. and Sam. Texts, and in the Gr., Syr., Aram., and Lat. versions of Genesis; and in the fragments of the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions of Jubilees mentioned above; and in abundant other documents of a less directly serviceable nature. (a) *The Ethiopic Text* has been edited twice—first by Di. in 1859 from two MSS (C, D), and next, by the present writer from A, B, C, D.¹ Though Di. made no use of the critical materials just enumerated in the formation of his text, and it was, accordingly, in no sense a critical edition, it was a great boon to scholars at the time. (b) *Three translations* have appeared: the first by Di. in 1850 from one MS (*i.e.*, C); the second by Schwöbe (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1885) from Di.'s edition of the text; and the third by the present writer (*JQR*, 1894, 1895) from the text published in 1895 referred to above.

Jubilees cannot have been written later than 70 A.D.; for the temple is throughout supposed to be standing.

55. Date. As the book repeatedly uses Enoch (1-36 72-104), it cannot have been written much before 60 B.C. Though there is some evidence that would place it nearer the earlier than the later date, we shall leave the date undefined for the present.

The author was a Palestinian Jew and a Pharisee.

Frankel's view (*MGWJ*, 1856, pp. 311-316, 380-400) that it was written by a Hellenistic Jew belonging to Egypt is rendered untenable by the fact that it was written originally in Hebrew. Nor can the writer have been a Samaritan, as Beer supposes (*Das Buch der Jub.*, 1855; $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ $\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$, 1857); 57, whereas the text agrees in turn with MT, **6**, Syr., *Vg.*, with Onkelos, and even with the Ar. against all the rest, it never, strange to say, agrees thus with the Samaritan. This evidence is conclusive in itself; but we might further observe that, in speaking of the four places most favoured of God in all the earth, the author enumerates Eden, Sinai, Zion, and the mountain in the East, but not Gerizim. Again, that he is not a Sadducee is proved by the fact that he believes in angels and in the immortality of the soul. Nor, finally, was he an Essene; for, though some characteristics (a highly-developed angelology, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul without the resurrection of the body, the exaggerated reverence for the Sabbath and the number seven) would seem to argue an Essene origin, such an origin is absolutely precluded by the enforcement of animal sacrifice and the absolute silence as to the washings and purifications that were of such importance among the Essenes. Thus, though in some legal questions of less moment (Beer, *Das Buch der Jub.*) the author's views are at variance with traditional Pharisaism, in all essentials he is emphatically a Pharisee of the Pharisees.

That Palestine was the home of the author is deducible

in the first instance from the language in which he wrote. A Hellenistic Jew would not have written in Hebrew. Again (not to press other details), the duty of absolute separation from the heathen, which is repeatedly enforced, would have been impossible of fulfilment for any Jew outside Palestine.

There are several lacunæ in the book; but as far as evidence is forthcoming, these seem to be slight. It appears, on the other hand, to be free from interpolations.

A curious phenomenon, however, presents itself in chap. 7. Verses 20-39 seem to be an extract from the Book or Apocalypse of Noah, beginning in an indirect form with *v.* 20 and changing into the direct with *v.* 26, whence to the end Noah admonishes his sons in the first person. These verses are similar to the Noachic interpolations in the Book of Enoch (see above, § 24).

The contents of Jubilees may be briefly described as a haggadic commentary on the biblical text, from the creation of the world to the institution

57. Integrity. of the Passover, in the spirit, and from the point of view, of later Judaism. Its aim is to prove the everlasting validity of the law. The work assumes the form of a revelation to Moses, made on Mt. Sinai by the 'angel of the presence' in the first year

58. Contents and character.

of the Passover, in the spirit, and from the point of view, of later Judaism. Its aim is to prove the everlasting validity of the law. The work assumes the form of a revelation to Moses, made on Mt. Sinai by the 'angel of the presence' in the first year

¹ *The Eth. Vers. of the Heb. Book of Jubilees*, ed. from four MSS. R. H. Charles, M.A., 1895. Clar. Press, Oxford.

of the Exodus. The author thereby seeks to secure a divine sanction for the additions he makes to the biblical narrative. Among these the most important novelty is his chronological system.

In this system the basis of reckoning is the jubilee period of forty-nine years. This jubilee period is subdivided into seven year-weeks of seven years each. Hence, in order to date any event exactly, the author determines it as occurring on a certain day of a certain month of a certain year in a certain year-week of a certain jubilee period. Fifty of these jubilee periods are assumed as the interval between the creation and the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan. His year strangely consists of fifty-two weeks (i.e., 364 days), and, in opposition to the Pharisaism of his time, he claims that the year should be regulated by the movements of the sun without reference to those of the moon. The dates assigned to the various events, though presenting many difficulties, favour in the main the Samaritan chronology.

Another object of the author is to carry the Jewish cultus back into the patriarchal or even pre-Adamic period.

Thus we are given to understand that the angels observed the rite of circumcision; while, as regards the great annual festivals, the Feast of Weeks was observed by Noah and Abram, the Feast of Tabernacles was first celebrated by Abram about the time of the birth of Isaac, and the Day of Atonement was established by Jacob in memory of the loss of Joseph. Again, the law regarding the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. 12) is traced to the time that Adam was created in the first week and Eve in the second; to this is due the command 'Seven days for a man-child and two weeks for a maid-child.'

Certain variations from the prescribed ritual are observable in relation to the festivals. Thus, the injunction of fasting on the Day of Atonement and the exclusion of the uncircumcised from Tabernacles there is no reference to the custom of drawing water from the pool of Siloam and pouring it out upon the altar. Though in the last instance the author agrees with the Sadducees, it must be admitted that the practice was a Pharisaic innovation and that the Sadducees had the law on their side.

Another notable characteristic of the work is the increased rigour of many of the Levitical ordinances.

Thus, the man who eats food is to be utterly destroyed, and the father who gives his daughter, or the brother who gives his sister, in marriage to a heathen, is to be stoned to death, and the woman to be burned. Death is to be the universal penalty for breaking the Sabbath; and the Sabbath is broken by buying or selling, by lighting a fire, by drawing water, by talking of an intended journey, or by lying with one's wife.

Another no less interesting characteristic is the care either to leave unrecorded or to palliate the faults of the Patriarchs as well as to multiply their virtues.

Thus, from the first they were scrupulous observers of the ritual and ceremonial law before its authoritative promulgation on Sinai. There is no mention made of Abram's deceit at the court of Pharaoh; Jacob's answer to Isaac's question 'Art thou my very son Esau?' is cleared from verbal falsehood by representing him as answering 'I am thy son.' This quibble is found likewise in the Talmud, and may therefore have been a stock interpretation of Jewish exegesis. Again, whereas in Genesis Levi is cursed for his share in the destruction of Shechem, in Jubiles he is highly honoured for the same action and his posterity elected to an everlasting priesthood. We find the same view taken by Philo (*De Hebriæte*, 23).

Akin to the aim just described is the attempt to justify from the standpoint of a later age the severities practised by Israel in their conquest of Canaan.

It is a Jewish prototype of Rousseau's Social Contract. Thus it is represented that, in the presence of an angel, Noah divided the earth by lot amongst his three sons, and bound them and their successors by the most sacred oaths to observe the arrangement. Destruction was invoked on the head of him who transgressed it. According to the sequel, Canaan seized upon Shem's inheritance; and thus our author justifies the extermination of his descendants by Israel.

As has already been pointed out, though the immortality of the soul is taught, there is no resurrection of the body. In the restored theocracy that is foreshadowed there may be a Messiah. See, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 72.

For the literature of this book see Ritsch, *Das Buch der Jub.* 422-439; Schürer *in loc.*; Charles, *The Book of Jubiles*.

VI. THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—Of this book, which from the twelfth century was regarded as lost, a

69. Assumpt. Mos. : its fortunes. large fragment was rediscovered by Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library in Milan and published by him in 1861 (*Mon. tom. i. fasc. i. pp. 55-64*). This fragment was part of an old Latin version, and is written on a palimpsest of the sixth century—the same

MS that contains the Latin version of *Jubiles*—which originally belonged to the monastery of Bobbio.

Before this discovery, however, we were, from various sources, in some degree acquainted with the contents of the book.

Thus, the account of the strife between the archangel Michael and Satan about the body of Moses was drawn, as we know (Origen, *De Princip.* 3.2.1), from the apocryphal book entitled the *Assumptio Moysis*, κατὰ τὸν Μωϋσῆν. Many other witnesses testify to the existence of this apocryph. Besides the references already noticed in Origen, there are other references or citations in Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 1.23.153 0.15.132); in Origen (*In Joannem* *ibidem* 21.), Didymus Nov. (*In ep. Joh. omnes*), in Gallandi, *ibidem*, (*Patr.* 6.399), in Evodius, Apollinaris, the Stichometrist, and in the *Acta synodi Nicænæ*, 1.10. The most reference must be given in full as the passage quoted is found in Ceriani's fragment. — ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟ ΠΡΟΒΟΛΕΘΕ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ, ΩΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΣΤΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΟΝ ΜΟΡΤΑΛΟΝ, ΠΡΟΚΑΤΑΡΚΗΤΟΝ ΤΗΝΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΒΟΛΗΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΕ ΟΘΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΕΙΣ, ΚΑΤΑΝΟΟΝΤΑΣ ΜΕ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΘΕΟΥΣ ΑΙΤΙΩΣ ΜΟΡΤΑΛΟΝ. The words quoted are thus rendered in the Latin fragment (*Text. Latine exogitatus et invenit me, qui alio initio orbis terrarum preparatus sum, ut sim arbiter testamenti illius. The rest of the quotations are in the main from the part of this book which is lost.*

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question. Thus Greek words are transliterated; as *chedrio* from κεδρία 17,

60. Latin based on Greek. *heronius* from ἡρωναῖος 3.1.1, *lethi* from ἄλγος 37, and *acretio* from ἀκρητοῦ 8.1.

Again, we are not infrequently obliged to adopt not the Latin text but the Greek it presupposes, which has been misrendered by the translator. Thus 'ab oriente usque ad occidentem,' which means 'from the east to the west,' is derived from ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆος μέχρι δύσεως, which means also 'from sunrise to sunset'—the meaning required by our context. For similar instances see 11.1.18. Finally, retranslation into Greek makes it evident that in the case of some corruptions in the Latin the error arose through the confusion of different though similar forms of words: cp 27.34.56.11.6. In 41 we have the Greek article rendered by *hic*.

The derivation of our text from a Semitic original was stoutly denied by Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and others.

61. Hebrew original. This position, however, can no longer be persevered in. A Semitic original must now be conceded. It remains a matter of debate whether the balance of evidence is in favour of an Aramaic or of a Hebrew source. Rosenthal decides for the latter; Schmidt-Merx, Colani, and Carrière for the former. Notwithstanding all that has been advanced by these three scholars, however, in support of their contention, the evidence points decidedly in the direction of a Hebrew original.

Rosenthal restores three or four passages by means of retranslation into Hebrew. In Charles's *Assumption of Moses* (1897) the necessity of such an hypothesis is shown alike in the Hebrew character of the Latin version and in the possibility of removing most of its corruptions by means of retranslation into Hebrew. Thus in 6.36 we must follow the Hebrew presupposed by the Latin; next, in 6.4 there is a play upon words possible only in the Hebrew; again, there are Hebrew phrases and constructions retranslated into Latin. Hebrew that we can understand the text or get rid of its corruptions in 4.9.5.10.9.10.12.7.

Schürer has already pointed out (*Hist.* 32.) that the Latin version we possess is in reality a 'Testament of

62. Real name Test. Moses. Moses,' although quoted in the Acts of the Council of Nicea as the *Ἀποκάλυψις Μωϋσέως*, and has conjectured that 'these designations were the titles of two separate divisions of one and the same work, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second.' The present writer's studies tend in some degree to support this conjecture.

Thus in the Latin version (1.15 and 10.13) Moses' death is stated in 10.12 before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one book. Thus in 10.12 the text is: 'erunt enim a morte-receptione-m(e) usque ad adventum Illius tempora CCL.' Schmidt-Merx omits 'morte,' and Hilgenfeld omits 'receptione,' these critics failing to see that 'receptione' was introduced by the final

editor into the text of the 'Testament' which recounted nothing of Moses' Assumption, in order to prepare the reader for the main subject of the added work, the 'Assumption of Moses.'

Schürer apparently assumes that both the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption' were from one and the same author; but the facts stated above are against this supposition. The Latin fragment is the *Διαθήκη Μωσέως* mentioned in the Stichometry of Nicephorus. It is there said to consist of 1100 lines. Of these about half have survived. Some writers have sought to identify this 'Testament' with the Book of Jubilees. This is impossible. Since 4300 lines are assigned to Genesis in Nicephorus' Stichometry, this 'Testament of Moses' would have above 5000 or 6000 if it were the Book of Jubilees, for the latter is much longer than Genesis.

About one-half of the original Testament has been preserved by our Latin Version.¹ It is possible that the latter half dealt with certain revelations about creation made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight.

63. Lost portion.

We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* ii. 121-122). 'Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque *επιθυμω λεγετο. ubi de creatis rebus subitaneus actus, nubes lucidam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre poterit, ubi cadaver conderetur.'* On the 'bright cloud' see also Jos. *Ant.* iv. 849.

On the question of the date of the Assumption of Moses the opinions of critics oscillate between the death of Herod the Great and the death of

64. Date. Bar-Cochba. The latter date is impossible. Ewald, Wieseler, Drummond, Dillmann, and Schürer assign it to the first decade after Herod's death; Hilgenfeld assigns it to 44-45 A.D.; Merx to 54-64 A.D., and so also Fritzsche; Baldensperger to 50-70 A.D. On various grounds all these determinations are unsatisfactory. The real date appears to lie between 4 B.C. and 30 A.D. It cannot be later than 30 A.D. Towards the close of chap. 6 it is stated that the sons of Herod should reign for a shorter period (*breuiora tempora*) than their father—a statement that could have been made only while they were still living, since it is true of Archelaus alone; for Antipas reigned forty-three years, Philip thirty-seven, and Herod himself only thirty-four. The book must, therefore, have been written at the latest less than thirty-four years after Herod's death (4 B.C.)—i.e., earlier, at all events, than 30 A.D. The limits may, however, be defined more closely; for the prediction that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father, may owe its origin to the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority, but still more to the actual deposition of Archelaus in 6 A.D.—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgment and suggest to him the prediction that appears in the text as to the impending fate of Philip and Antipas. Hence the earliest limit of composition is 7 A.D.

As for the author, he was not a Sadducee; for according to chap. 10 he looks forward to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom by God in

65. Author. person. Nor is it possible, with Wieseler and Schürer, to regard him as a Zealot; for (1) there is not a single incentive held forth to encourage men to take arms in behalf of the theocracy; (2) the actual advent of the kingdom is brought about, not by any action of the righteous in Israel, but

by the archangel Michael (10:2) and God himself (10:3-7); (3) the author's ideal of duty as regards preparation for the Messianic kingdom is that depicted in 9—i.e., absolute obedience to the law and non-resistance. The faithful Israelite was quietly to do his duty and await God's will. The writer, accordingly, glorifies the old ideals cherished and pursued by the Hasid and Early Pharisaic party, which the Pharisaism of the first century B.C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. See § 81. God would in his own good time interpose in person (10); at all events, he would avenge the death of his servants (97). Our author pours the most scathing invective on his religious and political opponents, the Sadducees, whom in 7 he describes in terms that frequently recall the anti-Sadducean Pss. of Solomon. (Through some inexplicable misapprehension, Schürer and others have regarded this chapter as a description of the Pharisees.) The author, therefore, was a Pharisee, and a Pharisee who was the antithesis of the Zealot exactly in those respects in which Pharisaism differed from Zealotism. His book was designed as a protection against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party through its adoption of political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. To guard against the possible suggestion of an Essene author, we may remark that such a derivation is absolutely precluded by the recognition of animal sacrifices, by the declaration of the speedy coming of the Messianic or Theocratic kingdom, and by the strong sense of national life, unity, and triumph. See Charles's *The Assumption of Moses*, pp. 51-54; and cp *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 73.

The following is an outline of the contents of *Ass. Moses* 1:1-9: Introduction. 10:1-12 Moses tells Joshua that he is about to die, and commits certain books of prophecy to his safe keeping. In 2f. the subsequent history

66. Contents. of Israel down to the captivity is briefly but clearly outlined. In their captivity the tribes remember that all that had befallen them had already been foretold by Moses. In 4, owing to the prayers of one who is over them (Daniel), God will take pity on them and raise up a king (Cyrus) who will restore some fragments of their tribes to their own land. These will mourn because of their inability to sacrifice to the God of their fathers. Judgment (5) will overtake their oppressors (the Seleucid kings). Yet they themselves (the Sadducees and the Hasids) will be divided as to what is true, and the altar and temple will be defiled by men who are not priests (as Menelaus, who was a Benjamite), but slaves born of slaves (5:2-4) (the pagansising high-priests who were nominees of the Seleucidae) and many of them (the Sadducean priesthood and aristocracy), moreover, will be respecters of persons and unjust, and their country will be filled with unrighteousness (5:5-6). Then (6:1-5) a fresh vengeance will alight upon them, in which the king of kings (Antiochus) will crucify those who confess to their circumcision, and force them to bear on their shoulders impure idols, and to blaspheme the word 'A man of the tribe of Levi (9:17), whose name is Taxo (i.e., Eleazar [2 Mac. 6:19]; for, as Burkit has discovered, Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc=ταξος=תקסן which by gematria=תקסן), will say to his seven sons: 'Let us fast three days, and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in the field and die, rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers.' In 6:7 we are told of the assumption of royal power by the Maccabees, and of Herod as their successor who is to reign for thirty-four years (8). He will beget sons, who will reign as his successors, but for shorter periods. Then follows (8:8f.) the capture of Jerusalem by a king of the west (Varus). Soon after, Judaea becomes a Roman province. The author next launches out into a scathing denunciation of the Sadducees, of whose injustice, greed, and gluttony we have an account in 7. Thereupon (10:1-10) the times are filled, and God appears to judge the enemies of Israel (10). Moses is then represented as exhorting Joshua to guard these words and this book (10:11). When Joshua deprecates his inability to lead Israel (11), Moses bids him not to depreciate himself and not to despair of the future of his people (12). Here the fragment ends.

Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr.* vol. 1. fasc. 1 (1861); Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judaeorum* (1869), 435-438, cp *Prot.* 70-76, and *Revue de Rome, Égée.*

67. Biblio- *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt* (1867); Schmidt graphy. and Merx (*Archiv f. wiss. Erforschung des Apoc. VT* (1871), 700-730; cp *Prot.* 32-36; Fritzsche, *Libri Apoc. VT* (1871), 700-730; cp *Prot.* 32-36; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), 74-84; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein* (1888), 29-31, 114-118; Deane, *Prophetie* (1891), 255-259; Schürer, *Ant.* 1:258-261; Charles, *The Last Man* (1897). For complete bibliography, see the two works last mentioned.

¹ It is to be remarked that we have in this Latin Fragment a clear instance of dislocation of the text. The perception of this fact removes some of the main difficulties in the way of interpretation. In order to recover the original order, we have to restore 8 f. to their original position, before 6. For the grounds of this restoration of the text, see the present writer's edition of the book.

VII. THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS.—
 The earliest reference to this book by name is in
68. Test. xii. Origin in his *Hom. in Josiam*, 156 (Ed.
 Patr.; its fortunes.
 Lommatzsch 11 144): 'In aliquo quodam
 libello qui appellatur testamentum duo-
 decim patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur
 in canone, talem tamen quandam sensum invenimus,
 quod per singulos peccantes singuli Satanæ intelli-
 geantur' (cp Reuben 3). It is possible, indeed, that in
 the preceding century the ideas of *Fragment 17* in
 Sieren's edition of Irenæus (1 836-837) are derived
 from this book—εξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς προσηγορεύθη καὶ
 ἐπερυσσάθη καὶ ἐγέννηθη· ἐν ἑνὶ γὰρ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν προσηγο-
 ρασιῶν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἰεὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδα τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς
 βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγέννηθη· δὲ δὲ τοῦ Σιμωνος ἐν τῷ
 παρ' ἐπερυσσάθη. . . δὲ δὲ τοῦ Βενιαμιν, τοῦ Παύλου,
 εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον κηρύχεται ἑδοξάσθη. This con-
 junction of Simeon and Levi is found in Sim. 7; Lev.
 2; Dan 5; Gad 8; Jos. 19; Benj. 11. Since, how-
 ever, it is now demonstrable that the Christian elements
 in the Testaments are due to interpolation, it is not
 possible at the present stage of criticism to determine
 the relative chronology of these elements and the
 writings of Irenæus.

The passages in Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 51, *Scorpiace* 38,
 which most critics from Origen onwards have regarded as based
 on Benj. 11, are due, as Schürer has already recognised, simply
 to the patristic interpretation of Gen. 49 7. This eleventh chap.
 of Benj., which contains the striking account of Paul, is not
 found in the Armenian version, and is for the most part wanting
 in the Greek MS R. On these and on other grounds we may
 safely regard it as one of the latest of the Christian inter-
 polations.

There is possibly an allusion to this book in the con-
 temptuous words of Jerome, *Adv. Vigilant.* 6. The
 Testaments are next mentioned in the Stichometry of
 Nicephorus, in the *Synopsis Athanasii* as well as in the
 anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Petra,
 and others. In these lists the book is simply called
 Πατριάρχαι. After this date the Testaments are lost to
 knowledge till their reappearance in the thirteenth
 century, when Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln,
 translated them from Greek into Latin. The MS
 from which the translation was made is the tenth
 century Cambridge MS of this book (Sinker). This
 Latin version was the parent of almost all the European
 versions.

The work consists, as its present title indicates, of
 the dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob to their
 children. Each Testament deals with a fresh

69. Title. and special side of the ethical life, with some
 virtue or vice which finds apt illustration in the life of
 the particular patriarch. Thus, according to the titles
 in Sinker's text, Simeon deals with the vice of envy,
 Zebulun with compassion and mercy, Dan with anger
 and lying, Gad with hatred, Joseph with chastity, and
 Benjamin with a pure mind. These titles are appropri-
 ate; but in manuscripts O and R all mention of
 the virtues and vices is omitted; in P they are
 generally wanting, and when they are given they differ
 in all but two instances from Sinker's text, while in the
 Armenian version they are wanting in Simeon, Issachar,
 Zebulun, and Benjamin; for 'concerning chastity' in
 the title of the Test. Joseph we have 'concerning envy';
 they differ in the case of Levi, Gad, and Asher; only
 in the case of Judah do they give a divided support
 to the Cambridge MS, which Sinker follows. We may,
 therefore, regard the title of each Testament as origi-
 nally consisting of the word *Διαθήκη*, followed by the
 name of the patriarch to whom it was attributed. It
 is possible, moreover, that the title was originally still
 shorter—i.e., as we find it in the Oxford MS, merely the
 name of the patriarch. The fact that in the Sticho-
 metry of Nicephorus and in the Synopsis Athanasii,
 as well as in the anonymous list of books edited by
 Montfaucon, Petra, and others, this book as a whole
 is designated simply *Πατριάρχαι* points in the same
 direction; and this evidence is the more weighty since

the adjoining books in these lists have their full titles
 given. This supposition receives further support from
 the initial words of the Testaments themselves. In the
 case of seven of the Testaments the contents are simply
 described as the λόγοι of the Patriarchs, which they
 spake or ordained (λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, or διατίθεσθαι) before
 they died. It is only in the case of the remaining five
 that each is described as a διαθήκη which the patriarch
 spake, enjoined, or ordained (λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, ἐντέλλεσθαι,
 διατίθεσθαι). It is probable, therefore, that the original
 title of the entire book was 'The Twelve Patriarchs.'

In the next place, it is noteworthy that in each of the
 Testaments three elements are distinguishable. (1) In

70. Contents. each instance the patriarch gives a brief
 or detailed account of his life, in which his
 particular virtues or vices are vigorously emphasised.
 The biblical notices of his life are expanded and en-
 riched after the manner of haggadic Midrash. In a
 few instances their place is taken by materials that
 conflict directly with the biblical narrative. (2) The
 patriarch next proceeds to press upon his children a
 series of exhortations based upon and naturally sug-
 gested by the virtues or the vices conspicuous in his
 own career; they are to imitate the one and to shun
 the other. (3) Finally, the patriarch gives utterance to
 certain predictions which bear upon the future of his
 descendants, and the evils of overthrow and captivity
 which they will entail upon themselves by their sins and
 apostasies, and their breach with the tribes of Levi and
 Judah. These predictions are generally (a) of purely
 Jewish authorship; but many are (b) distinctively
 Christian.

To account for the difficulties which confront us in
 this work, Grabe (*Christ. Patr.* 171 1), 172-174

71. Com- 335-374) was the first to suggest that a
 positiveness. book was written by a Jew and subse-
 quently interpolated by a Christian. This
 hypothesis was for the time so successfully combated
 by Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, 210-110) that
 most subsequent writers, such as Nitzsch, Lücke, Ritschl,
 Vorstman, Hilgenfeld, Dillmann, and Sinker, have
 practically ignored the question of the integrity of the
 book and confined themselves mainly to the discussion
 of the religious and national affinities of the author.

Nitzsch (*Die Test. xii. Patriarcharum*, 181 1), 182-184, Witten-
 berg, 1810) describes the author as a Jewish Christian of Alex-
 andria who had imbibed many of the Essene doctrines that were
 then current. Ritschl (*Entwickel. der alttestam. Archæol.* 1, Aufl.
 322 ff) assigns the book to a Gentile Christian, appealing
 principally to Benj. 11 (a chapter really due to Christian inter-
 polation; see § 68). Ritschl's view was vigorously assailed by
 Kayser (*Die Test. d. zwölf Patr.*, in Reuss and Cunitz's *Beitr.
 zu den theol. Wissenschaften* 1751, 307-340), who, on several
 grounds derives the book from Ebionitic circles, reviving on a
 large scale Grabe's theory of interpolation in order to arrive at
 this result. Kayser's treatise was in turn examined by Vorstman
 (*De Test. xii. Patriarcharum origine et pratice*, 1857), who,
 after a detailed criticism of Kayser's arguments, concluded that
 the Testaments present no trace of Ebionism, but were the work
 of a Gentile Christian. Hardly had Vorstman thus vindicated
 the view of Ritschl when a second edition of this scholar's
 work (see above) appeared, in which his former contention
 (pp. 175-177) was abandoned as impossible, and the theory of a
 Nazarene authorship was advocated. Ritschl's first view, how-
 ever, has received the continued support of Hilgenfeld (*ZfW* 7
 [1838], 395 ff. [1871] 300 ff.), while Lamgen (*Das Judentum in
 Pal. zur Zeit Christi*, 140-157) and Sinker (*The Test. xii. Patr.*
 [1869], 16-34; art. 'Test. xii. Patr.' in Smith's *Dictionary of
 Christian Biography*, 4 885-874) hold fast to the theory of a
 Jewish Christian authorship.

If there were no other methods of determining the
 questions of authorship and date than those pursued by
 Nitzsch and his successors, finality or even progress
 in such matters would be a sheer impossibility. To
 Schnapp (*Die Test. der xii. Patr. untersucht*, Halle,
 1884), however, is due the credit of lifting the criticism
 of this book out of the arena of fruitless logomachies by
 returning to Grabe's hypothesis of Christian interpolation
 of an originally Jewish work. Schnapp's theory is that
 in its original form the book consisted of biographical
 details respecting each of the patriarchs and of exhorta-
 tions suggested by these details. Thus the work com-

in Hebrew. The additions of the Jewish interpolator were, as far as I have examined them, in the same language. Christian interpolations were introduced at the close of the first century of the Christian era, and some probably as late as the third or the fourth.

The earliest versions were the Greek, the Syrian, and the Armenian. Of the *Armenian* version only a fragment survives, preserved in the British Museum (*lit. et. of Syrian MSS.* 800-804). Of the *Armenian* version six MSS. varying in date from 1625 to 1707, are in Venice (in the Library of the Mechitarists of San Lazzaro); one, of 1388, in Vienna; another, of the fourteenth century, in the library of Lord de la Zouche; and a ninth, in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society. An edition of the Armenian version by the Mechitarist Fathers is soon to issue from the press. No trace has as yet been discovered of a *Latin* version anterior to that of Grosteste in the thirteenth century. This version and the later European versions are of no critical worth. There is also an old *Slavonic* version published by Tichonraw in the *Denks. der altruss. Apocri. Lit.*, St. Petersburg, 1863.

Four¹ of these MSS have already been made known to the public: the Cambridge MS of the tenth century, and the Oxford MS of the fourteenth, through Sinker's edition of the Greek text; the Vatican MS of the thirteenth and the Patmos MS of the sixteenth, through the Appendix he published in 1870. These four MSS are designated by their editor respectively as C O R P, and this notation has been followed in the present article.

It has already been observed that the process of Christian interpolation probably extended from the close of the first century A.D. to the fourth.

75. Date. As regards the apocalyptic sections (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 61), which are due to a Jewish interpolator, we have no means at present of determining their date with any exactness. Some of them are the oldest portions in the book, and were probably written in the second century B.C.; but some of them are very much later, since they contain citations from the Ethiopic and the Slavonic Enoch. As far as the present writer has examined them, he is inclined to regard them as all springing from a Hebrew original. The date, therefore, of these interpolations may possibly extend from the second century B.C. to 30 A.D. It may be added, partly on the evidence of the Armenian version and partly from the context, that it is clear that in Levi 15, Judith 23, and Dan 5, there are no references to the Roman destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. The groundwork may have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. We can hardly suppose it to be based upon Jubilees, for it never mentions it; yet, since it possesses in common with it a vast mass of biographical details as well as the same chronological system, it is natural to regard both works as almost contemporary and as emanating from the same school of thought.

No attempt has been made to give a systematic statement of the Christology, since the passages relating to this subject are derived not from one writer or period, but from a variety of scribes and times. The value, therefore, of the Christological portions in this book is slight.

76. Christology. VIII. THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Very little is known of the early history of these psalms. Only six direct and undoubted references to them are found in early literature.

77. Pas. Sol.; its fortunes. Four of these occur in catalogues of canonical and uncanonical books—viz., in the *Synopsis Athanasii*, the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the 'Sixty Books,' and the table of contents in the Alexandrian MS. The fifth reference is found in the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea, which ordains *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ θρησκείας ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκούεσθαι θύβαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν κωνσταντῆν καὶ παλαιὰν καὶ κωνσταντινουπόλεως. ἡ δὲ ἕκτη ἀναγιγνωσκέται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ κωνσταντινουπόλεως.* The sixth belongs to the twelfth century, and consists merely of a note on this canon. With doubtful references we have here to concern.

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¹ Mr. Sinker has since discovered two other Greek MSS; and these six MSS, with the other versions, he is using as the foundation of a new Greek Text which, we hope, will see the light soon.

It is obvious, therefore, that the book never attained a large circulation. On the other hand, as Ryle and James point out, 'where it was read' it was 'read with respect'; for 'it is the solitary instance of an OT book which, from being merely ἀντιλεγόμενον, became ἀποκριφόν.' As belonging to the former it appears in the first two lists above mentioned; as an ἀποκριφόν it is enrolled in the 'Sixty Books.'

It is notable in the next place that, whereas these psalms are designated in the first two lists as ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδῆς (I) ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ Σολομῶντος (II) ἡ δὲ ἕκτη ἀναγιγνωσκέται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ κωνσταντινουπόλεως, in the next two they are described simply as ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, with the addition of ᾠδῆ in the case of A. The book, therefore, circulated as early as the fifth century in two forms: one consisting simply of the eighteen 'Psalms of Solomon,' the other of these together with certain Odes. The first form is the older. The second probably originated in an attempt to supplement a defective edition of the first by certain odes or songs, partly of Jewish, partly of Christian, authorship, that were current under Solomon's name.

78. Extent. For if we accept the number of στιχοὶ assigned to the psalms in the MSS (i.e., 1000), we must regard the present psalms as deficient to the extent of 300. On the other hand, as the Stichometry of Nicephorus assigns 2100 στιχοὶ to the psalms and the odes combined, the odes themselves must have been about the same length as the psalms. Of the odes only five have been preserved. These are edited in an appendix to the edition of Ryle and James.

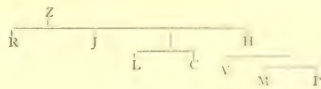
Up to the present, five MSS of this book have been found; but of these the Augsburg MS has long been lost, though we possess a record of its existence in the Catalogue

79. Text. edition, which was based upon it. The second codex is that of Vatican (V). This MS was collated by Haupt for Hilgenfeldt, two volumes (*Gr. Lit.*, 1856, 1857), and *Monast. Indulgens.*, 1859, pp. 556-561, 562; but the collation has been recently shown to be inaccurate. The next edition is that of Geiger, *Die Text. Sacrorum Scriptur. B. ebr.* (1871), based on the same critical materials as Hilgenfeldt's. Though agreeing with Hilgenfeldt as to the date and situation, Geiger maintains, in opposition to him, the Hebrew original. Fritzsche's edition was published in the same year (*Lit. et. VT. Græc.*, 569-89); and that of Pick in 1883 (*Presb. Rev.*, 775-813). The third codex is the Copenhagen one (H), to which attention was first called by Graux in the *Rev. Crit.* (1877), 291-293. The Moscow (—M) and Paris (—P) MSS were discovered and collated by Gelhardt. All these authorities have been used in the edition of Ryle and James (*Canon. Solomonicus. Liber Psalmorum et Odam. Græc. et Lat. Textus. 1880*). This edition, eminent alike for its learning and for its critical insight, the reader will find everything worth knowing on the subject.² For the remaining literature on these psalms we must refer the student to this work (*Introduct.* 13-21), and to Schür. (*in loc.*); but we must not forget two of the most fruitful studies that have yet been made—namely, an article by Meyers in Herder's *Kirchen-Lexikon* (1847), and an Appendix to We.'s *Die Phar. u. Sadd.* (1874), which contains the translation with notes.

The date must be determined by the references to

¹ Ryle and James make it clear that in both cases 'we should read the plural, against the best MSS.'

² Since the above account was written two new editions of the text have appeared. The first is that of Swete (*Text of Greek. 3 vols.*, 1892). This editor has made a valuable contribution to the criticism of the text by means of a hitherto uncollected MS (which Gelhardt designates K) belonging to the Vatican. According to Gelhardt, however, his collation of this MS is deficient in point of accuracy. The second edition is that of O. von Gebhardt (*Græc. Solomonicus. Græc. et Lat. Textus. 1894*). This edition is based upon the Vatican MS, and is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject. In the formation of his text Gebhardt has used the MSS C H J L R. Of these only H (the Copenhagen MS) was used by Ryle and James, and H R by Swete. Hence C J L are here used for the first time. These are respectively the Codd. Ibericus, Laura-Klostu, and Casanatensis. The remaining MSS M P V, Gelhardt regards as not deserving consideration. He gives the following genealogy of all the MSS. Z represents the archetype:—



contemporary events; and, as these are many and varied, there will be little difficulty in assigning a definite period to the activities of the authors.

The book opens with the alarms of war (12, 81) in the midst of a period of great material prosperity (13f. 82); but the prosperity is only seeming; from their ruler to the vilest of the people they are altogether sinful (17 21 f.). The king, too, belongs to the family that has usurped the throne of David (17-68). A righteous judgment, however, speedily comes upon them. A hostile army advances against them, led by a 'mighty striker,' who came from the ends of the earth (816). The princes of the land go forth to meet him with joy, and greet him with the words, 'Blessed is thy path; come ye, enter in with peace' (818). When he has established himself within the city he seizes its strongholds (821); he casts down its fenced walls with the battering ram (21). Then the Gentiles tread Jerusalem under foot (220); yea, they pollute even the altar with their presence (22). Its princes and wise counsellors are put to the sword, and the blood of its inhabitants flows like water (823); its sons and daughters are carried away captive to the West (824 17 14) to serve in bondage (22), and its princes to grace the triumph of their conqueror (17 14). But the dragon who has conquered Jerusalem (220), aimed at lordship of land and sea, and thought himself to be more than man, at last meets with shameful death on the shores of Egypt, and there is none to bury him (230 f.).

There can be little doubt now as to the interpretation of these facts. The family that had usurped the throne of David are the Asmonæans, who, since 105 B.C., had assumed the regal name. The 'mighty striker' who comes 'from the ends of the earth' is Pompey. The princes who welcomed his approach are Aristobolus II. and Hyrcanus II. When the followers of the latter opened the gates to Pompey, the party of Aristobolus shut themselves up within the temple, where they were besieged by Pompey and their defences battered down with battering-rams. The massacre that follows, and the carrying away captive to the West of princes and people, agree only with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey. Finally, the circumstances attending the death of the conqueror on the shores of Egypt recall the death of Pompey in a manner that cannot be misconceived.

We conclude, therefore, that the second psalm was written very soon after the death of Pompey in 48 B.C., and that 1, 8, 17 were composed between 63 and 48, as they presuppose Pompey's capture of Jerusalem but show no knowledge of his death. Psalms 5, 7, 9, 13, and 15 seem to allude to the same sequence of events as 1, 8, and 17, and therefore to belong to the same period. In 4 and 12, on the other hand, 'the sinners' are denounced; but as yet no visitation by the Gentiles is spoken of, nor any interposition of the Gentiles in Jewish affairs foretold. Hence these psalms are probably anterior to 64 B.C. Psalms 3, 4, 11, 14, and 16 betray no distinctly historical colouring; but there is nothing in them which requires us to assume different authorship and date from those of the other psalms. We may, therefore, with Kyle and James, safely assign 70-40 B.C. as the limits within which the psalms were written.

It may be added that Movers, Del, and Keim have identified the invader of Palestine with Herod; but this is impossible on many grounds; and just as many difficulties attend Ew's identification of this personage with Antiochus Epiphanes. In fact, all modern critics support the view advocated above.

The authors were clearly Pharisees. Thus they divide their countrymen into 'righteous' (*δίκαιοι*; 238f. 33-57f.

81. Author. 14 49c etc.) and 'sinners' (*ἀμαρτωλοὶ*; 238 313 49 135 67 etc.), 'saints' (*ἅγιοι*; 3 10 47 840 etc.) and 'transgressors' (*παράνομοι*; 4 11 13 21 27 121-4 17 27), of whom the former were the Pharisees and the latter the Sadducees. They assail the 'sinners' for having usurped the throne of David (17 58) and laid violent hands on the high-priesthood (176). This assault on the Asmonæan house evidently emanates from a Pharisee.

The authors further denounce the priests for polluting the holy things by their uncleanness and their neglect of the true observances (23 5 8 13 26), and likewise for outdoing the heathen in their abominations (18 80). Their attitude, moreover, to the law, their conception of the theocracy, their ideal of the bearing of a righteous man in the case of Greek oppression, all alike mark them out as belonging to the Pharisaic school. To the

same school appertains the doctrine taught regarding future retribution and the Messiah. In regard to the latter, Kyle and James observe with justice that the Messianic conception in these psalms 'marks the revolution which had passed over Pharisaic thought since the time, not a century before, when Israel's mission in the world was identified only with the fulfilment and dissemination of the law. . . . The heroic deeds of Judas Maccabeus and his brothers had rekindled the ardour of the people for a Jewish dynasty, a Jewish kingdom; and the Pharisaic supporters of a theocracy were powerless so long as their teaching showed no sympathy with this patriotic enthusiasm.' But as it was hopeless to look for Israel's redemption to the helpless and hated later Asmonæans, so it is just at this crisis that the author of these psalms 'combines the recognition of the failure of the Asmonæan house with the popular enthusiasm for a Jewish monarchy' (1, 57). Thus the Pharisees 'appealed to the patriotic feelings of those who had no power to appreciate the abstract beauty of the old legalism. By its hope for a "son of David" it proclaimed the downfall of the Levitical Asmonæan house. By its ideal reign of "wisdom and righteousness," it asserted the fundamental Pharisaic position that the law was supreme.' Thus 'the Messianic representation of our seventeenth psalm marks the stage at which Pharisaic thought passed beyond the narrow limits of its earlier teaching and availed itself of the popular aspiration for an earthly kingdom.' This step, however, 'entailed upon the theocratic party no policy beyond the exercise of patience till God should raise up the king, and until then the minute observance of this law' (p. 58). Against the attitude adopted by the writers of this book, *the assumption of Moses* is a protest from beginning to end (see above, § 65).

We give below (§ 85) some grounds for assuming that pss. 1-16 and 17-18 are due to different writers.

As the main interests of the psalms center

82. Place. Jerusalem, the writer probably lived in that city.

It is 'the City of the Sanctuary' (84); in it shall the song of triumph be sung when God brings back its children from the east and from the west (11 13-1). Though Jerusalem has now been trodden under foot by the Gentiles (22), the Messiah will cleanse it from all such pollution (17 25 33), and thither all the nations of the earth will go up to see the Messiah's glory (17 34). The psalmist's indictment of the Sadducean members of the Sanhedrim (41), and his account of their vices and abominations, are best understood as coming from a contemporary inhabitant of Jerusalem. To the west of psalms 2, 8, and 12, that city is the centre of all the world, and the history of other nations or world-empires is of moment only in as far as it connects itself with 'the Holy City.'

The circumstances connected with these psalms point undoubtedly to a Hebrew original—*i.e.*, their composition, *circa* 70-40 B.C., by a Pharisee

83. Language. residing in Jerusalem;—and, notwithstanding Hilgenfeld's strong advocacy of a Greek original, all modern scholars admit that the psalms were composed in Hebrew.

This fact was first established by Geiger in opposition to Hilgenfeld's view. It has further been substantiated by Kyle and James with a fulness and insight that cannot fail to win conviction (*Introd.* pp. 77-87). As for the Greek

84. Greek version. translation, we may provisionally accept the date assigned by the editors just named, who, by a hypothetical train of reasoning, show that it 'is not later than the middle of the first century A.D.'

We will now sketch in a few words some of the teaching of these psalms regarding the Messiah and the resurrection. First, in regard to the Messiah,

85. Eschatology. the writer of psalm 17 returns to the conception of the prophets and describes him as 'the son of David' (17 23). He calls him also 'the Anointed One' (v. 36, cp 1868)—a title that had been applied a few years before to the ideal Messianic king in association with supernatural attributes (Enoch 48 10 524). Here, however, the Messiah is a man and nothing more.

He is to be raised up by God himself (17 23, cp 1868). He is to destroy the supremacy of the Gentiles (the Romans) and drive them forth from the borders of Israel (17 25 37 31). The 'proud sinners' (the Sadducees) will be expelled from the heritage of God which they had unlawfully seized (*cp.* 26 f. 41 51). The Messiah will purge Jerusalem from all impurity and make it his capital (*cp.* 33-35); he will bring back to Palestine the dispersed tribes (*cp.* 28 34 50); the Gentiles will become tributary and be converted to the faith of Israel (*cp.* 31 f. 34). He shall himself be free from sin (v. 41), and as his people will be his (*cp.* 35). Further, he will not conquer by force of arms (v. 37), but will smite the earth with the word of his mouth (v. 39). Finally, his rule is temporary (v. 42): 'He shall not faint all his days.' Only the surviving righteous share in his kingdom (17 50); the departed righteous are not raised to participate in it.

As these hopes of the Messiah are confined to pss. 17 f., and as not even the remotest hint of such hopes can be discovered in the preceding sixteen psalms, it appears necessary to assume for them a difference of authorship.

In these, we should observe, there is not a hint that redress for present evils is to be looked for from the Messiah. In every instance the Psalmist expresses his faith that wrong will be set right, either by God's present judgments, which his righteousness is or shall be justified (29: 49, 87, 93), or by his final judgment of the world, when the righteous shall rise to eternal life (3: 16, 146), and hell and destruction and darkness shall be the heritage of transgressors (13: 1-14). This final judgment is spoken of as a 'visitation' of God upon the righteous and the wicked (3: 14-16, 15, 14, f.); it is likewise called in respect of the righteous 'the day of mercy for the righteous' (146, 186), whereas in respect of the wicked it is named 'the day of the judgment of the Lord' (16, 13).

Since there is in pss. 1-16 only a resurrection of the righteous, Sheol was conceived as the perpetual abode of the wicked, 162. Into Sheol, thus conceived as hell, the wicked enter immediately on death (162 compared with 146, 15, 11). The intermediate abode of the righteous is probably to be regarded as the 'treasuries' of which we find the first reference in Eth. En. 100, 5. See also ESCHATOLOGY, § 67.

IX. THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES. The Sibylline literature belongs to a class of productions highly characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism.

86. Propagandist literature.

'These,' as Schürer aptly remarks, 'were Jewish works under a heathen mask.' However divergent the outward form assumed, they all exhibited one characteristic in common: they addressed themselves to heathen readers, under cloak of some name that was influential in the heathen world, and in the form most natural to their alleged origin. Indirectly or directly, their aim was the propagation of Judaism among the Gentiles. Whilst the works ascribed to Hecateus and Aristeas belong to the former category (indirect propaganda), the Sibyllines are distinctly of the latter.

The Sibyl was regarded in the ancient world as an inspired prophetess. She belonged to no prophetic order or priestly caste, but held a position free and uncontrolled as a superhumanly gifted organ of the will and counsels of the gods.

The number of such Sibyls is variously stated at different times. Heracitus in *Protrepticus* (*De Heb. orig.*, 5), *Vespertianus* (*Par.*, 1095), and Plato (*Phaedr.*, 23), speak of only one. Tacitus (*Ann.*, 6, 12) is doubtful whether there were more than one. Pausanias (*Descr. Græc.*, 10, 12) mentions four, while Varro (in Lactantius, *Div. Instit.*, 16) specifies ten. For further information on this subject the reader should consult Alexander, *Vetus. Sibylline* (1857, vol. 1), 3-77; 2, 1-101; *Manus. de Sibyllinarum Infulentia* (1879), and the arts. on the subject in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr.*, and the *Ency. Brit.*, 9.

Written accounts of the oracles delivered by the Sibyls obtained in Greece and Asia Minor only a private circulation. Still though they were not preserved by the State or publicly consulted, we must not underrate their importance in the life and thought of the Eastern classical world. In Rome, however, they acquired quite a unique position. It is not necessary to treat here of the very ancient collection of these oracles, said to have been purchased by King Tarquin, or to record the frequent occasions on which they were consulted by the state before their destruction in the fire that consumed the Capitol in B.C. 83. (Alexandre [2, 198] has traced sixty such occasions.) Their place was soon afterwards taken (75 B.C.) by a collection, amounting in all to about 1000 verses, made in Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, and Italy, by order of the Senate. (After being revised under Augustus, it seems finally to have been burnt by the order of Stilicho in 404 A.D.)

88. Sibylline Oracles.

Inasmuch as such oracles enjoyed high authority and a wide circulation in the East,—inasmuch, likewise, as they were anonymous in origin, free from authoritative revision, and capable of modification or enlargement at pleasure by those in whose hands they were for the

time being,—they offered to the missionary spirit of Hellenistic Judaism a form of literature which would readily admit the disguised expression of its highest beliefs, and at the same time procure for them a hearing in Gentile circles. It is not unlikely, too, that the prolonged search of Roman officials for Sibylline oracles in the East may have further stimulated the inventive faculties of the Alexandrian Jews, and led to the composition of many of the verses in our present collection. In this method of propaganda the Christians proved themselves later to be apt pupils of the Jews. So common, indeed, had become in early Christian times the invention of such oracles that Celsus (*Orig. contr. Cels.*, 561) terms Christians *Σιβυλλισταί*, believers in sibyls, or sibyl-mongers.

This charge of Celsus was not unmerited; for with the exception of a citation about the tower of Babel made by Alexander Polyhistor, 80-40 B.C. (see *Eus. Chron.*, 1, 23), and found likewise in Josephus (*Ant.*, 1, 43), it is to Christian writers that we are indebted, not only for all other references, but also for the preservation of the entire collection that has come down to us.

Hermas (*Vit. 2*) mentions the Sibyl, but not her verses; but quotations are frequent in Clement Alex. and Lactantius. A collection of the Patristic quotations from the Sibyllines will be found in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinarum quæ apud Lactantium reperiuntur*: 1817), in Vervorst (*De Carminibus Sibyllinis apud sanctos Patres disceptatio*, Paris, 1844), in Besançon (*De l'empire que les Sibylles ont eu sur les esprits des oracles sibyllins*: Montauban, 1851), and in Alexandre (*2*, 234-317).

The Sibylline Oracles, as we now have them, are a chaotic medley. They consist of twelve books—there were originally fourteen—of various

89. Surviving collection.

authorship, date, and religious conception.* This arrangement, which is due to an unknown editor of the sixth century (Alexandre), does not in itself determine identity of authorship, or of time, or of religious belief; for many of the books are merely arbitrary groupings of unrelated fragments. As the editor, moreover, was guided by caprice as often as by any discernible principle of editing, it is not strange that the same passage frequently recurs in different contexts.

The first printed edition of these Oracles was published at Basel, in 1545, from an Augsburg (now a Munich) MS, and consisted of eight books. A metrical Latin translation of these books by Sebastian

90. Editions.

Castalio appeared in the following year, and an emended Greek text from the same scholar in 1555. The most valuable of the early editions is that of Opsopodeus (*i.e.*, Koch), Paris, 1599, in which fresh MS evidence is brought to bear upon the text. These were followed by that of Gallesius, Amsterdam, 1689; but his work is of no critical worth. These eight Sibylline books were likewise reprinted in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Vett. Patr.* (Venice, 1788). Book 14 was first edited by Mai in 1819 from a Milan MS and Books 11-14 from two Vatican MSS in 1828 by the same scholar. Books 9 and 10 have not been recovered. All these editions have been superseded by the first edition of Alexandre's *Oracula Sibyllina* (2 vols. Paris, 1841-1856), and his second edition of 1869, in which the valuable excursions of the first are omitted; and by the edition of Friedlieb (Leipzig, 1853). The latter has a useful introduction, and is accompanied by a translation into German hexameters; but the text is untrustworthy.

By far the best text that has yet appeared is that of Rzsch, *Oracula Sibyllina* (Vienna, 1891). For the formation of this text fourteen MSS have been used; the text has been further emended by an exhaustive collation of quotations in the Fathers. Our citations will be made from this text.

For further literature on the subject, see Alexandre's work (1st ed. 271-82; 2nd ed. 418-419); Schürer (*Hist.*, 5, 288-292). English readers will find the subject well treated in the work of Schürer just mentioned; *Edm. Rev.* (July 1877, pp. 31-67); and Deane (*Pseudepigr.*, 1891, pp. 276-344).

The relation of the Jewish and the Christian Sibyllines to the ancient heathen ones it is practically impossible

91. Rel. to heathen Sibyl.

to determine. 1. They assumed, of course, the outward form of the older Oracles, being written in Homeric hexameter verse; but they transgress every rule of prosody. Short syllables are lengthened through the in-

fluence of the accent, or even without it, owing to the exigencies of the verse; and long syllables are likewise shortened.

For peculiarities of metre and syntax, see *Alexandre, 1. 3. 10-11*. It must be acknowledged, however, that many of these disappear in the better text of *Rzach*. Of acrostic verses, which, according to *Diogn. Hal.* (4.62) and *Cicero (De Div. 2. 54)*, was the form of the most ancient Sibyllines, only one specimen is still preserved—viz., in 8.217-250, the initials of which are ΗΙΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΙΒΥΡΗ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ. It should be observed, further, that without the last word of the initials of the verse composed of the word ΙΧΘΥΣ—a fish—a frequent symbol of the Christian faith on early monuments.

2. As regards the matter, it is more than probable that the later Sibyls used much of the older material lying ready to hand.

Thus, in 3.414-418 (the passage about Helen), 'the Erinnyes from Sparta,' is from a heathen source; so likewise the punning couplet in 4.99-100, which frequently recurs:

καὶ Σπάρτην ἄλλοτε ἴσταντο ὅτι ἠελώσται καλλιῶνα
 ἄλλοτε δ' αἶμα τῆν ἑβραίων ἄβραμ ὅν μακρὰ τὰ ἄλλοτα.

Another notable instance is 8.361, where a line from an ancient Delphic oracle is given verbatim. See *Herod. 1.47*.

We must turn from such questions to discuss the various elements of which the work is composed.

92. **Composite character.** These, as we have already observed, are both Jewish and Christian, and the latter largely preponderate. Owing, however, to the character of the work, it is not always possible to distinguish between the two. It is therefore only on some of the smaller portions that we can arrive at any certainty. Much is of a neutral character, and, as far therefore as internal evidence goes, may equally well have proceeded from either class of writers. There is a great lack of external evidence. We shall now deal with the various elements of the work in their chronological order as far as that is possible. Our space does not admit of an analysis of all the books; we shall, however, give a short survey of the more important.

The first and oldest part is 3.97-829^a and probably the Proemium. The latter is not found in our MSS; it

93. **Proemium.** ^{istaken from the *Act Autobiogon* of Theophilus (180 A.D.).} It consists of two fragments, of thirty-five and forty-nine lines respectively. *Rzach* (pp. 232-238) and *Alexandre* link them together by another short fragment of three lines. On very inadequate grounds the latter editor assigns them to Christian authorship; but they contain nothing of an essentially Christian cast (on their

94. 3.97-829. contents, see *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 58). With regard to 3.97-829 opinions are conflicting. *Bleek* regards verses 97-807—with the exception of 3.350-380, a later Christian interpolation—as the work of an Alexandrian Jew, 170-160 B.C.; *Hilgenfeld* thinks that the whole of 97-817 was written about 140 B.C.; *Ewald* brings down the date to 124 B.C. *Alexandre* assigns 3.97-204, 489-828, to 168, but 295-488 to the age of the Antonines. The strongest evidence in favour of *Alexandre's* view is to be found in the difficulty of interpreting adequately such passages as 3.464-473 as applying to the civil war and the dissensions of *Marius* and *Sulla* (*Friedlieb*, p. 33).

3.97-818 falls naturally into three groups: (a) 97-204; (b) 205-488; (c) 489-818. The first (a) opens abruptly with the building and the destruction of *Babel* (97-104). Then the earth is peopled and its rule is divided between *Cronos*, *Titan*, and *Japetos* (106-110). In the strife that subsequently arose between the *Cronides* and the *Titans* these races were destroyed, and there arose in succession the great kingdoms of the earth—those of *Egypt*, *Persia*, *Media*, *Æthiopia*, *Assyria*, *Macedonia*, again of *Egypt*, and of *Rome* (115-164). This closes the retrospect of the Sibyl; now begins her prophecy (164-166). First, she predicts the rise of the Jewish (under *Solomon*), the *Macedonian*, and the *Roman* kingdoms; during the reign of the seventh king of *Egypt*, of *Hellenic* race, the people of *God* will again become powerful (167-195). Then are recounted the judgments of *God*—

1 A Latin rendering with the last seven verses omitted is given in *Augustine's De Civ. 18. 43*.
 2 Where *Friedlieb* and *Alexandre* give 828, *Rzach* gives 829 verses.

3 In the detailed analysis that follows, certain verses, unimportant for the present purpose, are (for the sake of brevity) left unaccounted for.

on the kingdoms of the world and on the Jews (195-212). Next, the Sibyl takes as her theme the praise of the Jewish nation, their virtues, and the salient points in their history from their departure from *Egypt* down to *Cyrus* (218-294).

The second group (b) is mainly concerned with judgments against *Babylon*, *Egypt*, *Gog* and *Magog*, *Libya* (295-333), and likewise against various cities (341-366). Then follows the promise of *Messianic* prosperity and peace (367-380), and this group closes with oracles regarding *Antiochus* *Epiphanes* and his successors, and various countries, towns, and islands (381-488). In 419-432 we have the celebrated diatribe against *Homer*.

The third group (c) opens with oracles against *Phoenicia*, *Crete*, *Thrace*, *Gog* and *Magog*, and the *Hellenes* (489-572). Then *Israel* is praised for its worship of the true God (573-600). Thereupon comes a second prophecy of judgment about a call to conversion, and an account of the evils that were to befall the ungodly (601-651). Then the Sibyl foretells the coming of the *Messianic* king, who would take vengeance on his adversaries; next comes a detailed account of the period of *Messianic* prosperity (652-731), and, finally, the signs that are to herald the end of all things (736-808). The Sibyl declares that she is neither the *Erythraean* Sibyl nor yet the *Cumaean* (809-818).

3. Though it is obvious from the above epitome that 3.97-818 is not a single and homogeneous composition but rather an aggregate of separate oracles, we are safe (with *Schürer*) in regarding the three groups as derived in the main from one author, and as dating from the same period, the reign of the seventh Ptolemy, which is referred to in all three groups (192-193, 316-318, 608-610).

Ptolemy VII. *Physcon* reigned first in conjunction with his brother *Ptolemy VI.* *Philometor* (170-164 B.C.). He was then banished, but recovered the throne in 145 and reigned as sole king till 117 B.C. That the composition dates from the latter period is clear (500-572) from the prophecy of the complete subjugation of all *Hellenic* lands. *Hilgenfeld*, *Schürer*, and *Drummond* point out, this cannot have been written before the fall of *Corinth* (146 B.C.). The doom of *Corinth* is actually referred to (487), and possibly that of *Carthage* (492-503). Verses 388-400, which deal with the *Seleucid* kings, were written (according to *Hilgenfeld's* interpretation) about 140 B.C. Therefore, since the author represents the *Messianic* kingdom as beginning during the reign of *Ptolemy Physcon*, we may safely take 97-818 to have been written in the second half of the second century B.C. The *Proemium*, with which we have already dealt (see above § 93), most probably formed the introduction to these verses, and *Schürer* adduces external evidence from *Lactantius* (iv. 65) to that effect.

Before proceeding to discuss 3.1-96, we should add that *Friedlieb* and others reject 819-828 as a later addition, as these verses are at variance with 809-811.

With regard, however, to 3.1-92 all previous critics seem to have gone wrong in connecting 63-92 with the

95. 3.1-92. preceding verses. In 63-92 the end of all things is to come during the sway of *Rome* over the world (75-80). In 1-62, on the other hand, only the partial judgments that are to take effect on the coming of the *Messianic* king in 49 f. are recounted. The Sibyl then promises in 61 f. to enumerate the cities that are to suffer; but here the account breaks off, and not a word more is said in 63-92 in fulfilment of her promise. Hence these two sections are of different authorship. 63-92 is certainly late and *Christian*. On 3.1-62, see also *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 68.

In 63-74 we have a reproduction of the myth concerning *Nero*, according to which *Beliar* was to return in the form of that emperor and work many mighty signs. This idea recurs in 2.167-170 (a distinctly *Christian* product), and in the *Asc. Isa.* 3.13-51 (cp *ANTICHRIST*, § 15).

As regards 3.1-62, it may be derived from one author, and v. 52 may refer to the triumvirate of *Antony*, *Octavius*, and *Lepidus*. In that case this section was written before 31 B.C.

Book 4 is, with *Friedlieb*, *Ewald*, *Hilgenfeld*, *Alexandre*, and *Schürer*, to be regarded as of Jewish authorship, and was written about 80 A.D. or somewhat later. This

96. Book 4. date is determined by two allusions: the destruction of *Jerusalem* (70 A.D.) in 115-127, and the eruption of *Vesuvius* (79 A.D.) in 130-136. The latter was to be the immediate precursor of the vengeance that was to be wreaked on *Rome* by *Nero*, returning with many myriads from the East (137-139). There are no grounds for assigning this book, with *Ew.* and *Hilgenfeld*, to *Essene* authorship; for, with the exception of the reference to ablations in 163-165, there is no mention of anything characteristic of the *Essenes*, and the words in question are most naturally taken as referring to proselyte baptism (*Schürer*). The teaching enforced in 179-192 shows that the author cannot have been a *Jew* of *Alexandria*, but probably belonged to *Palestine*; for the eschatology is very naive. From the bones and ashes of men's bodies *God*

will fashion anew the bodies in which they will rise to judgment. The judgment will then proceed according to their deeds. The wicked will again die, but the righteous live again on earth. This recalls Enoch 1-36.

Book 5 professes to be the work of an Egyptian Sibyl, the sister of Isis (v. 53). It is mainly Jewish; but there may be Christian elements. There is a marked absence of ideas characteristic of Judaism or Christianity, and also of internal connection. Friedlieb attributes the book to an Egyptian Jew in the time of Hadrian; Alexandre to a Christian Jew of Alexandria in the age of the Antonines. The first fifty-one lines are in effect a chronological oracle ending with Hadrian. As the rest of the book deals with Egyptian affairs, it is probably of different authorship and date, and we may, with Ewald, Hilgenfeld, and Schirer, accept 80 A.D. as an approximate date for 52-531. Some passages are decidedly Jewish: vv. 260-285 (announcement of woes upon the idolatrous Gentiles; but of blessing on Israel), 277, 397-413 (the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem), 205, 414-420, 499-511 (the building of a new temple in Egypt which is to take the place of that already destroyed at Leontopolis); there are others also. The one passage that seems to be certainly Christian is 256-259:

ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη αὐτὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔλασεν ἀντὶ τοῦ πᾶσι καὶ ἠγάπησεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαλλοκῶν. Ἐβραῖοι δὲ ἤρασαν, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγαλλοκῶν ἠγάπησεν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ χυδαίους ἄλλοιους.

Book 6 is the work of a Gnostic or Christian. Jesus, the natural son of Joseph, is united with Christ at baptism. The

11-14 1/. somewhat after the manner of the apocryphal gospels. Book 7 is of like authorship and is not earlier than the third (see above,

§ 91, 1) century A.D. Book 8, in which the famous acrostic occurs, is of Christian origin but of divided authorship. 1-429 belongs to the second century; 430-501 to the third. As to Books 1 f. and 11-14, there is a great variety of opinion. Alexandre assigns the former to a Christian author of the third century, and the latter to an Alexandrian Jew of about the year 267. Friedlieb places 1/. at the close of the second century; 11-14 he ascribes to Jewish writers of the second and the third centuries A.D. respectively; 12 1/ to Christian writers of the third century.

Some of these judgments are simply hypotheses; there is still room for indefinite study on these questions. R. H. C.

APOCRYPHA

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It is proposed in the present article to give, in the first place, a general survey of the very miscellaneous collection of books known as 'the Apocrypha' (details being reserved for special articles), and then to proceed to an enumeration and classification of the larger literature which lies beyond the limits of that collection. Fuller treatment of the subdivision 'Apocryphal,' however, will be reserved for a special article (see above, APOCALYPTIC), where will be found an account of the following nine works:—Apoc. of Baruch, Ethiopic Book of Enoch, Slavonic Book of Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses, Test. xii. Patr., Psalms of Solomon, Sibylline Oracles. The later Christian literature will be excluded, only those writings being considered which contain portions assignable, at latest, to the early years of the second century.

The name Apocrypha (nom. pl. neut. of Gk. adj. ἀποκρυφός, *hidden*) is used to denote a large body of

2. Name. Jewish and Christian literature, consisting of writings which either their authors or their admirers have sought to include among canonical scriptures, but which have ultimately failed to secure such a position in the estimation of the Church at large.

This special usage of the word is derived from the practice common among sects, religious or philosophic, of embodying their special tenets or formulæ in books withheld from public use, and communicated to an inner circle of believers. Such books, generally bearing the name of some patriarch, prophet, or apostle, were called by their possessors apocryphal, the designation implying that they were hidden from the outer world, and even from the ordinary members of the sect itself; in such cases the epithet apocryphal was used in a laudatory sense. Since, however, the books were forgeries, the epithet gradually came to take colour from that fact, and in process of time was employed to indicate other writings that had been forged. In the common parlance of to-day, it denotes any story or document which is false or spurious.

One of the earliest instances—and certainly a typical instance—of the use of the word *apocryphal* in its laudatory sense, occurs

in a magical book of Moses edited from a Leyden papyrus of the third or fourth century by Leeman and by Dieterich (*Liber Iasus*, 1893). The book may be as old as the first century A.D. Its title is: Μωυσῆος ἡμῶν βιβλίον ἀποκρυφῶν ἐκκαθάρσεως ἡμῶν, 'A Holy and Secret Book of Moses, called the Eighth, or the Holy.' For the strictest use of the word, *apocryphal*, however, on the other hand, we have to turn probably to Cyril of Alexandria (348 A.D.); and for a more frequent and clear employment of the adjective in a disparaging sense, to Jerome, whose constant use of it is probably responsible for our employment of it at the present day as the equivalent of 'non-canonical.'

Finally the name Apocrypha has come to be applied, and is now applied, by the reformed communions to a particular collection of writings. While some of these are genuine and authentic treatises, others legendary histories, and the rest apocryphal in the disparaging sense of bearing names to which they have no right, all come under the definition proposed above, for each of them has at one time or another been treated as canonical.¹

I. The Apocrypha Proper.

3. Apocrypha. This collection of books may be classified in several ways. We might classification. classify them critically thus:—

1. *Additions to canonical books*:—
 - 1. Esdras (interpolated form of Ezra): see below, § 4, ii.
 - Additions to Esther: see below, § 5, 1.
 - Additions to Daniel: see below, § 5, 2.
 - Prayer of Manasses: see below, § 6, 3.
2. *Pseudographical writings*:—
 - 4. Esdras: see below, § 7.
 - Wisdom of Solomon: see below, § 8, 2.
 - Baruch: see below, § 6, 1.
 - Epistle of Jeremy: see below, § 6, 2.
3. *Legendary or Hagiographic writings*:—
 - 1. Tobit: see below, § 5, 3.
 - Judith: see below, § 5, 4.
4. *Genuine and authentic treatises*:—
 - Ecclesiasticus: see below, § 8, 1.
 - 1, 2 Maccabees: see below, § 4, i.

Probably the most natural and convenient division

¹ It does not seem necessary to devote space here to commenting upon the use of the word Deutero-canonical, as applied to these books by the Church of Rome; for it is expressly said by the authorities of that Church that no distinction of authority is implied in the term.

will be one depending upon the kind of literature which each book represents, as thus:—

- I. Narrative: (a) Historical; (b) *Legendary* (or Haggadic).
 II. (a) Prophetic; or (b) Apocalyptic.
 III. Didactic.

1. (a) HISTORICAL. i. *The Books of Maccabees*.
 1. *Maccabees*.—An important and generally trustworthy history, extant in Greek. It was

4. **Historical.** translated from a Hebrew original, which survived as late as the time of Jerome. On this and the following see MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.

2. *Maccabees*.—Extant in Greek; an abridgment of a work in five books by Jason of Cyrene (see 223). Prefixed to it are two letters, from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt, commonly held to be spurious (see, however, MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7).

3. *Maccabees*.—Greek. A fragmentary history of an attempted massacre of the Jews under Ptolemy Philopator, and of their miraculous deliverance. This book and the following are not included by the Roman Church in its Canon, and do not appear in the Vg. though found in G.

4. *Maccabees*.—Greek. A philosophical discourse, illustrating the triumph of Reason over Matter, by the story of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the 'Seven Maccabees' and their mother. The work was traditionally attributed to Josephus. An edition of the Syriac version with kindred documents, prepared by the late Prof. Bensly, has been printed under the supervision of W. E. Barnes.

ii. 1. *Esdras*.—Greek. A recasting of the canonical Ezra, to which is added the legendary tale of the Dispute of the Three Courtiers (known to Josephus). This book appears in Vg. as an appendix to the NT; but no authority is attributed to it by the Church of Rome. See ESDRAS, BOOKS OF, First and Second.

(b) LEGENDARY. 1. *Additions to Esther*.—Greek. They consist of a number of letters, prayers, visions, and the like, which are found intercalated into the canonical book of

5. **Legendary.** Esther in G. See ESTHER, § 10.

2. *Additions to Daniel*.—Greek. These are three in number:—

- (i.) The Story of Susanna, prefixed to the book.
- (ii.) The Song of the Three Children, inserted in ch. 3.
- (iii.) The Story of Bel and the Dragon, following ch. 12 and attributed to Habakkuk.

They are found both in the G Version and in that of Theodotion. What is said to be the Hebrew original of part of the Song of the Three Children has been recently found by Dr. M. Gaster in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel, and printed by him in *TSBA*, 1894. Cp DANIEL, § 5.

3. *Tobit*.—Greek and 'Chaldee.' A romantic narrative of the period of the Captivity, written not later than the first century A.D. at latest, and perhaps in Egypt. The book has a literary connection with the story of Ahiqar (see ACHIACHARUS). The date cannot at present be considered at all certain. The 'Chaldee' or Aramaic version (on the name see ARAMAIC, § 4, end), published by Dr. Neubauer in 1878, is probably not the earliest form of the book. Of the Greek there are three recensions, and there are three old Latin recensions besides Jerome's Vg. version. There are also two Hebrew texts, one derived from G, and the other from the Aramaic. Dr. Gaster has printed some fresh Hebrew texts of the story in *TSBA*, 1896. See TOBIT.

4. *Judith*.—Greek. A romance which, in its present form, may date from the first century B.C. It tells the story of the deliverance of the city Bethulia from the Assyrians under Holofernes, through the bravery of Judith, a Hebrew widow. No miraculous element appears in the story. See JUDITH.

¹ So called in EV and G (e.g. Swete (B)). In G^A (subscr.) it is called *ἰερεῖς*; in Lag. s. Luc. it is *Ἐσθῆρα Β'*, and in Vg. it is 3 Esdras.

II. (a) PROPHETICAL. 1. *Baruch*.—Greek. A pseudepigraphical book (i.e. one written under a false name), ascribed to Baruch son of Neriah,

6. **Prophetical.** amanuensis of Jeremiah. It consists of two parts: (1) 1-38, which may date from the times of the Persian supremacy, possibly has a Hebrew original, and certainly shows close affinities with Dan. 9; (2) 39-59 (end), originally written in Greek, probably after 70 A.D.; chap. 5 is modelled on the 11th Psalm of Solomon. Edited most fully by Kneucker. Appended to this book is—

2. *The Epistle of Jeremy* (Baruch 6 in our Apocrypha).—Greek, also pseudepigraphic, purporting to be a letter of Jeremiah addressed to the Jews at Babylon, inveighing against the worship of idols.

3. *The Prayer of Manasses*.—Greek. This is attributed to Manasseh, king of Judah, when in prison. It is very likely an extract from a legendary history of Manasseh, of which other portions appear to be quoted (in connection with the prayer) in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (222); or possibly it was written with a view to insertion into the text of 2 Chron. 33. It is not in the Roman canon, but is appended thereto.

(b) APOCALYPTIC.—Of this large and important class of writings only one specimen is contained in our Apocrypha,

namely:—

4. *Esdras*.—Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian. The original Greek is lost. Only chaps. 3-14 appear in any Version save the Latin; chaps. 1f. 15f. are later accretions, probably of two different dates, 1f. being perhaps of second century, and 15f. of third century; 3-14 are a Jewish apocalypse, probably written about 97 A.D.; 1f. are Christian, 15f. most likely Jewish. Rejected by the Roman Church, it is printed as an appendix to the Vg. See ESDRAS, BOOKS OF and APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 13-15.

III. DIDACTIC. 1. *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, commonly called *Ecclesiasticus*.—Greek, avowedly

8. **Didactic.** translated from the Hebrew of which a considerable portion has lately been recovered. A genuine authentic treatise, in parts of high literary excellence. The author was a Palestinian Jew of the second century B.C. See ECCLESIASTICUS.

2. *Wisdom of Solomon*.—Greek. Written under the name of Solomon, perhaps by Philo (according to an early tradition), certainly by a Jew of Alexandria in the first century. It is of great merit in parts; but the tone deteriorates towards the end. The book seems, moreover, to be incomplete. See WISDOM, BOOK OF.

II. Other Apocryphal Literature.

Our survey of the remaining literature is a much more difficult matter. The idea of classifying the books upon chronological principles must be

9. **Other literature.** set aside at once as impracticable; the data are in a majority of cases far too

vague. The simplest division that can be made is between those books which have to do with the OT and those which associate themselves with the New. Within those the classification will be made, as in the case of the apocrypha already described, according to kinds of literature represented; writings which unite more than one element will be arranged according to their most prominent feature. In the case of the OT literature, slightly modifying our previous classification, we can include all the documents we possess under the following headings:—i. *Legendary or Haggadic Narratives*. ii. *Prophetical and Apocalyptic books*. iii. *Poetical*. iv. *Didactic*.

¹ Called a *Esdras* in EV, but often, as here, 4 *Esdras*—i.e., 4th after 1st *Esdras*, the Heb. Ezra, and Nehemiah. It is called 3 *Esdras*, when Ezra-Neh. are counted one book, as in G. In an Amiens MS chaps. 1f. 3-14 15f. are called 3rd, 4th, and 5th *Esdr.* respectively.

A. OLD TESTAMENT (§§ 10-25).

I. LEGENDARY OR HAGGADIC NARRATIVES (§§ 10-18).
10. Adam and Eve. 1. *Testament (or Apocalypse, or Penitence) of Adam: Book of the Conflict of Adam and Eve.*—Extant partially in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic [and Coptic].

These versions represent variously developed forms or fragments of a Jewish romance dealing with the life of Adam and Eve after the Fall, and with their death and burial. We no longer possess the romance in its original form.

The remains of it must be sought in the following documents:—
 (a) Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*, more properly *Ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ Ἐβῶα*. Edited by Tischendorf (*Apocalypsa Adamicae*, 1866) and, in a fragmentary text, from the best MS, by Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, 521). It is principally concerned with the death of Adam and Eve, and includes an important narrative of the Fall. It is essentially Jewish.

(b) Latin *Vita Adæ et Evæ*: extant in many MSS, printed by Will. Meyer in *Abh. d. Monch. Akad.*, Philolog. philol., Kl. 14, 1879. It covers the same ground as (a) and introduces elements which occur in (c) and (d).

(c) Arabic and Ethiopic *Book of Adam and Eve or Conflict of Adam and Eve*. A long romance, Christianized throughout, dealing with the sufferings and temptations of Adam and Eve after the Fall. The history is continued to the birth of Christ, and has close affinities with the *Cave of Treasures* (ed. Bezold; *Solostastische*). It is derived in large part from the lost Jewish romance. First translated by Hilmann (*Das hebräisch-äthiopische des Morgenlandes*, 1833); Ethiopic text by Trumm in *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.* 15, 1879, 81; English version by S. C. Malan (*Book of Adam and Eve*, 1882). See too the article 'Adam, Books of,' by Hort, in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*

(d) Greek, Syriac, and Arabic fragments of the *Testament of Adam*. Prophetic and apocalyptic in character; some are extracts from the old romance in its original form; others are Christianized. Edited by Renan in *Journ. As.* (1853, pp. 477-479); the Greek by M. R. James (*Apocrypha Anecdota: Texts and Studies*, ii, 3 138).

(e) Coptic. A leaf from a Moses-Adam apocalypse, gnosticized. Edited by Schmidt and Harnack in *Sitzungsber. d. k. pr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1891, p. 1045. It is now recognised by Harnack to be part of the late Coptic *Apocalypse of Bartholomew*.

2. *Book of Jubilees, Little Genesis (Leptogenesis), Apocalypse (or Testament) of Moses.*—A 'haggadic commentary upon Genesis.' The book is in the form of a revelation made to Moses on Mount Sinai by the angel of the Presence. Hence it has been called the *Apocalypse of Moses*. The narrative communicated by the angel begins with the Creation, and extends to the giving of the law, and the whole time is reckoned in periods of Jubilees: hence the name *Book of Jubilees*. The events narrated in Genesis are for the most part sketched slightly with the addition of details of a legendary character: hence the name *Leptogenesis*, 'a detailed treatment of Genesis' (see, however, ESCHATOLOGY, §49). These details include the names of the wives of the patriarchs, the wars of Jacob and Esau, the last words of Abraham and Isaac. Much of the legendary element in *Test. xii. Patr.* (see below) is derived from this book: see APOCALYPTIC, §§ 48-58.

3. *Testaments of the Three Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob).*—Referred to in the *Apost. Const.* (6 16).

11. Patriarchs. Books under these names, combining the legendary, apocalyptic, and didactic elements Christianized, are found in Greek, Slavonic, and Roumanian (*Testament [or Apocalypse] of Abraham*), and in Arabic and Ethiopic (*Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*). They narrate the circumstances attending the deaths of the three patriarchs. Their early date is maintained by the present writer (one is quoted by Origen), but is not universally allowed. Dr. Kohler (*JQR*, 1895) assigns an Essene origin to the *Test. of Abraham*.

Edited by M. R. James ('Test. of Abraham': *Texts and Studies*, 2) and by Dr. Gaster ('Roumanian version of Apoc. of Abraham', *PSBA*, 1887). The Greek version is printed from one MS by Vassiliev (*Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*, 1893).

4. *Apocalypse of Abraham.*—Slavonic, from Greek. An interesting Jewish book with Christian insertions. The first part is haggadic, and gives the story of Abraham's conversion: the second is an expansion of the

vision narrated in Gen. 15: edited by N. Bonwetsch in *Studien zur Geschichte d. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1897.

5. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*—A book combining the three elements of legendary, apocalyptic and didactic matter in twelve sections, each of which gives the last dying speech of one of the sons of Jacob: see APOCALYPTIC, §§ 68-76.

6. *Life (or Confession) of Aseneth.*—A Jewish legend of early date; Christianized. Extant in Greek and Latin. Syriac (and Latin). It is connected

with the *Test. xii. Patr.*, and narrates the circumstances attending the marriage of Aseneth with Joseph. There is much beauty in the story. The Latin version was, according to the present writer's belief, made by or for Grosseteste, at the same time as that of the *Testaments*.

The Greek and Latin are edited by P. Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, 1889. The Syriac will be found in Land, *Anced. Syr.*, and Oppenheim, *Fabula Josephi et Asenethe*, 1886. See Hort's article in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*

7. *Testament of Job.*—A Midrash on Job, containing a mythical story of his life, Christianized to a very limited extent. It is ascribed to his brother

13. Job. *Npheis* (Nahor). Job's wife is called Sitis. Elihu is represented as inspired by Satan. The story is worth reading.

It exists in Greek and seems to be quoted in the *Apoc. Paul.* Printed from a Vatican MS by Mai (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* 7 100); a French translation in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*; edited last from two MSS by M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii, 1897.

8. *Testament of Solomon.*—Greek. Practically a magical book, though interspersed with large haggadic sections. It is mainly Jewish, though

14. Solomon, Christian touches have been introduced. etc.

It narrates the circumstances under which Solomon attained power over the world of spirits, details his interviews with the demons, and ends with an account of his fall and loss of power.

Ed. first by F. F. Fleck in *Wissenschaftl. Reise*; reprinted in Migne's *Cœdesus*, vol. ii., as an appendix to Pesslus's writings. A German translation by Bornemann in Ilgen's *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1843.

9. *Contradictio Salomonis.*—A work under this name is contained in the 'Gelasian' *Devero d. recipiendis et non recipiendis libris*. It was in all likelihood an account of Solomon's contest in wisdom with Hiram, and was the groundwork of the romance still extant in many forms and under many names—e.g., Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn (Anglo-Saxon), Solomon and Kitovras (i.e. Kentauros, Slavonic), Solomon and Marcolph (Latin, etc.). Josephus mentions the Hiram-legend.

See on all these books J. M. Kemble's Introduction to the *Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, Edinb. Society, 1843, and compare ACHIACHARUS.

10. *Ascension of Isaiah.*—Partly haggadic, but chiefly important as an apocalypse—under which heading it will be treated. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 42-47.

11. Pseudo-Philo's *Libri antiquitatum Biblicarum.*—Latin, from Greek, and that from Hebrew. Printed

15. Pseudo-Philo. thrice in the 16th century (in 1527, in 1550, and in 1560), this book had practically escaped the knowledge of all modern scholars (except Cardinal Pitra) until Mr. Leopold Cohn reintroduced it to the world in an article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1898. It is a haggadic summary of Bible history from Adam to the death of Saul, full of most interesting visions, prophecies, and legends.

The Latin version, the only form in which the book is known, very much resembles the version of 4 Esd. Four fragments published by the present writer (Prayer of Moses, Vision of Kenaz, Lament of Seila, and Song of David—*Apoc. Anecd. i*) turn out to be extracts from this work of Pseudo-Philo. It is apparently pre-Christian and merits careful study.

12. *Book of Jasher.*—A haggadic commentary upon the Hexateuch, containing ancient elements, but preserved in a mediæval form. There is

16. Jasher. a French translation by Drach in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, vol. ii.

13. *Book of Noah*.—Haggadic and apocalyptic fragments of this work are incorporated in the Book of Enoch; 17. **Noah**. there is also a Hebrew Midrash under this name printed by Jellinek in *Bet-ha-Midrash*, 3 155, partly based on the *Book of Jubilees*. See Rönisch and Charles, and cp. *APOCALYPTIC*, §§ 24, 57.

14. *Book of Lamech*.—The title 'Lamech' occurs in Greek lists of apocryphal books. A story of Lamech

18. **Lost Books**. which is found separately in Slavonic may or may not be identical with this. There can be little doubt that the old book treated (as the Slavonic one does) of the accidental slaying of Cain by Lamech.

15. *Book of Og*.—In the Gelasian Decree a book is mentioned as 'The Book of Og the giant, whom the heretics feign to have fought with a dragon after the Flood.' It was, according to the present writer's belief, identical with a book *Παγχαρτία τῶν Γγάρτων* or *Treatise of the Giants*, which is mentioned in a list of Manichaean apocrypha by Timotheus of Constantinople (Fabricius, *Cod. apoc. NT* 1 139).

It was no doubt a Jewish haggada, containing, to judge from the title, some stirring incidents. Possibly it may have given a Jewish form of the ancient Dragon-myth of Babylonia, on which see Gunkel (*Schöpfung*).

16. *Penitence of Jannes and Mambres*.—Mentioned also in the Gelasian Decree, and perhaps, like the *Penitentia Cypriani*, a confession of the wicked magical arts of the two Egyptian wizards. See an article by Iselin in Hilgenfeld's *ZIWT*, 1894. There is a fragment (in Latin and Anglo-Saxon) apparently belonging to this book in the Cotton MS Tib. B. V.; but it has not yet been printed.

17. *Esther*. Origen on Romans (92 : p. 646) has the following passage, which clearly refers to a romance about Esther: 'We have found it written in a certain book of an apocryphal nature (*secretiore*) that there is an angel of grace who takes his name from grace. For he is called Ananehel (51 Anahel), which being interpreted means the *grace of God*. Now in this writing it was said that this angel was sent by the Lord to Esther to give her grace in the sight of the king.'

There are, besides, many haggadic histories—e.g., of David, Jonah, the Captivity, and (see *Rev. Sév.*, 1898) the Rechabites—in Syriac, Carshunic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, which are still unpublished; they are to be found in MS at Paris and elsewhere.

See Zotenberg's *Cat. des MSS Syriacques* and *Cat. des MSS Éthiopiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, and Wright's *Catalogues of Ethiopic and of Syriac MSS* in the British Museum. Much Slavonic apocryphal literature also remains unknown to critics, though most of it has been printed. See Kozak's list of Slavonic apocryphal literature in *JPT* xviii., and Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Altchristl. Lit.* 902-917.

II. APOCALYPTIC. 1. *Book of Enoch*; and 2.

19. **Apocalyptic**: *Secrets of Enoch*.—See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 18-32 and 33-41 respectively.

3. *Sibylline Oracles*.—Greek hexameter verse, in fourteen books of various dates. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 86-98.

4. *Assumption of Moses*.—Quoted in the epistle of Jude, as well as by later Christian writers; extant in Latin, incomplete. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 59-67.

5. *Apocalypse of Baruch*.—A long and important apocalypse, closely resembling 4 Esdras in style and thought. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 5-7.

20. **Baruch**, 17, and also below under *Zoroaster*

Jeremiah, etc. (§ 23, no. 15).

6. Other *Apocalypses of Baruch* (a), (b), (c).—As far as is known at present (a) is contained in only a single Greek MS (Brit. Mus. Add. 10,073); edited by M. R. James, *Apoc. Anecd.* ii., with a translation of the Slavonic version by W. R. Morfill: Bonwetsch also has published a German translation of the Slavonic. The Greek text has two Christian passages. In the main it may very well be Jewish and of early date. It contains revelations about the course of the sun and

moon, the history of the Tower of Babel, the Vine (Christian), and the offering of the prayers of men to God by Michael. (c) An Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Baruch*, preserved in a British Museum MS (118 in Dillmann's *Catalogue*) is apparently the production, in part at least, of an Abyssinian Christian. This, or another, is mentioned in Wright's *Catalogue* (No. 27, 6, etc.). A quotation from Baruch not found in any existing book of his, is in the *Altercatio Simonis et Theophilii* (*Text. cu. Unters.* 13), and a larger one in some MSS of Cypriani's *Testimonia*, 329. It is noticed by Dr. J. Rendel Harris in *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 10.

7. *Reliqua verborum Baruchi* (*The rest of the words of Baruch*), or *Paralipomena Jeremie*.—Greek and Ethiopic. There is hardly anything really apocalyptic in this book, which is a Christian appendix to the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, haggadic in character. It narrates the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the miraculous rescue of Ebed-melech, and the martyrdom of Jeremiah.

Printed first in Ethiopic by Di. (*Chrestomathia Ethiopica*), in Greek by Ceriani (*Gloss. sacr. et prof.*), and lastly in Greek by Dr. J. Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, 1909). Harris regards it as an *aitenikon* rebellion by the church of Jerusalem to the synagogue after the Bar-Cochba revolt. It was often printed in variously abridged forms in the *Book Menaea*.

8. A short *Prophecy of Jeremiah* is uniformly attached to the *Epistle of Jeremiah* in Ethiopic MSS of the Old Testament. It consists of only a few lines, and is written to justify the quotation from 'Jeremy the prophet' in Mt. 279. It is addressed to Pashur. Jerome had seen a Hebrew volume in which a similar passage occurred. Dillmann printed it in his *Chrestomathia Ethiopica*, 1866 (p. viii n. 2).

9. *Ascension of Isaiah*.—See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 42-47.

10. *Apocalypse of Elias*, and

11. *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

The first of these was supposed to be the source of Paul's quotation in 1 Cor. 29, 'Eye hath not seen,' etc.

21. **Elias**, Alexandria. They both survive in

Zephaniah, etc. two dialects of Coptic. Fragments of

10 and 11 were published by Bouriant in the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique au Caire*. Stern translated them into German in *ZÄ*, 1886. The whole, with additional fragments, has been edited by Steindorff in Harnack and Gebhardt's *Texte u. Unters.* The

Apocalypse of Elias is fairly complete: the editor assigns only one leaf to the Apocalypse of Zephaniah and a large fragment to an unknown Apocalypse. It is the present writer's belief that this last is from an Apocalypse of Zephaniah. Both are seemingly Christianized forms of Jewish books, containing sections descriptive of heaven and hell, and prophecies of Antichrist, and his conflict with Tabitha and the two witnesses. There is an Apocalypse of Elias in Hebrew and one was printed in Jellinek's *Bet-ha-Midrash* and edited in 1897 by Buttenswieser. A passage from a Gnostic Vision of Elias is quoted by Epiphanius (*Har.* 20 13).

12. *A Revelation of Moses*, containing a visit to the unseen world, has been translated from Hebrew by Dr. Gaster (*JRAS*, 1893).

13. *An Apocalypse of Esdras*, extant in Syriac, edited by Baethgen from a late MS, and published

22. **Esdras, etc.** with a translation in *ZATW* (6 199-210 [86]), is by some thought to be an old Jewish apocalypse which was remodelled in Mohammedan times. There is an Ethiopic *Apoc. of Esd.* in the British Museum (see Wright's *Catalogue*).

14. The same remark applies to a Persian *History of Daniel* edited and translated by Zotenberg in *Merx's Archiv* (1 386), which in its present form is certainly mediaeval. The Armenian, the Coptic, and the Greek *Visions of Daniel*,¹ which are printed respectively by

¹ It may be noticed in this connection that in *SA* of Theodotion's Daniel the whole book is divided into twelve *Visions* (ὄρασεις).

Kalemkiar, by Woide, by Klostermann, and by Vassiliev (*Anecdota Græco-Hispanica*, 1893), are also very late, but contain ancient elements. See on these books W. Bousset's recent work, *Der Antichrist*, and compare ANTICHRIST. It is through by Zahn that Hippolytus commented upon the apocryphal Apocalypse of Daniel as well as on the canonical Apocalypse (*Forschungen*, 5100).

15. *Books of Zoroaster*.—Zoroaster, as we learn from the Clementines (*Recogn.* 129; *Hom.* 94), was identified with Ham, son of Noah; and mystical prophecies, most likely of Jewish origin, were current under both names. Clement of Alexandria quotes a prophecy of Ham (*Strom.* 634^c), and there are oracles of Zoroaster in Greek verse (with commentaries by Gemistius Pletho and Michael Psellus) printed, e.g., in Opsopæus's *Syllogia*, 1607. Zoroaster was also identified by Eastern scholars with Baruch. Solomon of Bassora in the Book of the Bee cites a prophecy of his concerning the Star of the Epiphany (ed. Budge, *circa* 37). The prophecy is, of course, Christian.

16. *Books of Seth*.—The Sethians possessed writings called Books of Seth and others under the names of the *Adopocis* (Ἀδοποκίς), a term which meant the sons of Seth. Hippolytus (*Ref. Hæc.*) quotes much from a Sethian book. *Pseudepigrapha* of this kind, however, to which might be added the prophecies of Parchor (Clem. Alex.), the Gospel of Eve (Epiphanius), and Justin the Gnostic's Book of Baruch (Hippolytus, *Ref. Hæc.* 5), are hardly to be reckoned among apocryphal literature, since there seems to have been in them little or no attempt at verisimilitude of attribution.

17. *Prayer of Joseph*.—Quoted by Origen and Procopius (*in Genesim*). It represented Jacob as an incarnation of a pre-existent angel Israel; in the fragments we possess, Jacob is the speaker. The book extended to 1100 στιχοι, being of about the same length as the Wisdom of Solomon.

18. *Eldad and Medad*.—A prophecy attributed to these two elders (for whom see Nu. 11) is quoted in the Shepherd of Hermas (*Vis.* 234). It consisted of 400 στιχοι (about twice the length of the Song of Solomon).

III. POETICAL. 1. *Psalms of Solomon*.—Greek,

24. **Poetical.** from Hebrew (lost). A collection of eighteen (or nineteen) Psalms. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 77-85.

2. *Additions to the Psalter*.—(a) Ps. 151, on David's victory over Goliath, is appended to the \mathfrak{C} Version of the Psalter. It is a very simple composition, of some merit. (b) Three apocryphal psalms in Syriac, edited by W. Wright (*PSB.A.*, 1887, p. 257), viz. a prayer of Hezekiah, a psalm on the Return, and two thanksgivings by David on his victory over the lion and the 'wolf.' They are probably Jewish, and of considerable antiquity.

3. *A Lamentation of Job's Wife*, inserted in the \mathfrak{C} text of Job 2, is closely connected with the Testament of Job.

IV. DIDACTIC.—The three main members of this class, the Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremy, have been already noticed (§ 8, 2; § 6, 1; and § 6, 2 respectively). *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (see APOCALYPTIC, §§ 68-76) have a large didactic element. Besides these there is little to note, save perhaps certain *Magical Books of Moses*.—Extant in Greek papyri found in Egypt; they have been printed by Leemans and Dieterich (*in Abraxas*). They are not purely Jewish; Jewish names are employed, but there is a large Orphic element. The story of Achiacharus (see ACHIACHARUS) also ought to be mentioned in this place.

Besides the many extant books and titles, there were probably others of which we know nothing; yet it is the belief of the present writer that many more apocalypses at least have been postulated by recent criticism (e.g., Spitta on the Johannine Apoca-

lypse, and Kabisch on the apocalypses of Esdras and of Baruch) than the probabilities of the case will warrant.

B. *New Testaments* (§§ 26-31).

Under this head only a few of the most prominent NT apocrypha can be mentioned; much of this literature is excluded by its late date.

I. GOSPELS. 1. *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.—The relation of this book to the canonical Gospel of Matthew cannot be discussed here (see GOSPELS). The facts known about the book are that it was in Aramaic, that Jerome translated it into Greek and into Latin, and that in his time it was in use among the 'Nazarenes' of Syria. Jerome's versions have perished; but he repeatedly quotes from the Latin one. The fragments preserved by him, by Origen and Eusebius, and by Codex Tischendorf III. of ninth century (566 in Gregory) number about twenty-two. They will be found in Hilgenfeld's *NT extra Canonem receptum*, 4, in the monographs of Nicholson, and Handmann (*Texte u. Unters.*), in Westcott's *Introduct. to the Study of the Gospels*, and in Zahn's *Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons*, 22, etc. The fragments quoted contain additions both to the narrative and to the sayings of Jesus. Some of the sayings differ only in form from similar sayings in the canonical gospels; others are independent. The account of the baptism is distinctly Ebionitic. The longest continuous passage describes the appearance of Jesus to James the Just after the resurrection.

2. *Gospel of the Ebionites or Gospel of the Twelve*.—Epiphanius is the only writer who has preserved us any fragments of this gospel (*adv. Hæc.* 30), and from these it is plain that the book was a 'tendency-writing' put into the mouths of the Twelve Apostles (who describe their call, using the first person), and related to the Greek Matthew. It was naturally strongly Ebionitic, and it began with the baptism.

3. *Gospel according to the Egyptians*.—Probably the earliest Gnostic gospel. A passage is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who tells us that one Julius Cassianus, a Doctetic teacher, used the same words; they also appear in the so-called second epistle of Clement (of Rome). The passage quoted is Encratite in its bearing.

4. *Gospel according to Peter*.—Of this book we have knowledge from the following sources:—(1) A fragment of a letter of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 200-203), addressed to the church of Rhossus, condemning the gospel (after perusal) as Doctetic (*Eus. HE.* 612). (2) A statement by Origen (*in Matth.* tom. 17¹⁰) that the book represented the brethren of Jesus as sons of Joseph by a former marriage. (3) A long and important fragment, containing an account of the Passion and Resurrection, found by the French Archaeological Mission in a tomb at Akhimm in 1885, published first in their *Mémoires* (1892), and repeatedly since then. Among German editions must be mentioned those of Harnack, of Schubert, and of Zahn; among English ones, those of Robinson and of Swete. The literature is very considerable. The conclusions upon which critics seem agreed at this moment are: that the fragment is Doctetic and anti-Jewish, though saturated with allusions to the Old Testament; and that it shows a knowledge of all four canonical gospels. Its use by Justin Martyr is held probable by most, but denied by Swete (p. xxxiv *f.*).

5. *The Fayûm gospel-fragment*.—Contained in a tiny fragment of papyrus among the Rainer papyri at Vienna; discovered by Bickell. It gives the words of Christ to Peter at the Last Supper in a form which diverges largely by omissions from any in the canonical gospels. Hort contended for the view that it was a fragment of a patristic homily and merely a loose quotation. Ed. Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* 54, etc.

6. *The Logia*.—This is the name given by the first editors, Grenfell and Hunt, to the contents of a

¹ On these see also GOSPELS (index).

single leaf of a papyrus book found by them at Oxyrhynchus. It contains a small number of sayings of Jesus which in part agree with sayings contained in the canonical gospels and in part differ from them. Harnack believes them to be extracted from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*; but it is as yet not possible to express a final opinion on their character.

7. *Gospel of Matthias*.—Probably identical with the *Traditions of Matthias*, from which we have quotations. It was most likely a Basilidian work, for the Basilidians professed to regard Matthias as their special authority among the apostles. See Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, ii. 2751.

8. *Évva Mapias* (the Descent of Mary), quoted by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 26¹²), was a Gnostic anti-Jewish romance representing Zacharias as having been killed by the Jews because he had seen the God of the Jews in the temple in the form of an ass.

9. *Zacharias, the father of John Baptist*.—A. Berendts in *Studien zur Zacharias-apokryphen u. Zach.-legende* gives a translation of a Slavonic legend of Zacharias which may be taken from an early book, subsequently incorporated into the *Book of James*.

Almost every one of the apostles had a gospel fathered upon him by one early sect or another, if we may judge from the list of books condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree, and from other patristic allusions.

Of a gospel of Philip we have fragments, descriptive of the progress of the soul through the next world, showing it to have been a Gnostic composition; it was probably very much like the *Pistis Sophia* (a long Gnostic treatise in Coptic), in which Philip plays a prominent rôle. The *Questions of Mary* (Great and Little) was the title of two Gnostic books of the most revolting type, quoted by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 268).

A Coptic papyrus volume recently acquired by Berlin contains texts as yet unpublished of two Gnostic books connected with the names of the Virgin and John, and also a portion of some early Acts of Peter.

For the most part, however, these heretical pseudographs, where we know anything of their contents, must be assigned to a period later than that contemplated by our present scope. Of extant apocryphal gospels two must be mentioned.

27. Extant Gospels.

1. *Book of James*, commonly called *Protevangelium* (this name being due to Guillaume Postel, who first noticed the book, in the sixteenth century).—Extant in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, etc. A narrative extending from the Conception of the Virgin to the death of Zacharias. The James meant is perhaps James the Just. In one place, where Joseph is speaking, the narrative suddenly adopts the first person. Origen, and perhaps Justin, knew the book. A Hebrew original has been postulated for it. It is undoubtedly very ancient, and may possibly fall within the first century. From it we ultimately derive the traditional names of the Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne. The work has been edited by Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*).

2. *Acts of Pilate*, often called the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.—Greek, Latin, Coptic, etc. In two parts: (1) an account of the Passion and Resurrection; (2) a narrative of the Descent into Hell. Part I. may be alluded to by Justin Martyr, who more than once appeals to Acts of Christ's Passion. It is possible, however, that he may be referring to another apocryphal document which exists in many forms—the *Anaphora Pilati* or official Report of Pilate to Tiberius. In any case, the *Acta Pilati* (Part I.) in some form probably date from early in the second century. Edited by Tischendorf (*l.c.*); see also Lipsius, *Die Pilatusakten*, and Schubert on the Gospel of Peter.

II. ACTS. 1. *Assents of James* (Ἀναβαθμῶν Ἰακώβου), only mentioned by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 30).—An Ebionite and anti-Pauline book of which we most

28. **Acts.** likely have an abstract in the end of the first book of the *Clementine Recognitions*. It contained

addresses delivered by James the Just in the Temple. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 330, 367.

2. *Acts of Paul and Thecla*.—Greek, Syriac, etc. Tertullian tells us that this romance was composed in honour of Paul by a presbyter of Asia, who afterwards confessed the forgery (*De Baptismo*, 17); and Jerome, quoting Tertullian (probably from the Greek text of the same treatise), adds the detail that the exposure took place in the presence of John. In the present writer's opinion, this may be a false reading: 'apud Iconium' may have been corrupted into 'apud Johannem.' Undoubtedly the romance is the earliest of the kind which we possess. It details the adventures and trials of a virgin, Thecla of Iconium, who was converted by Paul. Ed. Lipsius (*Acta Petri et Pauli*). Professor Ramsay contends for the historical accuracy of much of the local detail. It is now clear that this episode formed part of the *Acts of Paul* which has just been discovered by Carl Schmidt in a fragmentary form in Coptic. Until the text is published, however, little can be said.

The Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, and Philip have all survived in part. They may be referred to some time in the second century. The author of all of them, save the first and last, was most likely one Leucius. The Passions and Acts of the remaining apostles are all later.

III. EPISTLES. 1. *The Abgarus Letters*.—A letter from Abgar Uchama, king of Edessa, to our Lord, begging him to visit Edessa and take

29. **Epistles.** up his abode there, and an answer from our Lord, promising to send an apostle to Abgarus, are given by Eusebius (*HE* 1¹³), who translates them from Syriac, and derives them from the archives of Edessa. They are very early, and are intimately connected with the legend of the apostolate of Addai or Thaddeus at Edessa. A fragment of a fourth-century papyrus text of the letters (which are very short) is in the Bodleian. They are found also in Syriac.

2. *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans*.—Latin. It was founded upon Col. 416, and is a short cento of Pauline phrases. An Epistle to the Laodiceans is mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. See Lightfoot's *Colossians*, 347 ff., and Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kan.* ii. 566; also *COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS*, § 14.

3. *Epistle of Paul to the Alexandrines*.—Also mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, and nowhere else. Zahn (*l.c.* 58) has printed, from the Bobbio Sacramentary and Lectionary, a lesson purporting to be taken from the Epistle to the Colossians, which he assigns to the Epistle to the Alexandrines, or to some similar Pauline apocryph.

4. *Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (and letter from Corinth to Paul)*.—Armenian and Latin (and Coptic). These are now known to have formed part of the *Acta Pauli*.

There are but few other spurious epistles, and these are all of a distinctly later character.

IV. APOCALYPSES. 1. *Apocalypse of Peter*.—Greek. Quoted by Clement of Alexandria and by the heathen

30. **Apoc-** antagonist of Macarius Magnes (who is
lypses. possibly Porphyry), and mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. We have now a

considerable fragment of it, which was discovered in the same MS as was the excerpt from the Gospel of Peter (see § 26 no. 4). This contains the end of a prophecy of Jesus about the last times, and a vision of the state of the blessed, followed by a much longer description of the torments of various classes of sinners. It was probably written rather early in the second century, and has had an enormous influence on later Christian visions of heaven and hell. Dieterich, in his *Nekyia*, has pointed out the strong influence which the Orphic literature has had on the writer. A trace of the influence of this apocalypse on Latin documents has been recently pointed out by Harnack in the Pseudo-Cyprianic tract *De Laude Martyrii*, and earlier by Robinson in the

Passion of St. Perpetua, and there is a possible trace in the earlier tract *De Aleatoribus*. The Arabic and the Ethiopic *Revelation of Peter on Books of Clement* (see an article by Bratke in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1893) seem not to contain the old book embedded in them; but as yet they are not very well known. Ed. Dieterich, Harnack, James.

2. *Prophecy of Hystaspes*.—Lost. There are quotations from it in the *Preaching of Paul* (quoted by Clem. Alex.), in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 130 44), and in Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 7 15 18). In every case it is coupled with the Sibylline Oracles, with which it is clearly to be associated, as a Christian forgery in pagan form. Ammianus Marcellinus (236) calls Hystaspes a 'very wise king, father of Darius,' Lactantius, 'a very ancient king of the Medes, who has handed down to posterity a most wonderful dream as interpreted by a prophesying boy (sub interpretatione vaticinantis pueri).' The same author represents Hystaspes as saying that the Roman name was to be wiped out, and, further, that in the last days the righteous would cry to God and God would hear them. Justin says that he prophesied the destruction of all things by fire, and the quotation in Clement makes him declare that the kings of the earth should hate and persecute the Son of God—the Christ—and his followers. It is this last passage which fixes the book as Christian rather than Jewish.

V. DIDACTIC. 1. *Teaching of the Apostles* (Didaché).—Greek. The literature of this manual of ethics and church discipline is enormous, and the history of its various forms cannot be

applied here. It was discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in a MS of 1056 at Constantinople, and printed first in the year 1883. It consists of two distinct parts: the first an ethical manual which may be founded on a Jewish document, and reappears in the *Epistle of Barnabas*; the second relating to church matters, containing disciplinary rules and liturgical *formulae*. Opinions as to its date differ widely. Harnack would assign it in its present form (which is probably not primitive) to 130-160. It forms the groundwork of the 7th Book of the Apostolic Constitutions.

2. *Preaching of Peter*.—Apparently an orthodox second-century book, of which Heracleon and Clem. Alex. have preserved important fragments containing warnings against Judaism and polytheism, and words of Jesus to the apostles. Another set of fragments, which there is no sufficient reason for repudiating, contains a lament of Peter for his denial, and various ethical maxims. There are strong similarities between the first set of fragments and the *Apology of Aristides*. Dobschütz (in a monograph in *Texte u. Unters.*) rejects the second set. The relation of the book (a) to a supposed *Preaching of Paul*, the existence of which is very doubtful, and (b) to the Pseudo-Clementine literature, is by no means clear. A Syriac *Preaching of Simon Cephas*, published by Cureton, has none of the matter appearing in the quotations from the Greek book.

32. **Bibliography.** For the books noticed above, and the later documents not named (which are many), the student must consult—

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Editions of individual writings have been specified under their proper headings.

M. R. J.

APOLLONIA (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ [Ti. WH]). A town on the Egnatian Road, in that part of Macedonia which had the name Mygdonia and lay between the rivers Strymon and Axios. It was near Lake Bolbe (*Betschik Göl*); but its exact site is not yet known. From the

Ilin. Ant. we learn that it was 30 R. m. from Amphipolis, and 37 from Thessalonica. Lenke places it to the S. of the lake, at the modern village *Folina*; and this is probably right, though others are inclined to look for it more to the W. at the post-station of Klisali, which is seven hours from Thessalonica. Apollonia was at any rate on the main road between Amphipolis and Thessalonica by the Aulon, or pass of Arethusa. Paul and Silas, therefore, 'passed through' the town on their way to Thessalonica (*Acts 17:1*).† W. J. W.

APOLLONIUS (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ [VA]; ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΣ; ܐܦܘܠܠܘܢܝܘܨ).

1. (Son of) THRASEAS [*g. v.*]; the governor of Cælesyria and Phœnicia who, according to 2 Macc. (35-44), induced Seleucus IV. to plunder the rich temple treasury of Jerusalem (see HELIODORUS). He may possibly be the same as—

2. The governor of Cælesyria under Alexander Balas, who came to the help of Alexander's rival, Demetrius II. (Nikátor), who made him chief of the army. This is more explicable if, as in Polyb. xxxi. 212, Apollonius was the foster-brother (*σύντροφος*) of Demetrius I. He was besieged at Joppa, and was entirely defeated by Jonathan near Azotus (Ashdod) in 147 B. C. (1 Macc. 10 69 ff.). Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 43) calls him Δαός (or rather Ταός, Niese)—*i. e.*, one of the Dai (the classical Dahæ) on the E. of the Caspian Sea—and erroneously represents him as fighting on the side of Alexander Balas.

3. General of Samaria, one of the officers of Antiochus Epiphanes, beaten and slain by Judas the Maccabee, 166 B. C. (1 Macc. 3 30 ff.). He is probably the chief tax-commissioner (*ἀρχὴν φορολογίας*), who previously (168-167 B. C.) had been sent to hellenize Jerusalem, and by taking advantage of the sabbath had routed the Jews and occupied a fort there (1 Macc. 1 29 ff. 2 Macc. 5 24 ff.). He may perhaps be identified with—

4. The son of Menestheus sent by Antiochus Epiphanes to congratulate Ptolemy VI. Philometor on his accession (*δια τὰ πρωτοκλήσια*: 2 Macc. 4 20).

5. Son of GENNEUS (6 πύτ Γενναίου); a Syrian general under Antiochus V. Epipátor (2 Macc. 12 2).

APOLLOPHANES (ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣ [VA]; Συγ. has ܐܦܘܠܠܘܢܝܘܨ, Apollonius?), a Syrian slain by the men of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 10 37).

APOLLOS (ΑΠΟΛΛΩC [Ti. WH]), according to 1 Cor., our most important source, was a missionary

1. **In 1 Cor.** and teacher who continued Paul's work in Corinth after the first visit of the latter (36), and was afterwards his companion in Ephesus, though not perhaps at the time the Epistle was being written (see *hp* in 16 12). Shortly before the writing of the First Epistle four parties had arisen in Corinth (1 10-12), one of which claimed to be 'of Paul,' and another 'of Apollos'; it argues, therefore, delicacy of feeling in Apollos that he did not comply with Paul's invitation to revisit Corinth again. The invitation itself, on the other hand, makes it plain that there were no very fundamental differences between the two men, least of all as to doctrine. Yet neither is it conceivable that the party-division turned upon nothing more than the personal attachment of their individual converts to the two men respectively. On that supposition there would be nothing so blameworthy about it; and it would be impossible to explain the existence, alongside of them, of the party of Christ, and still more of that of Peter. Our earliest authority for Peter's ever having been in Corinth at all is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth about 170 (Eus. *HE* ii. 258), who, contrary to all the known facts of history, will have it that Peter

† By contraction, or rather abbreviation, (*ὅτι Ζηνὸς* from Ζηνόδοτος, Ἀλέξανδρος from Ἀλεξάνδριος, and so on (cp NAMES, § 86, note)). The fuller form is more probably Ἀπολλωνιάδης than Ἀπολλωδότης, of which the usual contractions were Ἀπολλῶδης, Ἀπολλῶδης, or Ἀπολλῶδης. The reading Ἀπολλωνιάδης is actually given by D in *Acts 18:24*. By analogy the accentuation Ἀπολλῶδης ought to be preferred to the currently adopted Ἀπολλῶδης.

came both to Corinth and to Italy simultaneously with Paul. Thus the formation of an Apollos party, as distinguished from the party of Paul, can have been due to the individuality and manner of teaching of Apollos. Paul finds it necessary to defend himself against the charge that 'wisdom' is absent from his teaching. His answer (17-34) is that in substance 'wisdom' is really contained in the simple preaching of the Cross, but that in form he offers it only to Christians of mature growth, and (this not being the Corinthians' case) that he has purposely kept it in the background in his dealings with them. The teachers who offered 'wisdom,' and thus excelled Paul in the eyes of many of the Corinthians, however, were assuredly not the Judaizers among whom the parties of Christ and of Peter found their supporters. Apollos, therefore, must be meant. Paul actually says that on the foundation laid by himself in Corinth, besides the gold, silver, and precious stones, wood, hay, and stubble have been built (3:12). But the energy with which he pronounces his judgment in 19 f. 29 25 can be explained only by the fact that the adherents of Apollos overvalued their teacher and subordinated substance to form.

With this agrees the notice in Acts 18:24-28 (our secondary source; see ACTS),¹ that Apollos was an

2. In Acts. eloquent man, mighty in the Scriptures, and an Alexandrian Jew. We may accordingly assume that the distinguishing quality in Apollos' teaching of 'wisdom' showed itself in an allegorising interpretation of the OT, such as we see in Philo or in the Epistle of Barnabas. But the fact that he was a Christian and taught the doctrine of Jesus 'exactly' (ἀκριβῶς; 18:25b) contradicts the statements (on the one hand) that he knew only the baptism of John (18:25c) and (on the other) that he had to be instructed more perfectly in Christianity by Priscilla and Aquila (18:26c). Whilst, therefore, it is possible for us to regard 18:24, 25a, b as derived from a written source which the compiler had before him, 18:25, 26b, c would seem to be later accretions. The effect of these last expressions (even if they are traditional) is to represent Apollos as subordinate to Paul; for, according to 19:1-7, the rest of the disciples of John must receive the gift of the Holy Ghost for the first time at the hands of Paul. As to the rest, the fact that in 19:1-3 mention is made of these as of something new goes to show that originally in 18:25 there was no reference to a disciple of John. Further, Acts 18:28 is not easily reconcilable with what is said in 1 Cor. 3:6; that the mission of Apollos was directed to the same persons as that of Paul, and that the church of Corinth consisted almost entirely of Gentile Christians (1 Cor. 12:2 compared with 7:18). In that case Acts 18:26a may be attributed to the same author to whom 18:28 (and 18:25, 26b, c?) must be ascribed.

Of the most recent attempts to deny the existence of the contradictions indicated above none can be pronounced successful. Bliss's *Exp. Times*, 7, 1897-98, pp. 124, 127, 128, and *History of the Gospels*, 1898, p. 30 f. supposes Apollos to have derived his knowledge of Christianity from a book where, as in the second canonical gospel, the baptismal precept was wanting. Arthur Wright (*Exp. Times*, 9, 1897-98, pp. 8-12, 437 f.) replies, with reason (as it seems to us), that such use of a book could not have been intended by the word *κατηχησάου*. It is only of *ἀκούσας* that Bliss has been able to show that in some few cases it is practically equivalent to 'learning by reading' (see the examples, in Stephanus, *Theo.* I, Paris, 1831, p. 1265 A and B. They are not, however, all of them quite certain. Nor is Jn. 12:34 a case in point; the meaning is 'Our teachers have read in the law, and have told us by word of mouth that the Christ abideth for ever'). No single instance can be adduced in which *κατηχησάου* denotes acquisition of knowledge without intervention of a teacher. In particular, in Rom. 2:17, f. the meaning is, 'thou bearest the name of a Jew and . . . provest the things that differ, being instructed out of the law' [by frequenting the synagogue, or the instruction of the scribes]; and even in those cases where *ἀκούειν* has practically the sense of 'read,' the underlying idea is always that the book is read not by the 'hearer' himself, but by some other person, as for example, a slave, so that the primary sense of the word has never entirely disappeared. In the case of Apollos, however, the idea that he

used a Christian book, not however reading it himself but getting it read to him by some other person, is too far-fetched to be brought into requisition here. To the suggestion (referred to by Bliss's *Acta Apostolorum*, ed. Philon. 1895, ad loc.) that Apollos may have been orally instructed by a man whose knowledge of Christianity in its turn was limited to the contents of a book from which the baptismal command was absent, it has to be replied that the supposition is irreconcilable with the *ἀκριβῶς* of Acts 17:25. Wright himself, however, contributes nothing new to the solution of the question, except the suggestion of ἀκούειν into ἀκρωλείν (so D), the verb being then taken as meaning 'to repeat by rote' or at least 'to glibly recite.' Even if such a meaning could be established for the word, it would not nearly suffice to remove the difficulties of the passage. Lastly, Baldensperger (*Dev. Prolog. des 4. Evangeliums*, 1866, pp. 93-99) is constrained to take refuge in the view that what Apollos taught *κατηχησάου* consisted only of Messianic matters as enumerated in such passages as Heb. 6:1; that the editor of the source of Acts here employed *σὰς τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν* only from a point of view of his own, meaning all the while not the historical Jesus but simply the Messiah in the larger sense, in whose coming the disciples of John also believed. If this be so, he could not possibly have expressed his meaning in a less appropriate and more misleading way.

Tit. 3:13, the only other NT passage in which Apollos is named, cannot be used as a historical source; and

3. Other points. there is no ground for the conjecture that what constituted the difference between Apollos and Paul lay in the value attached by the former to the administration of baptism with his own hands (1 Cor. 13:17), and that thereby he gave an impulse to the practice of baptism for the dead (1 Cor. 15:29). Paul, indeed, regards the church of Corinth, although he has personally baptized hardly any of its members, as wholly his own (1 Cor. 4:15 and often). On the other hand, the hypothesis put forward by Luther (as having already been suggested somewhere) that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews is, at all events, preferable to any other that ventures to condescend on a name.

In the lists of 'the Seventy' (Lk. 10:1), dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, Apollos is enumerated, and has the diocese of Caesarea assigned to him (*Chron. Pasc.* Bonn ed., i. 442, ii. 126). P. W. S.

APOLLYON (ΑΠΟΛΛΥΩΝ [Ti. WH]). Rev. 9:11. See ABADDON.

APOSTLE (ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, 'a messenger')² was the title conferred by Jesus on the twelve disciples whom

1. The Twelve. he sent forth, on a certain occasion, to preach and heal the sick. In the earliest Gospel tradition the disciples appear to be spoken of as apostles only in reference to this special mission (Mk. 3:14 [NB]; Lk. 6:13, up Mt. 10:2; and Mk. 6:30 = Lk. 9:10); but the name soon became a customary designation, and is so employed in Lk. (17:5 24:10) and Acts (12, etc.). The number twelve was symbolical, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel; and when Judas fell from his 'apostolate' (Acts 1:25) the number was restored by the election of Matthias.³ It is used in this symbolical and representative sense in Rev. 21:14. *Lists of the Twelve.*—In the four lists (Mt. 10:2 Mk. 3:16 Lk. 6:14 Acts 1:13) the names fall into three groups of four names, the first name in each group being constant, while the order of the rest changes. Thus:—

I. Mk.	Peter	James	John	Andrew.
Mt. Lk.	Peter	Andrew	James	John.
Acts	Peter	John	Mt.	Andrew.
II. Mk.	Philip	Bartholomew	Matthew	Thomas.
Mt.	Philip	Bartholomew	Thomas	Matthew.
Acts	Philip	Thomas	Bartholomew	Matthew.
III. Mk. Mt.	James	Thaddeus	Simon	Judas.
	of Alphaeus		Cananana	Isariot.
Lk. (Acts)	James	Simon Zelotes	Judas of Alphaeus	Judas Iscariot.

Mark's order of the first group recurs in Mk. 13:3. It puts first the three who were selected as witnesses of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mk. 5:27), of the Transfiguration (9:2), and of the Agony (14:33). Their importance is further marked by surnames given by Jesus, Peter (=Cephas) and Boanerges. Mt. and Lk.

¹ Bliss now (*Phil. of Gospels*) expressly rejects the idea. ² *ἀπόστολος*, a stronger word than *εἰρημολός*, properly denotes not a mere messenger, but rather the delegate of the person who sends him. It seems to have been used among the Jews of the fourth century A.D., of persons sent on a mission of responsibility, especially for the collection of moneys for religious purposes. ³ On this subject, see MATTHIAS, I.

¹ The reference to Acts 18:24-28 occurs in § 11.

drop the Aramaic surname Boanerges, and class the brothers together ('Peter and Andrew his brother'). In Acts the order is accounted for by the prominence of Peter and John in the opening chapters. This seems to have had a reflex action on the writer's mind, for in Lk. 8:51-9:28 we have 'Peter and John and James, though where Peter is not mentioned we have 'James and John, 9:54.

The original significance of the τ μ (delegate or missionary) is recalled by its application to Barnabas and Saul (Acts 14:14), who had been selected

2. Paul. under the direct guidance of the Spirit from among the prophets and teachers of the church of Antioch and sent forth on a mission. enterprises. Paul in his epistles defends his claim to be an apostle in the highest sense, as one directly commissioned by God; and in this connection he emphasises his personal acquaintance with the risen Christ (Gal. 1:12 Cor. 11:5 1 Cor. 9:1: 'Am I not an apostle, have I not seen Jesus our Lord?'). As 'apostle to the Gentiles' (Rom. 11:13) he received full recognition from the chief apostles in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:7-9).

The stress laid by Paul on his own apostolate, as 'not a whit behind that of the Twelve, was probably a main factor in the subsequent restriction of the title to the original apostles and himself.

3. Others. In the NT, however, it is certainly applied to Barnabas, as we have seen, and almost certainly to Silvanus (1 Thess. 26), Andronicus, and Junias (Rom. 16:7)—apart from its more limited reference in the case of the 'apostles of the churches' (2 Cor. 8:23) and Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25 'your apostle'). Moreover, we see it claimed in the church of Ephesus by certain persons to whom it is denied only after they have been tested and 'found false' (Rev. 2:2).

Rules for deciding the validity of such claims are given in the early medieval canon, *The Foundation of the Apostles*. This book, which shows us a primitive type of Church life existing in the locality in which it was written, confirms the view suggested by the NT of the extension of the title of apostle beyond the limits of the Twelve and Paul. Apostles are here spoken of as teachers essentially itinerant; ranking above the prophets who may or may not be settled in one place, and in no specified relation to the bishops and deacons who are responsible for the ordinary local administration of the community. Even as the first apostles were sent forth 'without purse or scrip,' so these, 'according to the ordinance of the gospel,' move from place to place, and are not to remain in a settled church more than two days, nor to receive money or more than a day's rations. These wandering missionaries are referred to by Eusebius as 'holding the first rank of the succession of the apostles' (HE 3:37:5:10; he avoids the actual designation 'apostle,' perhaps in deference to later usage); and the strict regulations in the *Teaching* prove that there was a danger lest the frequency of their visits should become burdensome to settled churches.

It is interesting to observe that the tradition of the application of the title to missionaries survives at the present day in the East. Among the Greeks the word for a missionary is ἀπαπόστολος, and the delegates of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Nestorians are regularly called apostles by the Syrians of Urm.

Having thus clearly established the wider use of the term 'apostle,' we must return and consider the uniqueness of the position occupied by the

4. Apostolate. Twelve and Paul, to whom *par excellence* the title belongs. The distinction of their office which first comes under notice is that they were witnesses of the Resurrection. This is emphasised at the election of the new apostle in Acts 1:21 f. 'Of the men which have accompanied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, one of these must with us be a witness of his resurrection.' Their personal discipleship to Jesus, however, and the special training which he had bestowed upon them, had fitted them to be not only the preachers of faith and repentance to the multitudes, but also the authoritative instructors of the 'brethren' (cp Acts 2:42 'the apostles' doctrine'). Their commission was derived directly from Christ, even as his was from the Father (Jn. 20:21, and cp 1 Clem. 45: 'Christ then is from God, and the apostles from Christ'). In performing cures they lay stress upon the fact that they are his representatives; their acts are in fact his (cp especially Acts 3:16-9:34). Certain functions are in the first instance

exercised exclusively by the apostles: as the laying on of hands, to convey the Pentecostal gift to the baptized, and the appointment of local officers in the church. In the earliest stage, too, the contributions of wealthy believers are laid 'at the apostles' feet': though at a later time it is 'the presbyters' who receive the offerings made for 'the brethren in Judaea' (Acts 4:34 f. 11:30).

The authority implied in their commission is nowhere formally defined; but on two important occasions we are permitted to observe the method of its exercise. Thus, in the appointment of the Seven the apostles call on the whole body of believers to elect, and thereupon themselves appoint the chosen persons to their work by a solemn ordination. Again, when the question of the obligation of Gentile believers to observe the Mosaic ritual arises in Antioch, it is referred to 'the apostles and elders' in Jerusalem (see COUNCIL, ii.), and a letter is written in their joint names ('the apostles and elder brethren'). This letter is couched in terms of authoritative advice rather than of direct command; and the authority which it implies, with regard to the distant communities whose interests are involved, is moral rather than formal.

In the churches of Paul's foundation we find that apostle acting with a consciousness of the fullest authority, in appointing presbyters, conveying the gift of the Spirit, and settling all kinds of controverted questions (Acts 14:23 19:6 1 Cor. 7:17). His relation to the Twelve is marked by a firm sense of independence together with an earnest desire for concerted action. In the case of Timothy at Ephesus and of Titus in Crete we see him delegating for a time during his own absence his apostolic authority.

For the relation of the apostolate to other forms of the Christian ministry, see CHURCH, § 12.

Bishop Lightfoot's note 'on the name and office of an Apostle' (Comm. on Gal. 2:1 ed. 32-33) had, even before

Literature. the recovery of the *Teaching*, destroyed the fiction of the limitation of the term in the first age. It needs now to be supplemented by Harnack's important discussion, *Lehre der Apostel*, 93-118. The whole subject has been freshly and vigorously treated by Hort in *Ecclesia* (Passim). J. V. R.

APOTHECARY (אָפּוֹטֵקָר Ex. 30:25 35, אָפּוֹטֵקָר Eccl. 10:1).

The Heb. word means 'perfumer.' See CONFECTION, PERFUME. ὁ's term is μυρεψός, the medical or magical aspects (see φαρμακία, -κευσι, -κον in ὁ) of whose trade may be seen in Eccl. 38, where his skill in compounding the medicines (v. 4 φαρμακία, medicamenta) that the Lord created out of the earth is referred to. In Neh. 3:8 is mentioned a guild of perfumers, one of the 'sons' or members of which was Hananiah (the idiom is given in RV, and misinterpreted in AV, which gives 'son of one of the apothecaries').

APPAIM אֲפַיִם: ΕΦΡΑΙΜ [P]; ΑΦΦ [A]; ΩΦΕΙΜ [L], a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2:30 f.).

APPARITION (ΦΑΝΤΑΣΜΑ), Mt. 14:26 RV. See DIVINATION, § 3 (33 SOUL).

APEAL On inferior and superior courts, or what might be called courts of review or of appellate jurisdiction in the Hebrew commonwealth, see GOVERNMENT, §§ 19, 31, and LAW AND JUSTICE, § 19. As regards Roman criminal procedure,—the appeal of Paul to Cæsar is best understood from the narrative of Festus to Agrippa (Acts 25:14-21). Accused by his compatriots in 'certain questions of their own superstition,' and asked whether he was willing to go to Jerusalem and there be judged, he had 'appealed' (ἐπικαλεσαμένου) to be reserved for the hearing (διδάσκων, cognitionem) of Cæsar. The apostle as a Roman citizen was well within his rights when he invoked the authority of the emperor and thereby virtually declined the jurisdiction alike of the Jewish courts and of the Roman procurator; and his reasons for choosing to do so are not far to seek.—Under the republican procedure every Roman citizen had the right of *provocatio*

ad populum. From the time of Augustus the populus ceased to exercise sovereign criminal jurisdiction; the emperor himself took cognisance of criminal cases as a court of first instance, having co-ordinate jurisdiction with the senate.—The *questio* procedure continued as before to be the ordinary mode of trial.

APPHIA (Ἀπφία [Ti. WH], etc., *APPĪA*, etc. Cp especially Light. *Col.* and *Philem.* 372 ff.), probably the wife of Philemon (*Philem.* 2).

APPHUS (Ἀφφύους [A.], *SAFFUS* [NV]), 1 Mac. 2.5. See JONATHAN, 18. MACCABEES, § 5.

APPĪI FORUM, RV 'Market of Appius' (Ἀππιῶν φόρον [Ti. WH]; modern *Via Appia Appio*), a well-known halting-place on the *Via Appia*, where Paul was met by brethren from Rome (*Acts* 28.15). The distance from Rome is given in the *Itin. Anton.* (107) as 43 R. m. (and so perhaps *It. Hier.*—e.g., Migne, *PL.* 8.794; but in other edd. [611 f.] as 37).

For inscription on κλιῖη milestone, found near Foro Appio, see *CIL.* x. pt. i. 686. The road leading to Appii Forum from the south through the district of the Pontine Marshes was often abandoned in favour of a journey by boat (cp *Horace, Sat.* i. 5.400, where Appii Forum is described (e.g.) as being 'Diferentia nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.' See also THREE TAVERNS.

APPLE (ἄππῆ); Pr. 25.11 Cant. 2.35 78[9] 8.5 Joel 1.12†, see also FRUIT, § 12), by some understood as a generic name including various fruits, and

1. Name. by others supposed to mean not the apple but the quince, citron, or apricot. The origin of the Hebrew name is not quite certain; but there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting the accepted derivation from *מָנָה*, to breathe;¹ the name thus alludes to the perfume of the fruit. *מָנָה* in post-biblical Hebrew, and the corresponding word *tuffāh*² in Arabic, ordinarily denote the 'apple'; and this rendering is, so far, supported by the ancient versions—Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, and the Targum. It must be admitted, however, that all the words used—*μήλον*, *hazzōrā*,³ *מָנָה*, *tuffāh*, *malum* (s. *pomum*)—are capable, with or without the addition of an epithet, of being applied to other fruits; *μήλον*, indeed, originally meant 'large tree,' or fruit in general, and only gradually became confined to the apple;⁴ cp the very wide use of *pomum*, *poma* in Latin. Still, an examination of the biblical passages where *מָנָה* occurs seems to show that some particular fruit is intended; and the question must be answered by considering (1) which kind of fruit possesses in the highest degree the qualities of beauty of colour and form, of fragrance, and of efficacy in overcoming the feeling of sickness; and (2) which fruit-tree was most likely, under the conditions of climate and of botanical history, to be found abundant in Palestine during biblical times. [Though all the six occurrences of *מָנָה* are possibly, not to say certainly, post-exilic, the antiquity of the cultivation of the tree (or class of trees?) in Palestine is proved by the place-names Tappuah and Beth-Tappuah.]

The following identifications have been proposed:—(1) apricot (Tristram, *FFP* 294); (2) apple (especially

WRS, *J. Phil.* 1365 f.); (3) citron or orange (Del. *Comm. on Prov.*); (4) quince (Houghton, *PSBA* 12.42-48 [1889-90]).

¹ It seems doubtful whether there was, as postulated by Löw (*Arabis, Pflanzennamen*, 156) and Houghton (*PSBA* 12.47 [1889-90]), any word *מָנָה* to swell, even in Rabbinic Hebrew. It is at all events unknown to biblical Hebrew, to Syriac, and to Arabic. See, further, Lag. *Uebers.* 111, 129; and F. Hommel, *Antiquities u. Abhandl.* 107, and in *ZDMG* 44.520 (190).

² This must be a loan-word in Arabic (Fränkel, *Arabisch. Fremdw.* 140), probably from Aramaic, though no trace of it has yet been found in Syriac.

³ Lag. is inclined to derive this, the Aramaic equivalent of *מָנָה*, from the Armenian word for apple (*hntar*) and thus prove that the fruit-name to Semite lands from Armenia (*Uebers. II.* cc.); but Hommel shows the probability of the word being genuinely Semite, connecting it with an Arabic root *ʿanaza* (*Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 107).

⁴ Hehn and Stallybrass, *Wanderings of Plants and Animals*,

1. With regard to the first of these—the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*, L.)—it is to be remarked that it is not mentioned by Theophrastus, and does not appear to have been known to the Greeks or the Romans before the commencement of the Christian era (De C. *Orig.* (2) 171).

Its original home was E. Asia (probably China), whence it gradually spread westward to Armenia (μήλον Ἀρμενιάκον, *malum armeniaticum*); but Tristram is certainly wrong in saying (*Nat. Hist.* 335) that it is native there.

The present abundance of the apricot in Palestine is almost certainly post-biblical.

2. The apple—*Pyrus Malus*, L.—is found without doubt in a wild state in Northern Asia Minor, especially about Trebizond, and occasionally forms small woods.

It extends eastwards to Transcaucasia, and apparently to Persia (cp Boissier, *Fl. Orient.* 265f.). Sir Joseph Hooker says that it is 'apparently wild' in N.W. Himalaya and W. Tibet, but that everywhere else in India it is cultivated (*Jl. Brit. Ind.* 2.373). De Candolle (*Orig.* 180) thinks the apple was indigenous and cultivated in Europe in prehistoric times; but Boissier (*l.c.*) restricts its natural occurrence to Macedonia and Euboea.

In any case the original apple clearly required a cool climate. Under cultivation there have been obtained varieties which will tolerate and even require a warmer one;¹ but these are notoriously modern inventions, and it is absurd to take account of them in considering the ancient history of the fruit. In truth the original apple—and the apple of biblical times was presumably somewhat similar—cannot have been very attractive: it was in fact a 'crab' only about an inch in diameter.

Sir Joseph Hooker says (from his own knowledge) 'Palestine is too hot for apples.' With this agrees Tristram's account:

'Though the apple is cultivated with success in the higher parts of Lebanon, out of the boundaries of the Holy Land, yet it barely exists in the country itself. There are, indeed, a few trees in the gardens of Jaffa; but they do not thrive, and have a wretched, woolly fruit. Perhaps there may be some at 'Askalan'. What English and American writers have called the "apple," however, is really the quince. The climate is far too hot for our apple tree' (*NHB* 334 f.).

As there is no evidence of the apple ever having been found native in Syria, those who render *tappuah* 'apple' have to show (1) that it was introduced from without (Pontus), and (2) that it became established when introduced. Both propositions are improbable. What is said above of the introduction of a few modern sorts into Syrian gardens is true;² but it is impossible to infer from this fact that the biblical *tappuah* was the apple.

The strongest argument for the apple is that *tuffāh* is used in modern Arabic for this fruit; but, as we have seen above, the word may have wider significance, and it is exceedingly probable that in such passages as those quoted by Robertson Smith in an article (*Journ. Phil.* 65 f.) which, though short, appeared to him (prematurely?) to be almost decisive, it is really the quince that is meant. Even if 'apple' be the usual modern meaning of *tuffāh*, it is far from uncommon in botanical history for a name to pass from one to another of two plants so nearly allied as the quince and the apple.

[J. Neil (*Pal. Explored*, '82, p. 186) differs widely from Prof. G. Post of Beyrout (Hastings, *DB*, 'Apple'), who argues that the apple as grown in Palestine and Syria to-day alone fulfils all the conditions of the *tappuah*.

Post remarks, 'almost all the apples of Syria and Palestine are sweet (Cant. 2.5). To European and American palates they seem insipid. But they have the delicious aroma of the better kinds. . . . Sick persons almost invariably ask the doctor if they may have an apple; and if he objects they urge their case with the plea that they only want it to smell.' This being so, it is needless to conjecture that 'such an epicure as Solomon would have had many of the choicest kinds', for, according to Post, the 'ordinary and (to us) disappointing Syrian apple can still, without poetic idealisation, be referred to in the language of Canticles. But was Canticles written for Syria?]

3. No citrus (orange or citron) will do. The citron has its home in the sub-Himalayan tract of N.

¹ Thus the best American apples succeed in Great Britain only under glass.

² Similarly, in the Deccan four sorts of apples are now found; but these are all introduced, two from England and two from Persia.

to mean a district rather than a town, and in this connection it is interesting that A^{B} renders 'Ar Moab' in Is. 15 by Moabitis. Our present knowledge of the topography of Moab does not enable us to identify the site of 'Ar, the city.

We may be sure it was not the modern Raiba (so the *PEF* map), the Anopolis which in the fourth century of our era was the capital of Moab. Others have suggested the Medinet el-Haj on the left bank of the Arnon opposite Aroer (see Burckhardt, *SP*, 394).

More probably (cp Nu. 22:36) it lay at the E. end of one or other of the Arnon valleys.

There Langer (*Reisebericht*, vii.) has proposed Lejin (Legio?) described in Doughty's *Notes* (*Diary*, 1, 103) as 'a turreted, limestone-built, walled town in ruins, the walls and corner towers of dry block-building, at the midst of every wall a gate.'

G. A. S.

ARA (אָרָה; אַרָּא [BA] אַי [L]), in a genology of ASHER $\text{g. v. 1, } \S 4$, U Ch 7 v. 7 . Perhaps אָרָּא should be pronounced אָרָּא, U Ch 7 v. 7 . See U Ch 7 v. 7 .

ARAB (אַרָּב, אֲרָבָה [B], אַרְבַּי [AL]), a site in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15:52). If DUMAH (*g. v. 4*) is ed-Dōmeh, there may possibly be an echo of Arab in *er-Rābiyeh*, the name of a site, with ruins, in the mountains of Judah, S. of Hebron (*PEF Mem.* 3:31).

ARABAH (הָעֲרָבָה, Η ΑΡΑΒΑ [BAL]), often translated by Η ΠΙΠΡΟΣ (εἶς, εἶη, κατα) ΔΥΣΜΑς, sometimes by ΚΑΘ' ΟΥΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΣΤΕΡΑΝ [BAL], as a common noun, from a root probably meaning 'dry' (cp ARABIA, § 1), is used as a parallel (Is. 35:6, etc.) to עֲרָבָה, 'desert-steppe,' and to עֲרָבָה, 'parched ground,' with much the same force. As a proper name, with the article, it is generally confined to the great depression of the Dead Sea valley, 'the 'Arābah.' So correctly in RV; in AV it is more usually translated 'plain' (*g. v. 6*) or 'wilderness' (but in Josh. 18:13 'Arābah.' G^{BAL} Βαβαραβα, see BETH-ARABAH). Along with the hill-country, the slopes, the Shephelah, and the Negeb, it is reckoned as one of the great parallel divisions of the land (Dt. 17 Josh. 11:6 12:8), and it is clear that the name was applied not only to the depression from the Lake of Galilee (Dt. 3:17; cp ARBATTINE to Jericho (2 K. 25:4) and the Dead Sea (which was called the Sea of the 'Arābah': Dt. 4:49, etc., Josh. 3:16, etc.), but also to the rest of the same great hollow as far as the Gulf of 'Akābah (Dt. 1:1).

Different parts of the 'Arābah were called 'Arbōth (construct plur. of 'Arābah); cp Josh. 5:10 Jer. 39:5, etc., EV 'plains of Jericho'; Nu. 22:1 26:3, etc., 'plains of Moab.' See too ARBATTINE.

To-day the name *El-Araba* is confined to the south of the line of cliffs that crosses the valley obliquely a few miles south of the southern end of the Dead Sea; and all N. of this is known as *El-Ghor*, 'the depression' (Rob. *BR* 249a).

The singular geological formation of the 'Arābah is indicated under PALESTINE (§ 3). Here it is sufficient to explain how such a name was applied to the valley even N. of the Dead Sea. In spite of the enormous possible fertility of the Jordan valley under proper irrigation, the vast stretches of jungle, marl, saline soil, and parched hillsides out of reach of the streams, along with the sparseness of cultivation in most ages (owing to the great heat, unhealthy climate, and wild beasts), fully justify the name 'Arābah. In the NT also the valley is called a wilderness (ἡ ἐρήμος Mk. 14).

For the 'Arābah S. of the Dead Sea, see Rob. *BR* i. and ii., Hull, *PEF Mem.*, 'Geology,' and for the part N. of the Dead Sea, Stanley, *SP* 7; Comber, *Tent Work in Pal. 14*; GASM. *IG* 22.

G. A. S.

ARABAH, BROOK OF THE, AV River of the Wilderness (הַנָּחַל הָעֲרָבָה), is in Am. 6:14 the southern limit of the land of Israel in opposition to the northern Pass of Hamath. The name occurs nowhere else; but by some has been taken as another form of Brook of the 'Arābim (עֲרָבִים); EV BROOK OF THE WILLOWS [AV^{ms} BROOK OF THE ARABAHS]—rather of the *Populus euphratica*: ZDPV 2 209),

given in Is. 15:7 as the southern boundary of Moab. This may be the long Wādy el-Hāsy (or Hessi, *PEF* Map) which Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 126) describes as dividing the uplands of Moab and Edom, and running into the S. end of the Dead Sea; by some thought to be also the Brook ZERED. It is doubtful, however, whether the Israelite kingdom could ever have been described as extending S. of the Arnon. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 3 115 [83]) suggests that the Brook of the Arābah may have lain at the N. end of the Dead Sea. G^{S} rendering, τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν δυσμῶν [BAQ], is no help. It is to be noted that N. Israel under Jeroboam II. in the time of Amos is stated in 2 K. 14:25 to have extended from 'the entering in of Hamath unto the Sea of the Arābah.' The difficulty is increased by the uncertainty as to whether Amos means to include Judah. G. A. S.

ARABATTINE (ἀκραβαττινή [AN]), 1 Macc. 5:37 AV, RV ARABATTINE.

ARABIA, ARABIANS (עֲרָב; gentilic עֲרָבִי and in Neh. עֲרָבִי, pl. עֲרָבִים, also once עֲרָבִים, and once Kt. עֲרָבִים; אַרָּב[ε]ία decl. and indecl. [BNAL, etc.], -BICCA [BNA], אַרָּאψ (-ABO) [BNAL, etc.], אַרָּב[ε]י [BNA]).

The name 'Arab' (עֲרָב) seems originally to have meant nothing more than 'desert': hence 'people of the desert.' So Isaiah uses the word,

1. **Earlier** 'In the forest in the desert ('Arab); but

OT usage. G^{S} ἐσπέρας ye halt for the night' (Is. 21:13).

More usual in Hebrew is the fem. form 'arābīh (*e.g.*, Job 24:5 39:6), a word employed as a proper name to denote the desolate valley, in which the Dead Sea is situated, reaching to the north-eastern extremity of the Red Sea (see ARABAH, i.). In the OT the term 'Arab, as the name of a particular nation and country, is confined to comparatively late writings; it must therefore appear highly improbable that the Homeric Ἐρεβῆσσι (*Od.* 484) are to be identified with the Arabs. The lists in Genesis, which specify various Arabian tribes, do not mention the name—a very significant indication of their antiquity. The word being certainly an appellative ('desert') in Is. 21:13 (with EV cp Hab. 18 G^{S} , Zeph. 3:3 G^{S}), the heading בְּקֶרֶת עֲרָבָה 'Oracle concerning the Arabs,' cannot be in accordance with the author's real meaning.² No certain instance of the use of 'Arab as a proper name occurs before the time of Jeremiah. He speaks of 'all the kings of 'Arab' (עֲרָבִים, Jer. 25:24). The words which follow in MT, וְאֵת כָּל־הָעֲרָבִים, are of course a dittography; in order to make sense the scribes pronounced עֲרָבָה 'the mixed people,' a form which really occurs in *v. 20*, as well as in Ez. 30:5 and 1 K. 10:15 (where G^{S} reads הָעֲרָבִים for עֲרָבָה). The Greek text of Jer. 25:24 (κ. πάντας τ. συμμικτούς [BNA]),⁴ it may be noticed, does not presuppose a repetition, and moreover (followed by Co.) omits the word 'kings,' necessary though it is to the sense. The phrase, 'like a 'Arabī in the desert' (Jer. 3:2, κοπιῶντι [BNA]; Aq. ἀραβί [Q^{ms}]), may be explained to mean either 'like an Arab' or 'like a Nomad'—the word has not yet acquired a strictly ethnographical signification. The same thing applies to a passage dating from the end of the Babylonian Exile, 'No 'Arabī shall pitch his tent there, nor shall shepherds cause their flocks to lie down there' (Is. 13:20, Ἀραβῆς [BNA^{ms}]). In Ez. 27:21, however, Arab (עֲרָב; Αραβ[ε]ία [BAQ], with the note εὐσπείρα [Q^{ms}]), appears as the name of a people, coupled with Kedar, a desert tribe very frequently mentioned at that period (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [2]).

¹ Isaiah's authorship, it is true, has been disputed (see ISAIHAH, § 9).
² G^{S} omits it; but Aq. Symm. Theod. all have it.
³ Giesebr., however, while agreeing as to the dittography which follows, denies that 'and all the kings of 'Arab' are the words of Jeremiah; the closing words of the verse ('who dwell in the wilderness') alone are genuine; they give the locality of those 'who have the corners of their hair pulled' (*v. 23*). Cp. 9:26 [25], 'all that have, etc., who dwell in the wilderness.'
⁴ G^{S} has κ. π. τ. σ. αὐτοῦ.

It would seem that the name of the Arabs came into use among the Hebrews at a time when the old names Ishmael, Midian, etc., were disappearing from ordinary speech. This change may be connected with the fact that during the period in question various tribes were advancing from the S. into the northern deserts and dispossessing the former inhabitants, who, in all probability, were closely akin to the Hebrews. Such shiftings of the population have occurred repeatedly in the course of ages. However unproductive the districts to the E. and to the S. of Palestine may appear to us, they are nevertheless, from the point of view of the Nomads, decidedly preferable to many parts of Arabia proper.

From the ninth century B.C. and onwards, the name of the Arabs occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions, where it presents a variety of forms¹ (*Arabi, Arubu, Aribi*, etc.), the adjective being *Arbāyā*.

The name *Urbi* (*KB 284 f.*), however, can scarcely be, as Delitzsch (*l.c.*) supposes, another form of the same word and the equivalent of the Arab. *Urbī*, which appears to be quite late, and of the Heb. *ʾurbī*. The Arabs mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions were probably all, or for the most part, natives of the Syrian desert, though we have no reason to assume that the name was applied to them exclusively as distinguished from the inhabitants of Arabia proper.

The inscriptions of the Persian King Darius (*e.g.*, Behistūn, I, 15) mention *Arabīya* among the subject lands, always placing it after Babylonia and *Athura* (*i.e.*, Assyria, Mesopotamia proper, and possibly northern Syria) and before Egypt; here also the word must refer to the great deserts of Syria—perhaps also to those of Mesopotamia and the Sinaitic peninsula. Æschylus (*Pers.* 316), the first extant Greek writer in whose works the name occurs, speaks of a distinguished Arab in the army of Xerxes, and the contemporary authority whom Herodotus follows in his account of the Persian army makes mention of Arabs on the same occasion (*Herod.* 7.69). While the notions of Æschylus, however, about the geographical position of the Arabs, are altogether fantastic—he represents them as dwelling near the Caucasus (*Prom.* 422)—Herodotus shows himself much better informed. He applies the term Arabia to the whole peninsula (cp *Herod.* 2.113 107-113 439); but, as might have been expected, he refers in particular to those Arabs who inhabited the country between Syria and Egypt (2.12 30 34 7 f. 880 91, etc.).

It is also to be remarked that, in accordance with a peculiar classification, he gives the name of Arabia to that part of Egypt which lies to the E. of the Nile valley (28, etc.). Xenophon (*Anab.* vii. 8.25) speaks of a governor set by the Persian king over 'Phœnicia and Arabia,' by which is meant the S. of Syria, including Palestine and the neighbouring desert—a separate governor being set over Syria and Assyria.' Similarly in the *Cyropædia* he doubtless always means by Arabia the desert lands which were to some extent dependencies of the Persian Empire, not the peninsula itself; we must remember, further, that Xenophon had no definite ideas about these countries, through which he had not himself travelled. The name Arabia is used, in particular, for the desert of Mesopotamia (*Anab.* I. 51); it can hardly be an accident that this very district is called *Arab* by Syriac writers from the third century after Christ and onwards. Whilst, however, the term is regularly applied to that part of the desert which remained under Roman dominion till the Mohammedan conquest, the eastern portion, which belonged to Persia, is more commonly known as *Bēth 'Arabayē* (or *Bā 'Arbāyā* in the Arabicised form)—*i.e.*, 'land of the Arabs.' Traces of this usage are found in late Greek authors also.

A strictly ethnographical sense belongs to the word

'Arab' in the writings of a contemporary of Herodotus,

3. Later OT writers. Nehemiah, who suffered much from the enmity of an Arab (*Neh.* 2.19 61 6) and enumerates 'the Arabs' as such in the

list of his opponents (*Neh.* 4.7 [1]). The Arab in question bears a name which, according to the Massoretic vocalisation, is to be pronounced GESHEM (*g. v.*) or Gashmū, and appears in the Greek text as Γησαῦ (ΓΗΣΑ). Γησαῦ [L]; the correct form is probably *Gushamū*, a well-known Arabic name. It is very likely that at that time the great migration of the Nabateans had already happened (see *EDOM*, §9, *NABATEANS*). The Chronicler too refers to 'the Arabians.' They brought tribute, he tells us, to the pious King Jehoshaphat (2 *Ch.* 17.11). He relates, also, how Jehu punished the wicked Joram by means of the Philistines and 'the Arabians who were beside the Ethiopians' (2 *Ch.* 21.16, cp 22.1), and how he scourged the pious Uzziah in the war against 'the Arabians that dwell in GUR-BAAI' [*g. v.*] and other nations (2 *Ch.* 26.7)—all this is written from the point of view of the author's own time (*circa* 200 B.C.), and has no claim to be regarded as historical.

By the beginning of the Maccabean period the kingdom of the NABATEANS [*g. v.*] had long been firmly established. At that time various other Arabian tribes were also to be found in the great Syrian desert, and from among these certain families and persons rose to great power during the decline of the Seleucid Empire. In several Syrian towns we find Arabian sovereigns, and at Palmyra, at least, there was an Arabian aristocracy; elsewhere also Arabian chieftains occasionally played an important part in the politics of that period. 1 Macc. several times mentions Nabateans and other Arabs (5 28 29 9 11 17 30 12 30 34 p. 2 Macc. 5 12 107 7).

The apostle Paul, after his conversion, retired into Arabia (*Gal.* 1.17)—probably some desert tract in the Nabatean kingdom. When he speaks of

4. NT. Arabia he of course includes the Sinaitic peninsula (*Gal.* 4.25). Similarly, 'Arabs' (Arabian Jews or proselytes) in Acts 2.11 probably means natives of the Nabatean kingdom (see *NABATEANS*) or of the Roman province of Arabia which covered almost the whole extent of that kingdom. The province was constituted by A. Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria (*circa* 105 A.D.).

At what period certain tribes began to call themselves Arabs, and at what period the name was adopted by the whole nation, cannot be determined.

5. Native Arabian usage. The distinguished scholar, D. H. Müller,¹ has maintained that the name 'Arab' was unknown to the natives of Arabia till Mohammed introduced it as a national designation. This view, however, is scarcely tenable. The present writer does not happen to have made any notes on the occurrence of the name in the pre-Islamic poetry;² but the verse in Tabari, I, 10365, which dates from the beginning of the seventh century, is a sufficient proof of its occurrence—the poet, who can have known nothing of Mohammed, speaks of 3000 Arabs as opposed to 2000 foreigners. The events there described happened in the neighbourhood of the lower Euphrates—that is to say, in a district where Arabs, Arameans, and Persians frequently came into contact with one another, and where, for that very reason, a special term to denote the Arabian nationality and language was absolutely required. When we take into account the frequent communication between the Arabs of this district and those of the distant W. and S., and the great uniformity of the Arabian nation, it must appear highly probable that the name had long been generally used in Arabia itself.

¹ *Neue Freie Presse*, 1864, 26th April.

² He would not lay great stress on the words *Arabāyā*, *Arbāyā*, 'villages of Arabian women,' or *Araba*, 'Arabian,' 'Arabian villages,' in a verse ascribed to the old poet Imra' al-kays (about 550 A.D.), 392 (Abulwardi), the fragment being very obscure and the text not quite to be trusted. Nor could he affirm the genuineness of the verses ascribed to old poets in *Asād* ix. 10 second last line, x. 149—where the word 'Arab' occurs.

¹ See *Del. Par.* 295 304 ff.; and cp *Schr. KGF*, 100 ff.

scription of Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727 B.C.), and an inscription of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). (See Del. *l.c.* 278, Schr. *KAT* 116, *KB* 284). The name occurs also in a few other Assyrian inscriptions; but, owing to the imperfection of the writing, it may sometimes be doubted whether the word is really אַרַם, 'Aram,' and not some such form as אַרְמֵי, אַרְמֵי, or אַרְמֵי. It is remarkable that the cuneiform inscriptions, at least according to the opinion of Del. and Schr., never give the name of 'Aramaans' to the Aramaic-speaking populations W. of the Euphrates, whereas in the OT this is the Aramaean country *per excellence* (ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 1).

Though at several periods the whole, or the greater part, of the Aramaean domain has been subject to a

2. **Language.** single foreign power, the Aramaeans have never formed an independent political unity; in fact, so far as we know, there has never existed a state comprehending the Aramaeans of the main part of Syria or of Mesopotamia proper, to the exclusion of other races. From a very early time, however, the population of these countries must have been predominantly Aramaean, as is shown by the fact that all the other nationalities were gradually eliminated, so that, even before the Christian era, the various dialects of the Aramaic (or, as the Greeks say, Syrian) language prevailed almost exclusively in the cultivated lands which lie between the Mediterranean and the Mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan. Aramaic was used by the neighbouring Arabs as the language of writing; it also took possession of the *desert* (see § 2, *infra*). It is indeed very unlikely that, as early as the time of Solomon, there was an important Aramaean element in Palestine, as W. Müller suggests (*l.c.* 285, 171); the ending *-ā* in many names of Palestinian cities in the list drawn up by the Egyptian king Sosenk is probably nothing more than the Hebrew ending *-ā*, expressing motion towards—the so-called *Hebraeate*. Even in some books composed before the Exile, however, the influence of the language spoken by the neighbouring Aramaeans is occasionally perceptible. This influence became very much greater after the Exile (when those Israelites who remained, or founded settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee, were at first feeble in numbers) and little by little the Aramaic tongue spread over the whole country. Though the language of such parts of the OT as Esther, Ecclesiastes, and several of the Psalms is Hebrew in form, its spirit is almost entirely Aramaic. The compiler of Ezra inserted into his book an extract from an Aramaic work composed, it would seem, about 300 B.C.; and half of the Book of Daniel (which was written in 167 or 166 B.C.) is in Aramaic. Moreover, a dialect of this language was spoken by Christ and the apostles, and in it the discourses reported in the Gospels were originally delivered. Nor did the Latin language (under the Roman rule) ever threaten to supplant the prevalent Aramaic. Greek, it is true, gained some footing in Syria, and, since it was the vehicle of intercourse and literary culture, exercised a great influence on the native dialects. It was the conquests of the Moslems, however, that suddenly brought to an end the ascendancy of Aramaic after it had lasted for more than 1000 years. The Arabic language was diffused with surprising rapidity, and at the present day there are only a few outlying districts in which Aramaic dialects are spoken.

What group of tribes the author of Gen. 10:23 includes under the name of Aram, we are unable to say precisely.

3. **In Pentateuch.** Of the 'sons of Aram' enumerated there is unfortunately none that can be identified with tolerable certainty (see GEOGRAPHY, § 24). The position of 'Uz,' although it occurs several times in the OT, is unknown. It must, however, have been situated not far from Palestine. 'Mash' is usually supposed to be the country of the *Μάσιον ὄρος* (Strabo, 506, etc.), the source of the river Mashē (*n'har*

Mashē, in Arabic *Hirmās*), which flowed by Nisibis ([pseudo-]Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē, ed. Chalot, 718, and Thomas of Margā, ed. Budge, 346 19); this is, however, by no means certain. Other theories respecting the names in Gen. 10:23 might be mentioned; but they are all open to question.

A second list, in Gen. 22:21, represents Aram as a son of Kemuel, son of Nahor and brother of Uz, Kesed (EV Chesed; the eponym of the Chaldeans), Bethuel, and others. Bethuel is called an 'Aramaean' in Gen. 25:20 28:5, as is also his son Laban in Gen. 25:20 31:20 24. The passages in question belong, it is true, to different sources; but they may have been harmonised by the redactor. All these statements seem to point to the district of Harrān (HARAN, *q.v.*), where, as Hebrew tradition affirms with remarkable distinctness, the patriarchs (Abraham, Jacob), and the patriarchs' wives (Rebecca, Leah, Rachel), either were born or sojourned for a long time. Here, in remote antiquity, Hebrew tribes and Aramaean tribes (represented by Nahor) probably dwelt side by side.¹ Hence it is said in Dt. 26:5 'a nomad Aramaean was my father.' In one of the sources of Genesis the country of Laban is called 'Aram of the two rivers,'² which seems to mean, as has long been held, the Aramaean land between the Euphrates and the Tigris, or between the Euphrates and the Chaborās (Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.* 154). What is meant by Paddan Arām, however, the name given to the dwelling-place of Laban and his kinsmen in the other source (see PADDAN), is not clear. In Assyrian (?) and Aramaic Paddan signifies 'yoke,' and by a change of meaning, found also in other languages, it comes to denote a certain area of land, and finally 'corn-land,' but not a 'plain,' as is sometimes assumed by those who wrongly take the phrase 'field of Aram' (Hos. 12:13[12]) to be a translation of 'Paddan Aram.' This latter can scarcely be the name of a country. It may denote a *locality* situated in the land of Aram. We might, therefore, be tempted to identify Paddan Aram with a place near Harrān called *Paddānā* (see Wright, *Int. Syn. MSS.* 1127 1, *Geogr.* 1100 1000). Nestor, 129, l. 21), in Gr. *φαδανᾶ* (Sozom. 6:33), and in Ar. *Faddān*, in the neighbourhood of which *Tell Faddān* is situated (see Yākūt *s.v.*). It is, however, a somewhat suspicious consideration that several of the passages which have been cited mention the patriarchs in connection with the place. Hence the name may be due to a mere localisation of the biblical story on the part of the early Christians. According to the narrative of Balaam, 'Pethor' is in Aram (Nu. 22:5 23:7; see PETHOR). If Schr. (*KAT* 155 ff. *KB* 1133) be right in identifying it with the city of *Pitru*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, and situated on the river Sagur (Sājūr)—that is to say, not far from Mambij (Hierapolis)—the statement that Pethor is on the Euphrates itself cannot be quite correct. Such an inaccuracy, however, would not be surprising.

What historical foundation there may be for the account of the subjugation of Israel by Cushan Rishathaim (*q.v.*), 'king of Aram of the Two Rivers' (Judg. 3:8-10), is uncertain.

Of all the Aramaean states, by far the most important from the point of view of the Israelites, during the kingly period, was Damascus, the inhabitants of which, from the time of David (*q.v.*, § 86) onward, were often at war with their Israelite neighbours; but there must also have been much peaceable intercourse between the two nations. In most cases where the OT speaks of Aram the reference is to Damascus (even though the latter name be not expressly mentioned), the small Aramaean states of the neighbourhood being sometimes included. That

¹ On this point see ISRAELIT., § 1.

² It is not necessary to suppose with W. Max Müller (*l.c.* 252, 253) that the Dual *māhararaim* is a mistake for the plural *māharim*. On this subject, however, cp ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 1.

this mode of speaking was actually current in early times is proved by such passages as Am. 1 59 Is. 7 24f. 8. Cp DAMASCUS.

Not far from Damascus lay the Aramean districts of Maacah (ג. 21) and Geshur (ג. 11). That Maacah

was Aramean is not expressly stated—except in 1 Ch. 196, where the text is very doubtful;¹ but it seems to be indicated by

Gen. 22.24, where Maacah is represented as

a son, or daughter, of Nahor by a concubine. Moreover, in 1 Ch. 7.16 Machir, the chief representative of the tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan, is the husband of Maacah, and in v. 14 of the same chapter he is a son of Manasseh by an Aramean concubine—whence we may infer that the Israelite tribe which had penetrated furthest to the NE. became mingled with the Arameans of Maacah. That the Maacathites were not included in Israel, though they dwelt among the Israelites, is stated in Josh. 13.13. Their geographical situation is to some extent determined by the fact that Abel, though regarded as an ancient Israelite city (2 S. 20.19), is sometimes called Abel-beth-Maacah, 'Abel in the land of Maacah' (2 S. 20.14, 2 etc.), in order to distinguish it from other places bearing the name Abel.

In accordance with the statements in 1 K. 15.20 2 K. 15.29 (to which must be added 2 S. 20.18, a passage preserved in \mathfrak{C} but mutilated in MT), this Abel is now generally admitted to be identical with the northern Abil, near Hünin, on one of the brooks which unite to compose the Jordan (see ABEL-BETH-MAACAH). That this region, on the slopes of Hermon, was the home of the Maacathites appears from Dt. 3.14 Josh. 12.5 13.13, where they are mentioned together with the Geshurites, another foreign people who continued to dwell among the Israelites (Josh. 13.13), and belonged to Aram (2 S. 15.8; cp also 1 Ch. 2.23, where the text, it must be admitted, is obscure and seems to be corrupt). Not far off was the territory of Rehob or Beth Rehob, which included the city of Dan (Judg. 18.28, often mentioned as the northern limit of Israel, the modern Tell el-kādi, a few miles east of the aforesaid Abil. In Josh. 19.28 Rehob, it is true, is reckoned as belonging to the Israelite tribe of Asher; but, according to 2 S. 10.6, its inhabitants were Arameans. Thus it appears fairly certain that several Aramean tribes were settled near, or within, the borders of the northern tribes of Israel (Naphtali, Asher, and Eastern Manasseh). In these parts the Aramean population seems to have extended, with scarcely any interruption, as far as Damascus. The Arameans of Maacah and Rehob fought on the side of the Ammonites against David (2 S. 10.6 = 1 Ch. 19.6). David married a daughter of the king of the Geshurites,³ and she became the mother of Absalom. It is remarkable that she bore the name of Maacah (2 S. 3.3 = 1 Ch. 3.2), which, as we have seen, occurs often in connection with Geshur; and the same name was given by Absalom to his daughter,⁴ afterwards the mother of two kings of Judah (1 K. 15.2 10.13 2 Ch. 11.20 ff.). After he had murdered his brother Amnon, Absalom took refuge with his grandfather the king of Geshur, and remained there for a considerable time (2 S. 13.38 14.23.2). The king of Geshur must, therefore, have been to some extent independent of David. Of all these Aramean tribes we hear nothing more in later times; but one of them has left a trace in 'the Maacathite' (see MAACAH, 1), an appellation borne by the father of Jaazaniah, a contemporary of Jeremiah the prophet (2 K. 25.23 Jer.

¹ Instead of מַאכָּה אֲרָמִי, 'Arameans of Maacah,' the parallel passage 2 S. 10.6 has מַאכָּה בֶּן־נָחֹר, 'the king of Manasseh,' for which \mathfrak{C} reads Βασιλεύς Ἀραμῶν. Here the word Ἀραμῶν is certainly due to a mistake (\mathfrak{C} has βασιλεύς); but Βασιλεύς [BAL] supports the Massoretic reading מַאכָּה.

² In this verse we should no doubt read מַאכָּה בֶּן־נָחֹר and with it Ex. i, Wellh., and others.

³ See, however, GESHUR, 2, where the view is proposed that David's wife was from the Southern Geshur.

⁴ On this see, however, MAACAH, ii.

408). These Arameans, who were so closely connected with the Israelites, probably played an important part in the diffusion of the Aramaic language over Palestine.

Another state, also described as Aramean, was that of ZOBAB (g. v.) (2 S. 10.68; cp 1 Ch. 19.6 Ps. 60 [title]).

6. Zobab. which seems to have been for a while of greater consequence. In it was situated the city of BEROTHAI (2 S. 10.8). No doubt identical with BEROTHAI (g. v.), which in Ez. 47.16 is placed between Hamath and Damascus. With this it agrees that, according to the statements of the historical books, Zobab had relations with Hamath on the one side, and with Damascus on the other. Its site must, therefore, be approximately in the neighbourhood of Emesa; and we may hope that archaeological researches will throw further light upon the subject.¹

The statement about Saul's wars with 'the kings of Zobab' (1 S. 14.47) is open to grave suspicion; it is, in fact, doubtful whether the warlike operations of Saul ever extended so far (see SAUL, § 3). A little later, however, we find Zobab and Damascus assisting the Ammonites in their war against David (see DAVID, § 8d). At length Hadad'ezer, king of Zobab, even brought to his help Arameans from beyond the Euphrates, but was utterly defeated, together with the king of the Ammonites, and David carried off a rich booty. Upon this the king of Hamath, who had been at war with the king of Zobab, sent an embassy to the Judean king, expressing great satisfaction (2 S. 8.10). According to 2 S. 23.36, one of David's heroes (among whom were several non-Israelites) came from Zobab; in 1 Ch. 11.38, however, the reading is quite different (see ZOBAB). A servant of the above-mentioned Hadad'ezer, named Rezon, fled from his master, became the chief of a band of robbers, and after David's death founded a kingdom at Damascus (1 K. 11.23 ff.; see DAMASCUS, § 3). It is not easy to extract a satisfactory sense from the passage which describes the capture of 'Hamath of Zobab' by Solomon (2 Ch. 8.3), and there is reason to suspect the integrity of the text. After the time of Solomon we find no mention of Zobab in the OT; but Assyrian monuments bear witness to the existence of this city in the seventh century B.C.—if, as seems likely, the same place be meant.

In the account of the wars of David against the Ammonites and their allies, these latter are classed

7. 'Arameans,' together under the name of 'Arameans' (2 S. 10.8 ff. 14 ff.); but this is perhaps nothing more than a classification *a priori*. It is of more importance to notice that the army of Nebuchadrezzar is called by a contemporary 'the army of the Chaldeans and of the Arameans' (Jer. 35.11). That the great mass of the Babylonian army was composed of Arameans might have been naturally inferred, even if we had not this explicit statement on the subject.

Cp Noldeke, 'Die Namen der Aram. Nation u. Sprache,' in *Z. D. M. G.* 25.113 ff.; *Assyriens Syrisches Syrius in Formos.* 3.143 ff.; and the section on the Aramaic dialects in Art. 'Semitic Languages,' *EB* 99, published separately in German, *Die Sem. Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1857, p. 27 ff., and ed. 1859.

² An Asherite (1 Ch. 7.34); [אַשְׁרָתִי] [B], אַשְׁרָתִי [AL]. See also RAM, 1, and ARAM.

ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.² Aramaic is nearly related to Hebrew-Phœnician; there is, nevertheless, a sharp line of demarcation. Of its **1. Geographical extent.** original home nothing certain is known. In the OT 'Aram' appears at an early period as a designation of certain districts in Syria (see ARAM, § 1) and in Mesopotamia. The language of the Arameans gradually spread far and wide. It occupied all Syria—both those regions which had been in the possession of non-Semitic peoples, and

¹ It would appear that the Assyrian inscriptions sometimes mention this place as *Suhutu* or *Suhiti* (see Del. *Par.* 279 ff.; Schrader, *KGF* 122, *KAT* 182 ff.); but they have not enabled us to fix the site.

² Revised and adapted by the author from art. 'Semitic Languages' (Aramaic section) in *EB* 99.21.

those which were most likely inhabited by Canaanite tribes. Last of all, Palestine became Aramaised (*ibid.* § 2). Towards the E. this language was spoken on the Euphrates, and throughout the districts of the Tigris S. and W. of the Armenian and Kurdish mountains; the province in which the capitals of the Arsacides and the Sasanians were situated was called 'the country of the Arameans.' In Babylonia and Assyria a large, or perhaps the larger, portion of the population were most probably Arameans, even at a very early date, whilst Assyria was the language of the government.

Some short Aramaic inscriptions of the Assyrian period, principally on weights, have long been known.

To these have recently been added longer **2. Earlier ones** from the most northern part of Syria (Zenjirli, about 37° N.). In these, as in the weight inscriptions, the language differs markedly from later Aramaic, especially by its close approximation to Hebrew-Canaanite or, perhaps, to Assyrian; but Aramaic it undoubtedly is. It is to be hoped that more of these inscriptions, important alike for their language and for their contents, may yet be discovered.¹

In the Persian period Aramaic was the official language of the provinces W. of the Euphrates; and this explains the fact that some inscriptions of Cilicia and many coins which were struck by governors and vassal princes in Asia Minor (of which the stamp was in some cases the work of skilled Greek artists) bear Aramaic inscriptions, whilst those of other coins are Greek. This, of course, does not prove that Aramaic was ever spoken in Asia Minor, and as far north as Sinope and the Hellespont.

In Egypt Aramaic inscriptions have been found of the Persian period, one bearing the date of the fourth year of Xerxes (482 B.C.);² we have also official documents on papyrus, unfortunately in a very tattered condition for the most part, which prove that the Persians preferred using this convenient language to mastering the difficulties of the Egyptian systems of writing. It is further possible that at that time there were many Arameans in Egypt, just as there were many Phoenicians, Greeks, and Jews.

This preference for Aramaic, however, probably originated under the Assyrian Empire, in which a very large proportion of the population spoke Aramaic; in it this language would naturally occupy a more important position than it did under the Persians. Thus we understand why it was taken for granted that a great Assyrian officer could speak Aramaic (2 K. 18:26 = Is. 36:11), and why the dignitaries of Judah appear to have learned the language (*ibid.*); namely, in order to communicate with the Assyrians. The short dominion of the Chaldeans probably strengthened this preponderance of Aramaic.

A few ancient Aramaic inscriptions have been discovered far within the limits of Arabia, in the palm oasis of Teima (in the north of the Hijaz); the oldest and by far the most important of these was perhaps made somewhat before the Persian period.³ We may presume that Aramaic was introduced into the district by a mercantile colony, which settled in the ancient seat of commerce; and, in consequence, Aramaic may have remained for some time the literary language of the neighbouring Arabs. Those Aramaic monuments, which we may with more or less certainty ascribe to the Persian period, exhibit a language which is almost absolutely uniform. The Egyptian monuments bear marks of Hebrew, or (better) Phoenician, influence.

Intercourse with Arameans caused some Aramaic

words to be imported into Hebrew at a comparatively early date. This influence of Aramaic on

3. Biblical Hebrew steadily grew, and shows itself so strongly in the language of Ecclesiastes, for example, as almost to compel the inference that Aramaic was the writer's mother-tongue, and Hebrew one subsequently acquired, without complete mastery.

Certain portions of the OT (Ezra 4:8-6:18 7:12-26 Dan. 2:4-8:28; also the ancient gloss in Jer. 10:11) are written in Aramaic. The free and arbitrary interchange between Aramaic and Hebrew, between the current popular speech and the old sacred and learned language, is peculiarly characteristic in Daniel (167 or 166 B.C.); see DANIEL, ii. § 11 f. Isolated passages in Ezra perhaps belong to the Persian period, but have certainly been remodelled by a later writer.⁴ Still in Ezra we find a few antique forms which do not occur in Daniel.

The Aramaic pieces contained in the OT have the great advantage of being furnished with vowels and other orthographical signs. These were not inserted until long after the composition of the books (they are sometimes at variance with the text itself); but Aramaic was still a living language when the punctuation came into use, and the lapse of time was not so very great. The tradition ran less risk of corruption, therefore, than in the case of Hebrew. Its general correctness is further attested by the innumerable points of resemblance between this language and Syriac, with which we are accurately acquainted. The Aramaic of the OT exhibits various antique characteristics which afterwards disappeared—for example, the formation of the passive by means of internal vowel-change, and of the causative with *ha* instead of with *a*—phenomena which have been falsely explained as Hebraisms.

Biblical Aramaic agrees in all essential respects with the language used in the many inscriptions of Palmyra

4. Nabataean, etc. (beginning soon before the Christian era and extending to about the end of the third century), and on the Nabataean coins and stone monuments (concluding about the year 100 A.D.). Aramaic was the language of Palmyra, the aristocracy of which were largely of Arabian extraction. In the northern portion of the Nabataean kingdom (not far from Damascus) there was probably a large Aramaic population; but Arabic was spoken farther south. At that time, however, Aramaic was highly esteemed as a cultivated language, for which reason the Arabs in question made use of it, as their own language was not reduced to writing, just as in those ages Greek inscriptions were set up in many districts where no one spoke Greek. The great inscriptions cease with the overthrow of the Nabataean kingdom by Trajan (105 A.D.); but, down to a later period, the Arabian nomads in those countries, especially in the Sinaitic peninsula, often scratched their names on the rocks, adding some benedictory formula in Aramaic. These inscriptions having now been deciphered with completeness and certainty, there is no longer room for discussion of their Israelitic origin, or of any similar fantastic theories concerning them. That several centuries afterwards the name of 'Nabataean' was used by the Arabs as synonymous with 'Aramaean' was probably due to the gradual spread of Aramaic over a great part of what had once been the country of the Nabataeans. In any case, Aramaic then exercised an immense influence. This is proved by the place which it occupies in the strange Pahlavi writing, various branches of which date from the time of the Parthian empire. Biblical Aramaic, as also the language of the Palmyrene and the Nabataean inscriptions, may be described as an older form of Western Aramaic. The opinion that the Palestinian Jews brought their Aramaic dialect directly from Babylon—whence the incorrect name 'Chaldee'—is untenable.

¹ The decree which is said to have been sent by Artaxerxes (Ezra 7:12-26) is in its present form a comparatively late production (cp. EZRA, ii. § 10).

¹ Cp. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Sachau, *Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, Mitteil.*, aus den *an. Samml.* 1893; also D. H. Müller, *altsem. Inschrift. v. Sendschirli*, Vienna, 1893; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.*, Paris, 1894, and on the language, Nöld, *ZDMG* 47:99; D. H. Müller, 'Die Inschrift des Barnekeb', *ZKAW* 10; W. in *Mit.*, 1895; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.*, 1897; G. Hoffmann, *J. A.*, 1897, 37 ff. Two old Aram. inscriptions from Nesh (near Aleppo) have since been brought to light; cp. Hoffmann, *ibid.* 207 ff.

² See the Palaeographical Society's *Oriental Series*, plate XIII., and *CIS* 2, no. 122.

³ See *CIS* 2, nos. 113-121.

ARAMAIC LANGUAGE

By the time of Christ Aramaic had long been the current popular speech of the Jews in Palestine, and

5. NT. the use, spoken and written, of Hebrew (in a greatly modified form) was confined to scholars. Christ and the apostles spoke Aramaic, and the original preaching of Christianity, the *Εὐαγγέλιον*, was in the same language. And this, too, not in the dialect current in Jerusalem, which roughly coincided with the literary language of the period, but in that of Galilee, which, it would seem, had developed more rapidly, or, as is now often but erroneously said, had become corrupted. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to know the Galilean dialect of that period with accuracy. The attempts made in our days to reduce the words of Jesus from Greek to their original language have, therefore, failed.

In general, few of the sources from which we derive our knowledge of the Palestinian dialect of that period can be implicitly trusted. In the synagogues it was necessary that the reading of the OT should be followed by an oral 'targum'—a translation, or rather a paraphrase into Aramaic, the language of the people—which was at a later period fixed in writing; but the officially sanctioned form of the Targum to the Pentateuch (the so-called Targum of Onkelos) and of that to the prophets (the so-called Jonathan) was not finally settled till the fourth or fifth century, and not in Palestine but in Babylonia.

The redactors of the Targum preserved, on the whole, the older Palestinian dialect; yet that of Babylon, which differed considerably from the former, exercised a vitiating influence. The punctuation, which was added later (first in Babylonia) is not so trustworthy as that of the Aramaic passages in the OT. The manuscripts which have the Babylonian superlinear punctuation may, nevertheless, be relied upon to a great extent. The language of Onkelos and Jonathan differs but little from biblical Aramaic. The language spoken some time afterwards by the Palestinian Jews, especially in Galilee, is exhibited in a series of rabbinical works—the so-called Jerusalem Targums, a few Midrashic works, and the Jerusalem Talmud. Of the Jerusalem Targums, at least that to the Pentateuch contains remains that go back to a very early date, and, to a considerable extent, presents a much more ancient aspect than that of Onkelos, which has been heavily revised throughout;¹ but the language, as we now have it, belongs to the later time. The Targums to the Hagiographa are, in part, very late indeed. All these books, of which the Midrashim and the Talmud contain much Hebrew as well as Aramaic, have been handed down without care, and require to be used with great caution for linguistic purposes. Moreover, the influence of the older language and orthography has, in part, obscured the characteristics of these popular dialects; for example, various gutturals are still written, although they are no longer pronounced. The adaptation of the spelling to the real pronunciation is carried furthest in the Jerusalem Talmud, but not in a consistent manner. All these books are without vowel-points; but the frequent use of vowel-letters in the later Jewish works renders this defect less noticeable (cp TEXT, § 64).

Not only the Jews but also the Christians of Palestine retained their native dialect for some time as an ecclesiastical and literary language. We possess

7. Christian Palestinian. translations of great portions of the Bible (especially of the Gospels) and fragments of other works in this dialect by the Palestinian Christians dating from about the fifth century, partly accompanied by a punctuation which was not added till some time later. This dialect, the native country of which was apparently not Galilee, but Judea, closely resembles that of the Palestinian Jews, as was to be expected

from the fact that those who spoke it were of Jewish origin.

Finally, the Samaritans, among the inhabitants of Palestine, translated their sacred book, the Pentateuch, into their own dialect: see TEXT,

8. Samaritan dialect. § 48. The critical study of this translation proves that the language which lies at its base was very much the same as that of the neighbouring Jews. Perhaps, indeed, the Samaritans may have carried the softening of the gutturals a little farther than the Jews of Galilee. Their absurd attempt to embellish the language of the translation by arbitrarily introducing forms borrowed from the Hebrew original has given rise to the false notion that Samaritan is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. The introduction of Hebrew and even of Arabic words and forms was practised in Samaria on a still larger scale by copyists who lived after Aramaic had become extinct. The later works written in the Samaritan dialect are, from a linguistic point of view, as worthless as the compositions of Samaritans in Hebrew: the writers, who spoke Arabic, endeavoured to write in a language with which they were but half acquainted.

All these Western Aramaic dialects, including that of the oldest inscriptions, have this characteristic among others in common, that they form the third person singular masculine and the third person plural masculine and feminine in the imperfect by prefixing *y*, as do the other Semitic languages. And in these dialects the termination *d* (the so-called *status emphaticus*) still retained the meaning of a definite article down to a tolerably late period.

As early as the seventh century the conquests of the Moslems greatly circumscribed the domain of Aramaic, and a few centuries later it was almost completely supplanted in the W. by Arabic. For the Christians of those countries, who, like every one else, spoke Arabic, the Palestinian dialect was no longer of importance. They adopted as their ecclesiastical language the dialect of the other Aramaean Christians, the Syriac (Edessan; see § 11 f.). The only localities where a W. Aramaic dialect still survives are a few villages in Anti-Libanus.¹

The popular Aramaic dialect of Babylonia, from the fourth to the sixth century of our era, is exhibited in the

10. Babylonian and Mandæan. Babylonian Talmud, in which, however, as in the Jerusalem Talmud, there is a constant mingling of Aramaic and Hebrew passages. To a somewhat later period, and probably to a somewhat different district of Babylonia, belong the writings of the Mandæans, a strange sect, half Christian and half heathen, who, from a linguistic point of view, possess the peculiar advantage of having remained almost entirely free from the influence of Hebrew, which is so perceptible in the Aramaic writings of Jews as well as in those of Christians. The orthography of the Mandæans comes nearer than that of the Talmud to the real pronunciation, and in it the softening of the gutturals is most clearly seen. In other respects there is a close resemblance between Mandæan and the language of the Babylonian Talmud. The forms of the imperfect which we have enumerated above take in these dialects *z* or *l*. In Babylonia, as in Syria, the language of the Arabic conquerors rapidly drove out that of the country. The latter has long been extinct—unless, which is possible, a few surviving Mandæans still speak among themselves a more modern form of their dialect.

At Edessa, in the W. of Mesopotamia, the native dialect had already been used for some time as a literary

11. Syriac or Edessan Aramaic. language, and had been reduced to rule through the influence of the schools (as is proved by the fixity of the grammar and the orthography) even before Christianity

¹ This in opposition to Dalman's *Gramm. d. jud. pal. Avam.* (Leipzig, 94)—a book highly to be commended for the fullness and accuracy of its facts, but less so for its theories.

¹ On this subject we have now very valuable information in a series of articles by M. Parissot (*Journ. As.*, 1869); moreover it is hoped that Professors Prym and Socin will soon be able to furnish more ample details.

acquired power in the country, in the second century. At an early period the Old and the New Testaments were here translated, with the help of Jewish tradition (see TEXT, § 59). This version (the so-called Peshîta or Peshito) became the Bible of Aramaean Christendom, and Edessa became its capital. Thus the Aramaean Christians of the neighbouring countries, even those who were subjects of the Persian empire, adopted the Edessan dialect as the language of the church, of literature, and of cultivated intercourse. Since the ancient name of the inhabitants, 'Aramaëans,' just like that of 'Ἑλληγες, had acquired in the minds of Jews and Christians the unpleasant signification of 'heathens,' it was generally avoided, and in its place the Greek terms 'Syrians' and 'Syriac' were used. 'Syriac,' however, was also the name given by the Jews and the Christians of Palestine to their own language, and 'Syrians' was applied by both Greeks and Persians to the Aramaëans of Babylonia. It is, therefore, incorrect to employ the word 'Syriac' as meaning the language of Edessa alone; but, since it was the most important of these dialects, it has the best claim to this generally received appellation. It has, as we have said, a form very definitely fixed; and in it the above-mentioned forms of the imperfect take an *n*. As in the Babylonian dialects, the termination *dn* has become so completely a part of the substantive to which it is added that it has wholly lost the meaning of the definite article; whereby the clearness of the language is perceptibly impaired. The influence exercised by Greek is very apparent in Syriac.

From the third to the seventh century an extensive literature was produced in this language, consisting chiefly, but not entirely, of ecclesiastical

12. Its history. works. In the development of this literature the Syrians of the Persian empire took an eager part. In the Eastern Roman empire Syriac was, after Greek, by far the most important language; and under the Persian kings it virtually occupied a more prominent position as an organ of culture than the Persian language itself. The conquests of the Arabs totally changed this state of things. Meanwhile, even in Edessa, a considerable difference had arisen between the written language and the popular speech, in which the process of modification was still going on. About the year 700 it became a matter of absolute necessity to systematise the grammar of the language and to introduce some means of clearly expressing the vowels. The chief object aimed at was that the text of the Syriac Bible should be recited in a correct manner. It happened, however, that the eastern pronunciation differed in many respects from that of the W. The local dialects had, to some extent, exercised an influence over the pronunciation of the literary tongue; and, on the other hand, the political separation between Rome and Persia, and yet more the ecclesiastical schism—since the Syrians of the E. were mostly Nestorians, those of the W. Monophysites and Catholics—had produced divergences between the traditions of the various schools. Starting, therefore, from a common source, two distinct systems of punctuation were formed, of which the western is the more convenient, but the eastern the more exact, and generally more in accordance with the ancient pronunciation: it has, for example, *d* in place of the western *dh*, and *dh* in many cases where the western Syrians pronounce *dh*. In later times the two systems have been intermingled in various ways.

Arabic everywhere put a speedy end to the pre-dominance of Aramaic—a predominance which had lasted for more than a thousand years—and soon began to drive Syriac out of use. Nevertheless, up to the present day Syriac has remained in use for literary and ecclesiastical purposes, and may perhaps be even spoken in some monasteries and schools; but it has long been a dead language. When Syriac became extinct in Edessa and its neighbourhood is not known with certainty. It is very desirable that theologians who interest them-

selves scientifically in the history of the first centuries of Christianity should learn some Syriac. The task is not very difficult for those who know Hebrew.

In some districts of northern Mesopotamia, of the Mosul territory, of Kurdistan, and on Lake Urmia, Aramaic dialects are spoken by Christians and occasionally by Jews. Amongst those that of Urmia has become the most important, since American missionaries have formed a new literary language of it. Moreover, the Roman Propaganda has printed books in two of the Neo-Syriac dialects.

On the Aramaic dialects in general, see Noldeke, 'Die Namen d. Aram. Nation u. Sprache in d. Bible,' 25 ff. (1871); Wright, *Conf. Aramaic* (1861); 2. Kuntz, *Die Aramaic Inschriften aus Assyrien, Babel, u. d. Arab. Landern*, 1861.

14. Literature. The Aramaic inscriptions from Assyria, Babel, u. d. Arab. Landern, and Egypt are found in the second part of the *IA* (the Sinitic and Palmyrene inscriptions have not yet appeared). For the Nabataean the most important publication is Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1855. Others are to be found in various journals. Of these the most considerable is the great inscription of Petra, first published by Van der Vliet, 1808, and 8 pp. ff. Many Syriac are contained in Euting's *Armenische Inschriften*, Cassel, and of the Palmyrene in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Antiquarum*, Paris, 1851. The most convenient for use. Many others are to be found scattered through journals devoted to Oriental subjects, the most important being the great Fiscal Inscription in Palmyrene and Greek; see *ZDMG* 4. 329 ff. (1850), where the literature is cited. A few Palmyrene inscriptions, annotated, are appended to Bevan's *Commentary on Daniel*.

The most complete Syriac grammar is Noldeke's *Syriac Grammatik* (Leipzig, '80; 2nd ed., '98). Duval's (Paris, '81) is useful for comparison with the other Aramaic dialects, and Nestle's, in the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* (2nd ed., Berlin, '85), is an introductory handbook. Theologians wishing to learn Syriac, Roediger's *Chrestomathia syriaca* (3rd ed., Halle, '92) may be highly recommended. Articles on the Nabataean, the Palmyrene, and the Christian-Palestinian dialects by Noldeke are to be found in the *ZDMG* 11. 250 ff. (1857), 214 ff. (1858), 72 ff. (1860). Of Syriac dictionaries (see also for a long time the only one of general utility, Rosenthal's three have appeared), Payne Smith's great *Thesaurus* (unfortunately not yet finished), Brockelmann's and Braun's. Of glossaries, besides the few inscriptions we must now add to Leakey's *Text. de mon. phoenices Palmyreniensis* ('87) the glossary of Stanley A. Cook (Cambridge, '98) and Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsem. Sprachen Epigraphik* ('98).

For the various dialects used in early Jewish literature, including the Hebrew parts of it, we have, besides the old Buxtorff (*Heb. Lexic. Jewish*, Leipzig, 1773), the *Lexicon* of Leipsic (1876-84), and the shorter one of J. Dalman (part 1, Leipsic, '97). Levy had previously edited a *Chald. Wörterb. u. d. d. Lexicon* (Leipsic, '72).

On the biblical Aramaic there are, besides the grammar of Kautsch ('84), the little books of Strack (2nd ed., Leipsic, '97) and of Marti (Leipsic, '96). For the Targum dialects there is no grammar that meets the requirements of modern science. Nor is there yet an adequate grammar of the Aramaic dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, although the little tract of S. D. Luzzatto, *Lezioni grammatiche sulla lingua aramaica del Talmudico Babilonense* (Padua, '65), is a very useful work. For the Palestine Jewish dialects see Dalman's *Grammatik* (Leipsic, '94); for the Samaritan, the grammar of Uhlemann (Leipsic, '37) and Petermann (Berlin, '73). Neither of these, naturally, represents the results of modern scholarship. For the Aramaic, see that of Noldeke (Halle, '75), for the Neo-Syriac that of the same author (Leipsic, '68), and especially the most valuable grammar of A. T. Maclean (Cambridge, '95). T. N.

ARAMAIC VERSIONS. See TEXT, §§ 59 f., 64.

ARAMEAN אַרְמֵי, Dt. 26. 17 RV, and Aramitess (אַרְמִיָּת), 1 Ch. 7. 14 EV. See ARAM dequining.

ARAM-MAACAH אַרְמֵי מַעַח, 1 Ch. 196. RV. See MAACAH, 1.

ARAM-NAHARAIM אַרְמֵי נַחְרַיִם, EV ἡμετέρας the form Aram-naharaim only in Ps. 60 (title: μεσοποταμίας σελος [BHT], אַרְמֵי נַחְרַיִם in Dt. 33. 1) RV: ἡμετέρας, where the phrase is invariably rendered

1. OT expression. MESOPOTAMIA, even in Judg. 3. 10 (so B. σελος μεσοποταμίας where BHT has simply אַרְמֵי נַחְרַיִם; σελος [A], 1. com. also ἡμετέρας). The forms are: Judg. 3. 10, μεσοποταμίας σελος [B], σελος μεσοποταμίας [A]; 1 Ch. 196. σελος μεσοποταμίας [BHT].

Apart from Judg. 38, where its genuineness is more than doubtful (see CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM), and the confused editorial data of 1 Ch. 196 and Ps. 60 (title in

EV), which are, of course, too late to be anything but antiquarian lore.¹ The phrase Aram-nahar(a)im occurs in MT only twice—once in J, defining the position of the 'city of Nahor' (or perhaps rather 'of Harrān'; see NAHOR), Gen. 24 10, and once in D, defining the position of PETHOR on the west bank of the Euphrates (Dt. 23 5 [4]). Whilst the two towns in question are Aramaean cities known in later² as well as in earlier³ periods of history, the stories connected with them in the passages cited are legends of prehistorical times, whose interpretation is necessarily more or less conjectural (see NAHOR, BALAAM). We have no other evidence for the actual currency of a compound geographical expression Aram-nahar(a)im. Indeed, Aram is properly a race-name rather than the name of a district: apart from the passages cited, there does not appear to be any unambiguous case of its use, whether alone or in combination, as a geographical expression. Naharim, or Naharin (see below, § 2), on the other hand, is well known as an ancient name for Northern Syria and the country stretching eastwards from it. Aram-Naharaim, or (better) Aram-Naharin, might then be, like Aram-Zobah, etc., properly the name of a people rather than of a territory—unless, indeed, Aram be perhaps a simple gloss explaining Nahar(a)im (cp the converse case of Yahwēlohīm in Gen. 2). That Nahar(a)im is a dual ('the two rivers') is extremely doubtful (cp Moore on Judg. 38)—the word, as already hinted, should probably be pronounced Naharin (see § 2).

The form *Μεσοποταμία* (see § 1) is explained by the Greek geographers as meaning 'between the rivers'; but they need not have been right in assuming that the rivers referred to were two. It seems not improbable that the Greek name is really connected with the ancient name.⁴

The form Naharin (the spelling varies: on this pronunciation see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 251, 252 n. 3 [*in can.*], of course, also be read *in.*—WMM]) is attested by the Egyptian records of the

2. The name Naharin. New Empire, when this name seems to take the place of the earlier phrase Upper Rutenū (*ib.* 249). W. M. Müller regards the form as plural⁵ (252); but it may also be a locative like Ephraim, etc. (see NAMI, § 107).

In Assyrian or Babylonian inscriptions the name has not yet been met with (see § 3); but in the Amarna letters it occurs repeatedly as *miṭa* Nahrīma or Narīma, from which we learn the valuable fact that in Phœnicia (Gebal) and Palestine (Jerusalem) the form with *m* was usual.

Naharin (Nahrīma) was, as the meaning of the name ('river-land') would suggest, a term of physical rather than of political geography. It need not, therefore, have been used with a very great definiteness (cp the ancient names Παρμαποταμία, Polyb. v. 69; and the mod. Riviera); and the inscriptions, in fact, bear this out.

It seems to have extended from the valley of the Orontes, across the Euphrates, somewhat indefinitely eastwards (*As. u. Eur.* 249). Explanations, based on the view that *aim* is dual, like those of Dillmann (the territory between the Chaborās and the Euphrates), of Schrader in *KAT*⁽²⁾ (between the middle Euphrates and the Balḫ), and of Halévy in *Rev. Sem.* July 1894 (the neighbourhood of Damascus, watered by the so-called Abana and the Pharpar) seem less satisfactory. In its widest application, the whole water-system drain-

¹ The passages in which the phrase has been inserted are obviously borrowed from 2 S.

² Pethor mentioned by Shalmaneser II.

³ Pethor mentioned by Thotmes III.

⁴ It is at least worth considering whether Mesopotamia may not be a translation of the Aramaean expression *ܡܝܢ ܒܝܢ ܢܗܪܝܢ* 'district of rivers', a natural rendering (cp the Syriac Beth 'Arbayē for Xenophon's Ἀρβαία) of Naharin ('riverland'), afterwards—by an easy misunderstanding (of which there are examples)—due to the two like-sounding words *both*—supposed to mean 'between rivers.'

⁵ If the suggestion made in the preceding footnote be adopted, *μεσοποταμία* implied in Mesopotamia will be plural.

ing into the Persian Gulf could be called 'the waters' or 'the great water system' 'of Naharin' (*As. u. Eur.* 253-255). In its stricter (narrower) application it probably, at one time, included or formed part of Hanigalbat (Hani-rabbat). On the history of this whole district see MESOPOTAMIA.

H. W. H.

ARAM-ZOBAH (אֲרָם צוֹבָה). See ARAM, § 6, DAVID, § 9, and ZOBAH.

ARAN (אֲרָן, perhaps 'mountain goat'—cp EPHER—but Nöld. and Di. question this; אֲרָן [BAL]), a 'son' of Dishan the Horite; Gen. 36 28 (אֲרָן [Sam.]). אֲרָם [AE] = I Ch. 142 (אֲרָם [L.]). C. Niebuhr (influenced by the preceding name Uz) prefers the reading Aram, which is supported by some Heb. MSS, Targ. Jon., & Vg. and *Onk.* (cp *Gesch.* 129). The MT is, however, probably correct (cp OREN, I Ch. 225), though if Oren is the right pronunciation of אֲרָן in I Ch. 225, it is probably correct also in I Ch. 142, and *vice versa* (see We. *De gent.* 391).

ARARAT (אַרְרָט; ἀρρατ [BAL]). I. Ararat is mentioned in the OT as a country; 2 K. 19 37 (אַרְרָט

1. Country. [B], אֲרָדָד [V], Is. 37 36 (אַרְמֵנִיָּה [B&AQQ]); cp Tob. 1 21 (אַרְרָט [B]) AV

allusions. ARARATH, Jer. 51 27 (אַרְטֵי תַּיִר עִמּוֹיָהּ [B&S]; אַרְרָט [A]; אַרְרֵט [Q]). The first two passages referred to are parallel; they relate that the two sons of Sennacherib (Sin-ah-irba), after having slain their father, 'escaped into the land of Ararat' (so RV). A collateral confirmation of this report is given by an inscription of Esar-haddon 2 (Asur-ah-iddina) which states that on the news of the murder of his father he quickly collected the forces (with which he was probably carrying on a campaign in Cappadocia or Cilicia), marched against Nineveh, and defeated the army of the murderers at Hani-rabbat (Hanigalmit? Schrader). This district lies in the neighbourhood of Melitēne, just where, at a later time, the Romans entered Armenia (*i.e.*, Ararat). In Jer. *l.c.* the prophetic writer summons the kingdoms (or, as אֲרָם, the kings) of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz to fight against Babylon. This too agrees with the representations of the inscriptions, which constantly distinguish between the land of Mannu and Urartu or Ararat. Mannu (which lay to the S. or SE. of Lake Urmīla) was generally subject to the Assyrians, but at least once was conquered from them by Argištis son of Menuas (see Tiele, *BAG* 208, 215). See further MINNI, ASHKENAZ.

The name Urartū appears in the Assyrian texts from the thirteenth century onwards. It appears to be interchangeable with Nairi (*i.e.*, the streams), the old Semitic name of the country,

2. Assyrian texts, etc. which it bore, for example, under Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1108 B.C.) and, as appears from the notices in the Egyptian inscriptions of the eighteenth dynasty, at a much earlier date (*circa* 1400 B.C.).

The kings, who are called by the Assyrians Urartians, never apply this name to themselves. Sarduris I., the first king whose inscriptions, written in Assyrian (*circa* 830 B.C.), have come down to us, calls himself king of Nairi, a title which the Assyrians naturally did not grant him, because they themselves laid claim to his country. His successors, who use their own language, call their land Biaina, out of which the later name Van has arisen, a name which must at that time have been transferred from the district where the kings resided to the whole kingdom.

Next, as to the extent of the kingdom of Urartu or Nairi. The greater part of the later Armenia was, sometimes at any rate, included within its limits; for Vannic inscriptions have been found even in Malatīyah, near Palu on the Upper Euphrates, and as far away as the Russian province Erivan. It would appear that originally Nairi denoted a more southerly region, where

¹ On Ornan see ARAUNAH.

² 3 R. 15, col. 117.

the Tigris and the Euphrates rise, whilst Ararat proper (Urartu) lay to the N., in the plain of the Araxes; but that between the eleventh century and the ninth, the Urartians (whom their language shows to have been a non-Semitic people) conquered the more southerly region, and established there the chief seat of their dominion—a conquest which they were enabled to make by the great decline of Assyria at that time. Afterwards, both names, Nairi and Urartu, were used for the whole country. The Assyrian king Sargon broke the power of Urartu for a long time; but his successors did not succeed in their endeavours to destroy it, and so it is not unnatural that Assyriologists have sometimes defended the pre-exilic origin of the long prophecy against Babylon at the end of the Book of Jeremiah, on this ground among others, that the kingdoms of Ararat and Minni are still well known to the Israelites, and considered to be formidable powers.¹ Kuenen, however (*Opus.* 2nd ed. *ibid.* 235 f.), has sufficiently shown that these arguments are not conclusive. Proper names like Ararat and Minni simply prove the literary and antiquarian research of the author, and the phenomena of the prophecy as a whole appear to both the present writers to presuppose a period later than that of Jeremiah. (See JEREMIAH, ii.)

2. Ararat is mentioned also in the post-exilic version of the Deluge-story. The statement runs thus: 'And the ark rested . . . upon the mountains of Ararat' (Gen. 8:4 RV; Samar. text 2777).

3. Deluge-story. This is precisely parallel to the statement of the cognate Babylonian story (see DELUGE, § 4): 'The mountain of the land of Nisir stopped the ship,' or, as the following lines give it, 'The mountain Nisir stopped the ship.' That Nisir (protection? deliverance?) is properly the name of a mountain or mountain range seems to be clear from Āsur-nāsir-pal's inscription (see *KB* 177), and Ararat too, in the intention of the Hebrew writer, will be the name of a mountain or mountain range. The situation of Nisir is clear from the inscription just referred to. It was in Media, E. of the Lower Zāb, and S. of the Caspian Sea. There lies Elburz, the Hara, berezāiti, or Hara haraiti bars, thus named by the N. Iranians after their mythic sky-mountain. Now, it is remarkable that Nicolaus Damascenus (in *Jos. Ant.* i. 36, cp also *OS* 209 48) names the mountain of the ark Baris, and places it 'above Minyas'—i.e., Minni (Mannu). Baris (*bars*)—highly appears to be a fragment of the Iranian name of Elburz, which this writer took for the whole name.² It may be conjectured that this was the mountain which the Hebrew writer, in accordance with the Babylonian tradition, had in view. If so, he gave it the name which it bore in his own time, Hara haraiti, shortening it into Ararat, not perhaps without confusing it involuntarily with the land of Urartu, which latter name may have had a different origin.

It was natural enough that the most widely spread tradition accepted the identity of the Ararat of the Hebrew Deluge-story with the kingdom of Ararat spoken of above. There (i.e., in the plain of the Araxes) a lofty mountain rises, worthy, so it may have appeared, to be the scene of such a great event as the stranding of

¹ Sayce, *Proc. Mon.* 485 f. Prof. Sayce is uncertain whether Jeremiah 'has made use of some earlier prophecy of which Nineveh was the burden, or whether 'the prophecy belongs to a time when Babylon had already taken the place of Nineveh, but when in other respects the political condition of W. Asia still remained what it was in the closing days of the Assyrian Empire.' 'In any case the prophecy must be earlier than the age of the second Isaiah, to which modern criticism has so often referred it.' This was printed in 1894, five years after the appearance of vol. ii. of the most authoritative summary of 'modern criticism,' Kuenen's *Onderzoek* (2nd), and two years after that of the German translation. Prof. Tiele, who, in 1886 (*BAG* 480), from an incomplete view of the critical arguments, maintained Jer. 50 f. to have been written before Cyrus among the exiles in Babylon, now accepts Kuenen's main conclusions as expressed in the work referred to.

² Whether Lubar, the name of the mountain of the ark in *Jubilees*, chaps. 5 and 10, has any connection with Baris, it is unimportant to decide.

the ark. Of its two conical peaks, one is crowned with perpetual snow, and rises 17,000 ft. above the sea-level; the other is 4000 ft. lower. That the Hebrew writer thought of these mountains as in the highest degree improbable (see *Di. Genesis*, 131). Another tradition identified Ararat with the land of Cardu (so Pesh., Targ.)—i.e., the ancient Korduene or Karduchia on the left bank of the Upper Tigris, and the mountain of the ark with the Jebel Judi, SW. of Lake Van, which has become the traditional site with the Moslems.

In the Table of Nations (Gen. 10) the name of Ararat does not occur; but Ashkenaz, Riphath (or Diphath), and Togarmah (see special articles) probably denote districts of W. and NW. Armenia.

For the geography of Urartu cp especially Sayce, 'Cuneiform Inscr. of Van,' *JRAS* xiv. pt. ii. 388 ff., where, however, the Armenians, who entered the country from the W., and are related to the Aryan races of Asia Minor, are regarded as Iranians. It is against this view that, shortly after the first mention of the name Urartu by Āsur-nāsir-pal, names of an Aryan sound occur in an inscription of his son Shalmaneser II. (ARTASATI and DATI). CP. T. E. W. H. K. K.

ARARATH. AV⁹⁸² 4 Isrl. 1348; RV. ARARATH.

ARARITE (אַרְרָתִי), 2 S. 23:36 RV; AV. HARARITE, 3.

ARATHES (ἀραθῆς [VA]), 1 Macc. 15:22 RV, AV. ARIARATHES (q.v.).

ARAUHAH (אַרְוִיָּה), so Kt. everywhere in 2 S. 24, but Kt. אַרְוִיָּה : 16, אַרְוִיָּה : 18, אַרְוִיָּה : 22, 24, or ORNAN (אֲרָנָן in Ch.), a Jebusite, whose threshing-floor, consecrated by the presence of the angel of Yahweh, David purchased as a site for an altar (cp MORIAH). The story is told in two forms, which agree in essentials. On 1 Ch. 21:20 see note to Kittel's translation in *SBOT* (2 S. 24:16 ff.; 1 Ch. 21:15 ff.; 2 Ch. 31). אַרְוִיָּה [AV] : 1 cp אַרְוִיָּה [OS. INT. 10] 38, אַרְוִיָּה [OS. INT. 10] 38, however, was not Arauhah, which is thoroughly un-Hebraic, and presumably un-Canaanitish. The critics have in this case not been critical enough. Even Budde (*SBOT*, Heb. ed., note on 2 S. 24:16) admits, rather doubtfully, the form Arauhah. Klost. prefers אֲרָנָן's form Orna, which, however, is no better than the Ornan of the Chronicler. One has a right to require a definitely Hebrew name, and such a name this Jebusite MT actually gives us in 2 S. 24:18—viz., אַרְוִיָּה = Adonijah (cp אַרְוִיָּה [AL.] = Adonijah in 2 S. 34, and in אֲרָנָן of 1 Ch. 32, and in 1 K. 1 f.). It is proposed, therefore, to correct 'Arauhah' into 'Adonijah' throughout, except in v. 23 (on which see below); cp 'Adonizebek,' miswritten in Judg. 1 for 'ADONIZEDEC' (q.v.).

The critics have been very near making this correction. They have rightly rejected the pretty romance based on the phrase 'Arauhah the king' in 2 S. 24:23 (MT), from which Ewald (*Hist.* 3:163) inferred that Arauhah was the old dethroned king of Jebus. They have also rejected the makeshift rendering of RV, 'All this, O king, doth Arauhah give unto the king,' because a subject speaking to his sovereign was bound to call himself humbly 'the king's servant' (cp 1 S. 26:19 1 K. 1:26). As Wellhausen first saw, the sense required is, 'All this doth the servant of my lord the king give unto the king.' This means correcting אַרְוִיָּה into אֲדֹנִיָּה, and prefixing אֲדֹנִיָּה—a capital correction which only needs to be supplemented by the emendation of אֲדֹנִיָּה elsewhere into אֲדֹנִיָּה (see above).

An additional argument has thus been gained for the substitution of 'Adonijah' for 'Arauhah.' The correction is certain, and it is of the highest interest. The Israelite king and his Jebusite subject worship the same god—the god of the land of Canaan. Adonijah too was not an ex-king, but simply a member of the Jebusite community, which continued to exist even after the conquest of Jerusalem. אֲדֹנִיָּה (2 S. 66 'אֲדֹנִיָּה. Heb. אֲדֹנִיָּה)

apparently identified the place with the threshing-floor at Perez-Uzzah (see NACHOS). T. K. C.

ARBA (אַרְבָּא; אַרְבּוֹב [H], אַרְבּוֹ [A] -Be [I.], 'the greatest man among the Anakim' (Josh. 14.10). See ANAK, and HEBRON, 1.

ARBAH (אַרְבָּן) Gen. 35.27 AV. See HEBRON, 1.

ARBATHITE (אַרְבַּתִּי) *i.e.*, a man of Beth-arabah (2 S. 23.31 1 Ch. 11.32). See ARB-ALBON.

ARBATTIS AV, or rather **Arbatta** RV (ἐν ἀρβατικοῖς [AN^a]; -BANOIC [N^a], -BATN. [V^a], -TAN. [W^a]; *Vg. in Arabot*); the SYRIAC gives the strange form *Arbatit*, ܐܪܒܬܝܬܝܢ, 1 Macc. 5.23 f. Simon the Maccabee, after his successes in Galilee against the Gentiles, brought back to Judea 'those [Jews] that were of (reading *ek* for *en*) Galilee and in Arbatta.' A district rather than a town is obviously to be understood. Ewald (*Hist.* 5.314) thinks of the plain called el-Batīna on the NE. shore of the Sea of Galilee (cp the SYRIAC form); more probably the Arabah or Araboth (אַרְבּוֹת) of Jordan is intended. See ARABAH, 1.

ARBELA (ἐν ἀρβηλοῖς [ANV]), 1 Macc. 9.2. Bacchides and Alcimus, in their second expedition into Judea, 'went forth by the way that leadeth to Galgala (γαλααδ [codd. 64, 93]), and pitched their tents before Masaloth (RV Mesaloth; *μεσσαλωθ* [A], *μαισα* [NV]), which is in Arbela.' There are four alternative explanations (but see CHISLOTII-TABOR).

First: Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 111) seems to have read for 'Galgala,' 'Galilee,' which Wellhausen (*JG* 261, n. 2, where he quotes the parallel case,

1. In Galilee?

Jos. xii. 23 ܘܫܪ ܩܠܝܠܝܝܐ) adopts, and, without explaining Masaloth, takes Arbela to be the well-known spot at the head of the cliffs overhanging the western border of the plain of Haṭṭin, the modern Irbid. The interchangeableness of the two forms Arbel and Arbel is proved by the Arab geographers. Nāsīr-i-Khusrāu, 1047 A.D., calls it Irbil; Yākfūt in 1235 A.D., and others, call it Irbid. The limestone caverns near Irbid were the haunts of bandits, who were only with difficulty dispossessed by Herod the Great; the methods he employed are graphically described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 154 *ET* 1. 162 *ff.*). Robinson, who, with most moderns, accepts this identification, conjectures that Mesaloth 'which is in Arbela' represents the Heb. מִסְלּוֹת in the sense of *steps, storeys, terraces*, and describes the fortress on the face of the almost perpendicular cliff (3 239). With more reason Tuch (*Quest. de Flav. Jos. Libb. Hist.*), followed by Wellhausen (*l.c.*), proposes to read *Μεσαδωθ* (cp HP 93. *Μεσσαδωθ*) as if for מִסְלּוֹת 'strongholds.' The objections to this identification are that Josephus is the only authority for the reading Γαλααλα, and that, by all we can learn from him, the task of reducing Arbela would have cost Bacchides more time than in the circumstances he was likely to be willing to spend. The direction through Galilee by Arbela would, however, be a natural one for the Syrians to take.

Second: As natural a line of march for the Syrian army lay along the coast down to the mouth of the valley of Ajalon, and up that valley or one of the parallel defiles farther S. On this line there was a Γαλαλα, the present Jiljūiyeh, a little more than 13 m. NE. of Joppa, on a site so important that the main road might well be described as ὁδὸν τῆς εἰς Γαλαλα. There is, however, no trace along it of a *Μεσσαλωθ* or an *Ἀρβηλα*.

Third: If Bacchides wished to avoid the road by the coast and up Ajalon, which had proved so fatal to Nicanor, he may have taken the road from Esdraelon S. through Samaria, which Holofernes is represented in Judith as taking—the road which this book (47) expressly calls 'The

anabasis of the hill-country,' 'the entrance into Judæa.'

Upon it there stand two Gilgals, one near Shechem, and one 5 m. N. of Gophna, which Ewald (*Hist. Eng.* ed. 5.223) takes to be the Galgala of the narrative (but see GILGAL). On this route Masaloth might be Meselteh or Meithalūn, respectively 5 and 8 m. S. of Jenin, each of them a natural point at which to resist an invader. A greater difficulty is presented by ἐν Ἀρβηλοῖς. The plural form evidently signifies a considerable district. Now, Eusebius (*OS* 29 *Ἀρβηλά*) notes the name as extant in his day, on Esdraelon, 9 R. m. from Lejjūn, while the entrances from Esdraelon on Meselieh and Meithalūn are 9½ R. m. from Lejjūn. It is therefore possible that the name Ἀρβηλά covered in earlier days the whole of this district. The suggestion is, however, far from being capable of proof. The chief points in its favour are the straight road from the N., which was regarded as a natural line of invasion, and the existence along the road of a Jiljūiyeh, a Meselieh, and a Meithalūn.

Fourth: There is some MS authority¹ for reading γαλααδ instead of γαλαλα; and if the march of

4. In Gilead? Bacchides be conceived as having been through Gilead, the Arbela of 1 Macc. 9.2 may be the Ἀρβηλά (mod. Irbid) which Eusebius (*OS* 214 73) vaguely defines as a certain village beyond Jordan on the confines of Pella. This Irbid, however, lies very far E. and not in a direct line from the N. Even from Damascus, it would be a roundabout way for the Syrian troops marching with speed on Jerusalem. (We can hardly compare the advance of Antiochus III. upon Ptolemy IV. [Polyb. 5.6], in the course of which Antiochus, after taking Tabor and Betshean, crossed Jordan and overran Gilead from Arbela to Rabbath-ammon.)

Of these four alternatives the first and third seem the most probable. The difficulties of all, however, are so great that most historians (*e.g.* Schürer and Stade) shirk discussion of the line of march, and bring Bacchides without delay to the walls of Jerusalem. G. A. S.

ARBITE, THE (אַרְבִּיתִּי), 2 S. 23.35. probably an error for Archite. See PAARAI.

ARBONAI (ἀρβωνά [BA], χερβων [N]; ܐܪܒܘܢܐ 'Jabbok' [Syr.]; *mamb're*). In Judith 2.24 it is stated that Nebuchadnezzar 'went through Mesopotamia, and destroyed all the high cities that were upon the river (χεῖμαρος) Arbonai till ye come to the sea.' Various commentators, following Grotius, have taken the Chabōras to be meant. There is much plausibility, however, in the suggestion of Movers that the proper name may have arisen out of a failure to understand the original, which he conjectures to have been הַרְבֵּי בְּנֵי (the cities which were) beyond the river, 'בְּנֵי' having been taken for a proper name and supplied with a Greek ending.

ARCHANGEL (ἀρχαγγελοῦ [Ti. WH]), Judg. 9. See ANGEL, § 4.

ARCHELAUS (ἀρχελαοῦ [Ti. WH], Mt. 2.22^f), son of Herod the Great by Malthakē, and elder brother of Herod Antipas. By his father's will he was made ruler over Judea and Samaria, and his visit to Augustus for the confirmation of this inheritance doubtless suggested a point in the parable Lk. 19.12 *ff.* Upon his coins he bears the family name of Herod and is called 'Eth-narch,' for 'king' he never was, in spite of his assumptions (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 45). He may, however, have been popularly called 'king.' (Cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 43, and the use of βασιλεύει in Mt. 2.22. See further HERODIAN FAMILY, 3.)

ARCHER. See WAR, WEAPONS.

ARCHES is the rendering in the EV of אֲרֻכָּיִם, etc., in Ez. 40.16 *ff.* The word אֲרֻכָּיִם or אֲרֻכָּי occurs in MT only in this chapter; but ^{EBAL} transliterates αλαμ also where MT has אֲרֻכָּי, אֲרֻכָּי. Whatever explanation be adopted of the variation of form, the meaning is 1 HP οδοῦ εἰς γῆν γαλααδ [cod. 64], ο. πῆν εἰς γαλααδ [cod. 93].

ARCHEVITES

doubtless the same throughout—viz., 'porch.' See PORCH, PALACE, TEMPLE.

That the principle of the arch early became known to Israel is a probable inference from the shape of their TOMBS.

ARCHEVITES (Kt. אֲרֻכִּי, cp Kau. *Gram. d. bibl. Aram.* § 616; Kr. אֲרֻכִּי; S. Swetes. ἀρχαίοι; ἀρχαίοι [B]; ἀρχαίοι [A]; ἀρχ. [L]), mentioned in Ezra 4⁹ as a tribes-settle in Palestine (AS NAPPLER 172 f.).

The word is not to be regarded as meaning inhabitants of Erech (Ryssel, Ryle), or as equivalent to ἀρχαῖρες (Jensen, *TLZ*, 1895, n. 20), but rather as miswritten for (אֲרֻכִּי, 'who are Cushites' (see 2 K. 17³⁴ 'from Babylon and from Cuthah,' etc.). So Marc. *Ficoid.* 64 f.

ARCHI (אֲרֻכִּי). Josh. 16: AV. RV ARCHITES.

ARCHIPPUS (ἀρχιππος [Ti. WH]) is included as a 'fellow-soldier' of Paul and Timothy in the address of the epistle to Philemon (Philem. 2), and in that to the Colossians (4:17) he received this message: 'Take heed to the ministry (διακονία) which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.' Most probably he had recently become the minister (more than 'deacon' in the narrower sense) of the church at Colossae, perhaps in succession to Epaphras, who was now with the apostle. In *Ap. Const.* (7:46) he is said to have been apostolically ordained bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia.

ARCHITES, AV ARCHI (אֲרֻכִּי); TOY APXOI [L]; SBA combine the word with the following Ataroth, χαταρωθαι [B], ἀρχαταρωθ [A]), a clan mentioned in the difficult phrase בְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ עֵבֶר הַיַּמִּית (Josh. 16:2) in the delimitation of the southern frontier of Joseph. Probably we should reverse the order of the last two words and read 'the border of Ataroth-of-the-Archites.' Indeed, we might plausibly go a step further and change אֲרֻכִּי (or אֲרֻכִּי) (אֲרֻכִּי), 'Addarites' (or 'Ardites'). See ATAROTH, 2. That the name Archi lingers in that of the village 'Ain 'Arikh, 5 m. WSW. of Beitin (*PEF Mem.* 37), is at best a hazardous hypothesis (P. Utl, and Buhl *Pal.* 170 f.). The home of the clan of Archites to which HUSHAI and, according to S (2 S. 23:11) דָּוִד, ὁ ἀρχαῖος [BA], ὁ ἀρχαῖ [L]; and אֲרֻכִּי [T] (ὁ ἀρχαῖος) ἀρχαῖ [B], ὁ ἀρχαῖος [A], ὁ ἀρχαῖος [L]), SHAMMAH [g.v., 3 and 4] and PAARAI, two of David's heroes, belonged, may have been farther S.

ARCHITECTURE. See CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS, FORTRESS, HOUSE, PALACE, TEMPLE, TOMB.

ARCHIVES. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

ARCTURUS, AV's rendering of אֲרֻכִּי (Job 9:9) and אֲרֻכִּי (Job 38:32); RV BEAR. Most probably, however, אֲרֻכִּי in Job 9:9 has arisen from dittography of אֲרֻכִּי which precedes, for אֲרֻכִּי follows without א. The whole verse seems to be an unmetrical interpolation (see Bickell); Duhm. agrees as to אֲרֻכִּי, and goes so far as to excise 7:8-10 (so also Beer). Observe that Am. 5:8, which is certainly (see AMOS, § 12) an interpolation, and very possibly alludes to Job 9:9 (as Am. 4:13, also interpolated, may allude to Job 9:8), does not include אֲרֻכִּי among the constellations. We have, therefore, only to explain the אֲרֻכִּי (אֲרֻכִּי?) of Job 38:32. That the Pleiades are meant is not unlikely (see STARS, § 3:10); cp Tg. (38:32) אֲרֻכִּי אֲרֻכִּי, 'the hen with her chickens'. Cheyne, however, prefers 'the Lion with his sons' (on Job 38:31, etc. *JBL*, 1898, 103 ff.). Epping's list of 'stations' for Venus and Mars, obtained from Seleucidian tablets, gives as the tenth 'the fourth son behind the king' (ρ Leonis). The 'king' is Regulus (α Leonis); he is preceded by ρις αρι 'Lion's head' (ε Leonis).

(Genepov [BA]; *Klythō* [Pesh.]; *arcturion* [Vg. 9:9], *zosterion* [ib. 38:32]. In 9:9 S, B, Bsh., presuppose the order אֲרֻכִּי אֲרֻכִּי) Cp MAZZAROTH, ORION, PLEIADAE.

C. F. B.—T. K. C.

AREOPAGUS, AREOPAGITE

ARD (אֲרֻכִּי. Gen. 16:2 Nu. 26:40 cp ARDON, ARDIT), perhaps a better form than ADDAR (אֲדָר) of אֲרֻכִּי 1 Ch. 8:37 (Gen. אֲרֻכִּי [ADL]; B lacking; Jos. *CAPODICE*; Nu. אֲדָר [B], אֲדָר [AFL]; 1 Ch. אֲרֻכִּי [A], אֲדָר [L]) in genealogy of BENJAMIN (*g.v.*, § 9; ii. β); variously designated son of Benjamin (Gen. MT), son of Bela (Nu. and 1 Ch.), son of Gera b. Bela (Gen. [ADL], B lacking); Gentile ARDITE (אֲרֻכִּי); SBA om., ὁ ἀρεπ [L. 7:7].

ARDATH, RV Ardat, the name of a field mentioned only in 4 Esd. 9:26 as the scene of a vision of Esdras.

The Eth. and Syr. read *Arshad*, which Fritzsche and Hildt follow. The Lat. Vss. vary: *ardath* [Vg.], *ardar* [S.], *ardath* [A], etc.; cp Bensly *ad loc.* Supported by the description in 7:24 ('a field . . . where no house is builded'), Volkmar would emend to *Arba*, 'desert' (more correctly *Araba*). Similarly Rendel Harris, who, however, connects Arba with Kirjath-arba (*Geneal. of the sons of Joseph*, 1 and 2, 209), in which name 'ard' in 14:1 will be Abraham's oak of Hebron. On the other hand, we should then expect rather the usual name Hebron, or, at least, the fuller form, Kirjath-Arba. If Ardat is indeed to be sought for in this district (in 3:1 Esdras is in Babylon) we might follow T. Rec. more closely and identify it with the well-known Arad, which also was situated in a desert. See ARAD, 1.

ARDITES (אֲרֻכִּי), Nu. 26:40. See ARD.

ARDON (אֲרֻכִּי); OPNA [BA], אֲרֻכִּי [L]), b. Azubah, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2:18). See AZUBAH, 1.

ARELI (אֲרֻכִּי); Gen. 46:16; ἀρηιαί [D], ἀρηιαί [A], ἀρηιαί [L]; Gen. 46:16, also τῶν ἀρηιαί [BFL], om. A; see ARIEL, b. Gad. In Nu. 26:17b the name is used also collectively with the art. (EV 'the *Aremites*': ὁ ἀρηιαί [BFL]), with consciousness that 'son of Gad' = Gadite clan. Doubtless *v. 17b* should be corrected to 'Of Ariel (אֲרֻכִּי)', the family of the Arielites (אֲרֻכִּי), and it is possible that the names should rather be Uriel, Urielites (see NAMES, § 35).

AREOPAGUS, AREOPAGITE (Acts 17:19 ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΑΓΟΝ [Ti. WH] EV 'unto [the] Areopagus')

1. **The hill.** ^{7:22} AV 'Mars Hill. RV 'Areopagus'. The name of the hill Areopagus, Acts 17:19, ἀρειοπαγίτης [Ti.], ἄρειος [WH]. DEMONIA is caused by the fact that the name signifies both a hill and a court. The hill is that formless mass of rock which lies between the NW. below the Acropolis, separated from it by a depression now largely filled with earth (Herod. 8:52; Luc. *Pisc.* 42). The NE. corner of the hill is a precipice, to the top of which we ascend by means of sixteen ruined steps, cut in the rock at the SE. angle. At the head of the stair are the remains of an altar. The deep chasm at the foot of the precipice was connected with the worship of the Sennai (Eumenides or Furies). 'The whole place was sacred to the most awful associations. Mythology had here lent to the majesty of the law a

2. **The Court.** most solemn background.' As a Court, the Areopagus was, before the development of the democratic spirit, the supreme authority in Athens. Its powers were of two kinds, definite and indefinite. 'The definite powers were:—(1) a limited criminal jurisdiction; (2) the supreme direction of religious worship especially of the cultus of the Eumenides. The indefinite powers were:—a general supervision or guardianship (1) of all magistrates and law courts; (2) of the laws; (3) of the education of the young; and (4) of public morals—in addition to which there was (5) the competence to assume in political and national emergencies a dictatorial authority.'

During the earlier history of the city the court held its sittings, for the trial of blood-guiltiness, upon the hill itself. For the hill was the Hill of the Arae, the Curses or Imprecations—'the place for the solemn irrevocable oath, the natural court for the trial of terrible offences of blood-shedding that might not be tried under a roof.' Moreover, to the early city, the Areopagus was the

place *without* the gates, a place to condemn the criminal, to erect a monument for the outcast tyrant, to bury the stranger (Robert, *Aus Kydathen*, 101). It was during the earlier and the later periods of Athenian history that the Court of the Areopagus (ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆ) enjoyed its powers to the full. In the interval Ephialtes, aided perhaps by Themistocles (Arist. *Const. Ath.* 25; 462 B.C.), abolished most of its indefinite functions, and thus deprived it of its strongest influence; it became merely a 'criminal court of narrow competence.' Therefore, as in Aristotle's time, it dealt only with cases of wilful homicide, of poisoning, and of arson (*Const. Ath.* 57), while the superintendence of religion was in the hands of the King Archon. As indictments for impiety (ἐνδείξεις ἀσεβείας) came, in their preliminary stages, before the latter, cases which once would have gone before the Areopagus were now tried before the popular jury-courts. It was in this way, therefore, that Socrates, accused like Paul of not worshipping the gods of the city and of introducing new divinities,¹ was tried. As the regular place of business of the King Archon was the Stoa Basileios—the associations of which were, in later days, exclusively religious—it was within that portico that the charge of impiety was brought against the philosopher. It is probable, however, that the Areopagus also always met within the Stoa (Dem. in *Aristog.* 776) when ritual did not demand a midnight-sitting on the open rock—in other words, in all cases other than those of murder. When, with the advent of the Romans, the Areopagus reappeared, after its long eclipse, as once more the supreme authority of the city (cp Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* xiii. 15; *Nat. Deor.* 274), and the specific control of religion fell again within its competence, it would naturally continue to meet there.

There it was, therefore, and before that body, that Paul was summoned. To speak of him as 'perhaps standing on the very stone where had once stood the ugly Greek who was answering the very same charge' (Farrar, *St. Paul*, 390) is to sacrifice historical truth to sentiment. We must relinquish the fond idea that Athens has the interesting distinction of being the one city of the world where we can tread in the very footsteps of the apostle. The view now generally taken errs in a double manner. It maintains, first, that the proceedings were in no sense legal or magisterial; and secondly, that they were upon the hill. The marginal rendering (AV 2, 22) is no doubt right in representing that it was before the court that Paul was brought. Can we believe that a crowd of idlers, parodying the judicial procedure of the court, could have been allowed to defile the neighbourhood of 'that temple of the awful goddesses whose presence was specially supposed to overshadow this solemn spot, and the dread of whose name was sufficient to prevent Nero, stained as he was with the guilt of matricide, from setting foot within the famous city' (Suet. *Ver.* 31; Dio Cas. 43.14)? Such a view requires better support than is given by the bare assertion that 'the Athenians were far less in earnest about their religion than in the days of Socrates, and if this was meant for a trial it could only have been by way of conscious parody' (Farrar, *op. cit.* 390, n. 3). Nor can an appeal to Acts 9:27 prove that ἐπιλαβόμενοι (Acts 17:19, AV 'took') is here not used in the sense of 'arrest.'

The view advocated by Curtius (*Stadtgesch. von Athen*, 262 f.) is correct. Paul was taken not to the Areopagus hill,—a place not adapted either for hearing or for speaking, upon an occasion such as this,—but to the Stoa Basileios (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρείου πάγου; cp Acts 9:21, 16:19, etc.) for a preliminary examination (ἀνάκρισις). There it was to be decided whether the new teaching would justify a prosecution for the introduction of a new religion. Standing in the midst of the assembled

¹ Cp Xen. *Mem.* 1:1 with Acts 17:16. Yet there is probably no conscious reference on the part of the Christian writer to the trial of Socrates, though the contrary has been asserted.

Areopagites (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου, cp Cic. *ad Att.* i. 145; *Pantheos d' Epistulae*, 108, Ἀρείου πάγου λόγους ἐνοήσαντο), he made his defence. Much of what fell from his lips may be presumed to have awakened an echo in the breasts of his audience (on the speech see HELLENISM, § 9); but the mention of the resurrection of the body seemed to remove the case altogether out of the domain of the serious and practical. The court refused to continue the examination, and Paul was contemptuously dismissed (ἐχέλευσεν v. 32 f.). Curtius, *Paulus in Athen*, dismisses his view. For another view, see Rams. *Paul*, 243 f. See also Findlay, *Ann. Brit. Sch.* 178 f. W. J. W.

ARES (ἄρεα [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:10 = Ezra 2:5, ARAM, 2.

ARETAS (ἄρετας [Ti. WH]), an ancient name (strictly Hāthra; 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 in inscriptions; e.g., Euting *Nab. Inschr.* No. 16) of Nabatean princes, mentioned in the story of Jason the high priest (in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes), 2 Macc. 5:8 (ἄρετας [VA]). The Aretas of this passage is called 'king of the Arabians'; he was hostile to JASON (q.v.). Another Aretas was master of Damascus in the time of Paul—three years after the apostle's conversion. His 'ethnarch' sought (see below) to apprehend Paul, who, however, made good his escape (2 Cor. 11:32 f.). The story of the Nabateans has been told elsewhere (see DAMASCUS, § 12, NABATEANS). It is certain that about 85 B.C. they had possession of Damascus; but it should be added that the autonomy of Damascus in 70-69 B.C. is established by numismatic evidence. The first collision with the Romans was in 64-62 B.C., when the Nabatean king, Aretas III., intervened in the struggles between Hyrcanus and Aristobolus. Damascus now came under Roman sovereignty. During the following decennia the Nabatean kingdom became involved in the wars occasioned by the Parthians—with varying but for the most part ill success. The king also had various disputes with his neighbour Herod the Great. Aretas IV. (9 B.C.–40 A.D.) had tact and skill enough to keep terms with Augustus; his daughter became wife of Herod Antipas (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 51), but was set aside in favour of Herodias. Disputes on frontier questions furnished the aggrieved father with pretexts for war. Vitellius was ordered by Tiberius to avenge the defeat inflicted by Aretas upon Herod; but the death of the Emperor put an end to the scheme (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 78). At this time, according to 2 Cor. 11:32, Damascus must again have fallen into the hands of Aretas; Damascene coins of Tiberius do not occur later than 33-34 A.D. A tempting conjecture is that it was Caligula that sought at this price, after his accession,¹ to buy over Aretas, against whom Tiberius had so recently ordered war; yet, in our complete ignorance of this chapter of history, we are not precluded from supposing that Tiberius himself in 34 A.D. had already taken occasion to present Aretas with the city as a peace-offering (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 78). A violent capture of the city by Aretas is not to be thought of: such a deed would have called for exemplary punishment at the hands of the Romans. Equally improbable is the view of Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverwaltungs.* 1:405) and Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* 5:476) that Damascus had remained subject to the king of Arabia continuously from the beginning of the Roman period till 106 A.D. For (1) in Pompey's time Damascus belonged to the Decapolis (Plin. *HN* v. 1874; Ptol. v. 15:22; cp DECAPOLIS, § 2); (2) in the reign of Tiberius it was the Roman governor that gave the authoritative decision on a question of frontier between Damascus and Sidon (Tac. *Ann.* xvii. 63); (3) we have imperial coins of Damascus with figures of Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero; (4) in Domitian's time there was a cohort raised in Damascus, the Cohors Flavia (CIL

¹ So also Gutschmid (Excursus in Euting's *Nab. Inschr.* 85) and Schürer (*GHV* 1:618, ET 2:357 f.).

name will become no longer Uriel, but (by a slight modification) Ariel—*i.e.*, altar-hearth. The reading Uriel seems to have been known to the author of 319: 'says Yahwé, who has a fire (אֵשׁ) in Zion and a furnace in Jerusalem.' The other explanations of this prophetic name are (1) lion, or lioness, of God (*Ew., Di., Che., Isa.* 10); (2) hearth of God (*Del., König, Kittel*); (3) altar-hearth (*Stade, Duhm, Che., SBOT*). Of these, the third is probably the easiest; but none of them quite accounts for the selection of the new name for David's city, nor for the expression 'and will become to me like (an) Ariel (*v. 26*). T. K. C.

ARIMATHÆA (ΑΡΙΜΑΘΑΙΑ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 27. 57. etc. See RAMATHAIM-ZOPTHIM.

ARIOCH (אִרְיֹחַ; אַרְיֹחַ [BADEL, §7. N³⁰], אֲרִיחַ [87 in Dan. 2.14 f.]). Probably a Hebraised form of an *ari* Babylonian name; see CH. DORLANDER, § 31. 1880f., (1) possibly with archaeological accuracy, in Gen. 14.19 of an ally of an ancient king of Elam; (2) by a literary fiction, of Nebuchadrezzar's captain of the guard (*Dan. 2.14 f., 24 f.*); and (3) of a king of Elam (so the Syriac) in alliance with Nebuchadrezzar (*Judith 16, אַרְיֹחַ [N³⁰]*, Cp Bezold, *Babyl. Assyriol.*, lit. 53).

ARISAI (אַרְסַי; Αῤῥαῖος [BNI], -φάνου [A]), unless we regard this as an intruder and identify Arisai with the succeeding name *Araios*; see ARIDAI, son of Haman (*Est. 9.6*). See ESTHER, § 3. 100f.

ARISTARCHUS (ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ [Ti. WH]), a Thessalonian (*Acts 20.4, 27.2*), one of Paul's companions in travel (*Acts 19.29*), was among those who accompanied him from Europe on his last recorded visit to Jerusalem (*Acts 20.4*), and also on his voyage to Rome, having joined him at Caesarea (*Acts 27.2*). As the apostle's 'fellow-prisoner' (συναρχιμάχωτος) he unites with him in saluting the Colossians (*Col. 4.10*). Cp COLOSSIANS, § 10 f. He joins in the salutation to Philemon (*Philem. 24*), but in this passage is designated simply as 'fellow-worker,' Epaphras alone being called 'fellow-prisoner.' From this it has been inferred, with much probability, that the companions of Paul relieved one another in voluntarily sharing his captivity.

In the lists of the 'seventy disciples' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (not earlier than the fifth cent.), Aristarchus is bishop of Apamea in Syria. Pseudo-Dorotheus also has it that along with Pudens and Trophimus he was beheaded in Rome at the same time as Paul.

ARISTOBULUS (ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ [VA; Ti. WH]), a Greek name adopted by Romans and Jews, and borne by several members of the Maccabean and Herodian families.

1. The teacher (διδάσκαλος) of Ptolemy (no. 1), to whom *Judas* (the Maccabee) sent letters (2 *Macc. 1.10*). He is the well-known Jewish-Hellenistic philosopher of that name, who resided at the court of Ptolemy VI. Philometor (180-145 B.C.). He was of priestly descent (ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Χριστῶν ἱερέων γένους; *v. 10*); cp *Lew. 4.17, 27, 27, 27*), and was the author of (among other writings) certain works on the Pentateuch, fragments of which are preserved in Clement of Alexandria and in Eusebius. See *Schür. G11. 2. 700. ff.*, *Ew. G11. 4. 155*, and *Kitt. Godsd.* 2. 433 ff.

2. 'The chief of the household of Aristobulus' are saluted in *Rom. 16.10*. It is not implied that Aristobulus himself was a Christian. The name was a common one in the dynasty of Herod. The list of the 'seventy disciples' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus names Aristobulus as bishop of Britain.

ARIUS (Αῤῥῆς [ANV; Ἔ; is not certain, see Swete], *ARMS*, 1 *Macc. 12.20*; RV; see SHARTA).

ARK. See DELUGE, § 10.

1 Isaiah's authorship is doubted (*Ch. Intr. Isa. 204*). It is unlikely that Isaiah explained Uriel 'God's fire'; the paronomasia in *v. 26* would then disappear. Moreover אֵשׁ in the sense of fire seems to be late. Cp 30.32 f.; 33.17 (late).

ARK OF THE COVENANT or Sacred Ark (אֲרוֹן; אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית [BNI]; *ARSA*).

There is nothing more significant than the changes in the titles of sacred objects. We must, therefore, be careful to place these titles in their chronological order. According to Seyring (*ZATW* 11.116 [91]) the oldest name of the ark (or sacred chest) is 'the ark of Yahwé the God of Hosts (Sēbā'ōth) who is enthroned upon the cherubim.'

1. Names: logical order. According to Seyring (*ZATW* 11.116 [91]) the oldest name of the ark (or sacred chest) is 'the ark of Yahwé the God of Hosts (Sēbā'ōth) who is enthroned upon the cherubim.' This title is reached by an analysis of the designations of the ark in (a) 2 S. 6.2 and (b) 1 S. 4.4 (both passages belong to early documents). The titles given in (a) are 'ark of God' (*hā-ēlōhīm*), and 'called by the name of Yahwé Sēbā'ōth that is enthroned upon the cherubim.'² In (b) the title is 'ark of the *brith* of Yahwé Sēbā'ōth who is enthroned upon the cherubim.' Recombining the supposed oldest elements in these titles, Seyring obtains the title mentioned above. This usually careful scholar, however, has overlooked, in dealing with (b), Ḥ's reading in the preceding verse—viz., 'the ark of our God' (אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵינוּ תוֹי תְּהוֹי הָיָא [B], *τ. κ. τῆς θεότητος τοῦ θ. ἡ. [A]*, *τ. κ. τ. δ. κυρίου τ. θ. ἡ. [L]*), which is self-evidently more correct than the Deuteronomic formula³ of MT, and, taken together with *v. 6* ('ark of Yahwé'), justifies us in assuming that the equally simple title 'ark of Yahwé' stood originally in *v. 4* and *v. 5*, and 'ark of God' (*cp 2v. 11 17 19-22*) in *v. 4b*. Nor has Seyring noticed that after 'ark of God' in (a) the relative clause which follows is superfluous, and presumably a later insertion. It must be added that it remains most improbable that the divine name Yahwé Sēbā'ōth is older than the Assyrian period, to which indeed Amos who undoubtedly uses it belongs; at any rate the theory that this name represents Yahwé as the God of Israel's hosts, and has any special connection with the ark, has insuperable difficulties.⁴ Thus, so far as (a) and (b) are concerned, the popular names for the ark were very short—viz., 'ark of Yahwé,' 'ark of God,' and 'ark of our God,'—and from the context of the former passage we find that there was a still shorter name, 'the ark' (2 S. 6.4), which occurs thrice in old parts of Samuel, and five times (or seven, including *Josh. 3.14 17*; see *Kau. HS*) in the Hexateuch. The title 'ark of God' (אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהִים, or twice אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהִים) occurs often in old parts of Samuel, and also in Chronicles. In a solemn speech of David in 1 Ch. 15.12 14 we find the sonorous phrase 'the ark of Yahwé the God of Israel,' which reminds us of the phrase used by the Philistines in 1 S. 5.7 f. 11.⁵ Side by side with 'the ark of Elohīm' we naturally find the phrase 'the ark of Yahwé.' It occurs first in the composite work JE, and may reasonably be ascribed in the first instance to J, though in some passages it may have been inserted by the editor, either as an altogether new addition, or in lieu of the phrase 'the ark of God,' which was probably used in E. Once (*Josh. 3.13*) we find this remarkable addition 'the Lord of the whole earth,' which, apart from *2v. 11 13*, occurs only in late writings, and, as Seyring points out, is

¹ Cp *Ass. rev., revēu (revēnu)*, 'bos,' 'resceptacle' (*DELUGE*, § 10).

² The same renderings are given for אֲרוֹן, Noah's ark, but not for אֲרוֹן, the 'ark' in the bulrushes.

³ This rendering implies that אֲרוֹן, 'name,' occurs twice in MT by pure accident. Otherwise we should have to suppose that the name by which the ark was called was 'the name of Yahwé Sēbā'ōth,' etc.

⁴ Similarly arguments (*Kel.-gesch.* 185 ff.), weakly met by Marti (*Gesch. der Jer. Rel.* 140), appear conclusive, only he should have fortified himself by Assyrian parallels. Thus, Ašur is said to rule kiššat ilāni 'the mass, or entire multitude, of the Gods,' Nebo to be the overseer kiššat šamē u iršitum 'of the mass (multitude) of heaven and earth.' Amos and his school represent Yahwé as the lord of all supernatural beings in the universe, in opposition to all rival deities. See however, *NAMES*, § 173.

⁵ On these points see further, Budde's crit. note in *SBOT*; Comand, *ZATW* 12.71 [92, n. 1]; *Wec. TBS* 167 (especially as to the right rendering of 1 Ch. 16).

ARK OF THE COVENANT

presumably due to a post-exilic writer whose idea of Yahweh differed from that of JE. The phrase 'the ark of Yahwé' passed from JE into the terminology of the historical books in general (including Chronicles).

A new title for the ark seems to have been coined by the author of the original Deuteronomy (Deut. 10:8), and

2. Ark of b'rith. adapted from him by writers and editors who shared his religious point of view, and even (strange to say) by the Chronicler, who, in general, stands so completely under the influence of the Priestly Code. This phrase is 'the ark of the *b'rith*' (usually rendered 'covenant'; see below), either simply (Josh. 3-6) or in various combinations, such as 'ark of the *b'rith* of Yahwé,' 'ark of the *b'rith* of Elohim,' and 'ark of the *b'rith* of Adonai.' The Deuteronomistic editors have freely introduced the term *b'rith* into the titles of the ark in the older sources which they edited. The work of the editor clearly betrays itself in such phrases as ארון הברית (ארון ה' אלהים) ארון הברית, where the editor has forgotten to make the omission of the article, necessitated by the introduction of a dependent genitive.

And now as to the correct meaning of the phrase ארון הברית. It is rendered by ἡ κειραὶς τῆς διαθηκῆς, by *Ve arca foederis et arca testamenti* (Nu. 14:44), and by *EV 'ark of the covenant.'* That *b'rith* cannot, however, in this phrase mean 'covenant' in our sense of the word is clear from 1 K. 8:21 (= 2 Ch. 6:11), where we are told that 'the *b'rith* of Yahwé was 'in the ark.' The phrase is parallel to that in Ex. 25:16 21, 'into the ark thou shalt put the testimony' (ארון הברית), which (see below) is a technical term for the 'two tables' of the Decalogue. Hence Kau. *HS* rightly rejects the obscure if not misleading phrase 'ark of the covenant,' and substitutes 'ark with the law (of Yahwé),' which is at any rate, by common admission, the best approximate rendering (cp COVENANT, § 1).

The latest phase in the historical development of the names of the ark is marked by the title which occurs

3. Ark of 'ēdūth. eleven times in the Priestly Code and also in Josh. 4:16 (introduced into JE by the editor?), meaning 'ark of the publicly delivered ordinance' (ἡ κειραὶς τῆς διαθηκῆς τῶν μαρτυριῶν, *Vg. arca testimonii*, *EV*, ark of the testimony). The meaning given above is confirmed by Ex. 31:18 (P:?) 32:15 (E:) 34:29 (P), where we hear of 'the two tables of the *np̄*.' Probably this new title appeared to the priestly writer clearer and more definite than that introduced by Deuteronomy. It did not, however, displace the older phrases, which reappear not only in Chronicles but also in the Greek Apocrypha, and (κ. τῆς διαθηκῆς) in the NT (see below, § 15).

On looking back, we see that the names and titles of the ark fall into three classes. We have, first, the names 'ark of Yahwé,' 'ark of God,' 'ark of our God,' which indicate that the ark contained an object which in some way symbolised and represented Israel's God; and next, the names, 'ark of the law,' 'ark of the ordinance,' which suggest that the object contained in the ark was inscribed with laws; and lastly, attached to the older names, titles such as those in Josh. 3(11) 13 2 S. 6:2, which indicate a desire to correct the materialistic interpretation which might seem to convert the ark into an idol. A critical study of the texts is the necessary commentary on these deductions from names. The following sections aim at bringing together the chief notices of the ark, indicating the sources from which they are derived, and then, at fitting points, giving the reader some idea of the results which follow from a critical treatment of these notices.

We turn first of all to the documents called J and E (as far as we can separate the one from the other) in the Hexateuch. It is more than probable¹ that both J and

E, in their original form, related how Yahwé or Elohim, at Sinai or at Horeb, directed an ark to be made as a

4. Traditional origin of ark: JE. substitute for his personal presence as leader of his people. These passages were omitted by the editor, who preferred the much more suitable account

(so he must have deemed it) given in P' (see below, § 13), but has preserved the tradition of J and E that, both in the wilderness and on the entrance into Canaan, the ark led the van of the host. In referring to this J quotes two poetic formulae: (Nu. 10:35 36), which he says were spoken by Moses at the beginning and the end of a day's march, but which more probably arose at a later time.² Whether J and E agreed with Deuteronomy in stating that the 'two tables of stone' were placed in the ark is a matter which can be only conjecturally decided.

There is, however, a very strong probability that they did not. E's story, at any rate, is much more forcible if we suppose no renewal of the shattered tables (Ex. 32:19), and we cannot believe J to have differed on this important point from E. Historical considerations (see below, § 10) confirm this conclusion. In particular, the ark was not, in the succeeding narratives of J and E, a symbol of the revealed law, but the focus of divine powers. Twice, we are told, the Israelites omitted to take the ark with them and were defeated (Nu. 14:44 Josh. 7:4), and on the latter occasion Joshua prostrated himself before the ark,³ and remonstrated with Yahwé, the God of Israel. The crowning proof of the potency of the ark was given when the Israelites crossed the Jordan (according to one of the traditions, at harvest time), and captured Jericho (Josh. 3 f. 6). The Deuteronomist editor has made the former part of the narrative difficult to restore to its original form (which was a combination of J and E); but it is probable that J and E already described the priests (not, 'the priests, (i.e. Levites)') as bearers of the ark. In the latter part it is not very difficult to recover a simpler, more natural, and presumably earlier account, in which no express mention is made of the ark, and nothing is said of the falling down of the walls of Jericho (on the narrative see *JOSHUA*, ii, § 7).⁴ Thus far, then, the most genuine tradition is clear and intelligible.

[The invention of portable sanctuaries, and especially of portable idols, may possibly go back to the nomadic Semites and to a time when the gods were still tribal rather than local; but the probabilities are all against such a view. There is less trace of such an institution in Arabia than in any other part of the Semitic world, and nowhere else is the principle so strongly marked that a tribe that changes its seats changes its gods. Even the ark of Yahwé is not carried back by Hebrew tradition to patriarchal times; the patriarchs do worship only where they have a fixed altar. It is, therefore, more likely that portable symbols of the godhead first arose among the settled Semites and in connection with the religion of the army in war. In this connection the idea of a portable god involves no great breach with the conception that each deity has a local home, for when the campaign is over the god returns to his temple. When the notion of portable gods was once established, however, its application could easily be extended and would serve to smooth away the difficulty of establishing new permanent sanctuaries in conquered regions or colonies over the sea. A Greek colony always carried its gods with it, and it is probable that this was often done by the Phœnician colonists also. Even in Israel we find that the sanctuary of Yahwé at Dan was constituted by setting up the image from Micah's sanctuary (Judg. 18 30), just as David gave a religious character to his new capital by transferring the ark to it.]⁴

But with what critical process can we bring simplicity

¹ Delitzsch, however, defends the Mosaic authorship, *J & E* 3 205-215 [30].
² So M P and E; G¹ omits 'the ark (66).'
³ We, *CH* 125; *Kl. Theol.* 1 282 f.
⁴ From WRS, *Burnett Lectures*, 2nd series, Lect. 1. (MS).

¹ See the analysis of Ex. 32 f. in EXODUS, ii, § 3, and cp Bacon, *Erodus*, 143, 146; We, *CH* 95; *DL. Ex. n. Lev.* 345.

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into the episode of the capture and restoration of the sacred ark by the Philistines (1 S. 4:1-7:1)? Some facts are admitted. That at the end of the period of the Judges the ark rested at the Ephraimitish sanctuary of Shiloh is a trustworthy statement, guaranteed by 1 S. 4:3 f. (chap. 3 we must regretfully pass over, as coming from a different hand and later writer; see SAMUEL, ii.). It must, also, be a fact that the Philistines had defeated the Israelites near Eben-ezer (ISRAEL, § 11). Tradition doubtless added that the leaders of Israel attributed their misfortune to the absence of the ark from the host, and that they therefore fetched the sacred chest from Shiloh. The immediate consequences are graphically described. On the arrival of the ark the Israelites were in a state of wild delight; and the Philistines who heard the shoutings were proportionately alarmed, for 'who (said they) can deliver us from these great gods?' (*elohim*). Nevertheless, with the courage of despair, the Philistines renewed the fight with complete success, and were even able to carry off the ark in triumph. Then begins a series of wonderful incidents from which it is difficult to extract a kernel of early tradition. Stade thinks (*GIT I 202 f.*) that in chaps. 5 and 6 he can find the remnants of two distinct accounts; but the recognition of this would only diminish the number of difficult features in the narrative. It would obviously not provide an intelligible statement of facts. Of the difficult details referred to there is only one which it is necessary to criticise here. It is a statement which the study of the Assyrian monuments seems to make historically impossible. The Philistines, we are told, under the pressure of pestilence, returned the 'gods' which they had captured from Israel. Ancient nations did not act thus in such circumstances. For example, we know that the image of the goddess Nanā (see NAN-ĒA) was taken from Erech by an Elamite king, and detained in Elam for 1635 years. Did any calamity ever suggest to the Elamites the idea that Nanā was chastising them for the insult to her image? No. Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, had to devote all his energies to the task of crushing the Elamites before he could restore the image to its ancient home (cp ASUR-BANI-PAL, § 8). Similar stories of reconquered idols are told in connection with the names of Ashurbanipal's grandfather Sennacherib (cp ASSYRIA, § 20) and the old Babylonian king Agu-kak-ri¹.

The fragmentary document which we have thus far studied closes with the statement that the ark was placed in the house of Abinadab at Kirjath-jearim, and that Abinadab's son was consecrated to keep it. It is to an entirely different (and probably earlier) source² that we owe the narrative of the bringing of the ark to Zion. We learn here that at the time when David bethought himself of the ark, it rested at a place called Baal in Judah (2 S. 6:2; see Driver *ad loc.*). During the whole of Saul's reign and during David's seven-years' reign in Hebron, it had lain forgotten in a provincial town. Neither Saul nor David had thought of taking it into battle; nor, so far as our evidence goes, had it been visited by the people. What, then, had been the effect of the repeated attestations which the divine judgments had given to its supernatural power? Let us see whether the narrative in 2 S. 6 (which appears to be older than that in 1 S. 4:1-7:1), when critically treated, suggests any way out of our manifold difficulties. It is permissible, and indeed necessary, to disregard so much of chap. 6 as relates to the death of Uzzah (a passage which in its difficulty resembles parts of the story in 1 S. 5 f., and the growth of which can be accounted for), and to fix our attention on the simpler narrative in *vv.* 10-15, the kernel of which is that, early in David's reign, the ark

was in the house of one Obed-edom of Gath, and that David fetched it thence with much jubilation to Zion. How came the ark to be there? That David of his own accord entrusted such a sacred object to a Philistine is highly improbable; but how if Obed-edom was not a Philistine sojourning in Judah, but a foe residing in his native town of Gath? How if the ark had never left Philistine territory, though it had been shifted from Dagon's temple to a private house? How if David acted as Assyrian kings acted in similar circumstances, and reconquered the precious object which was to him in some sense the dwelling of his God? This is the hypothesis of Kosters, who held not only, with Kittel and Budde, that 2 S. 21:15-22 is properly the continuation of the narrative in 2 S. 5:17-25, but also that the sequel of the story of the battle in Gath (2 S. 21:20) was once the notice that David fetched the ark from the house of Obed-edom in Gath and deposited it for a time at Baal.¹ After this, according to Kosters, came originally the story of the capture of Jerusalem (an event which this critic places *after* the hostilities referred to in 2 S. 5:17 ff.), and of the bringing up of the ark to Zion. The editor to whom the present form of 2 S. 6:1-12 is due appears to have had a religious rather than a historical motive. The facts as stated in the original narrative might suggest to some readers that Yahvé needed the interference of David to deliver him from captivity: in other words, that David was stronger than his God. The editor shrank from inventing an entirely new narrative, but, to counteract that idea, put the central facts in the traditional story in an entirely new setting.

This hypothesis, the present writer has long felt, is absolutely required to clear up an important historical episode.² Without it the central facts of tradition, including David's almost ecstatic joy (2 S. 6:14), are hopelessly obscure. A glance at 2 S. 6:1 f. will convince the reader that there is nothing arbitrary in the view proposed. That *vv.* 2-10a cannot have been the original sequel of *v.* 1 must be clear. Unless *v.* 1 is simply misplaced, it must have been followed by a record of some martial exploit of David. To the present writer it seems probable (see DAVID, § 7) that the exploit consisted in a great victory near Gath (cp 2 S. 21:20 f.), which so weakened the Philistines that they offered to restore the ark on condition of David's making with them a treaty of peace, and that David himself fetched the ark from Obed-edom's house. It will be remembered that when David defeated the Philistines at Baal-perazim he had 'taken away the images' (2 S. 5:21) which, by their presence, should have ensured a Philistine victory. It seems probable that when the Philistines restored the ark David gave back the captured 'images.' Cleverness was a characteristic of this king. It was all-important to him not to wage an internecine warfare with the Philistines, and he therefore 'contented himself with a peace honourable for both parties' (Kamphausen). The original story may have referred to this restoration of the images captured at Baal-perazim, and this compound name may have suggested the mention of 'Baal' and 'Perez-uzzah' in 2 S. 6 as it now stands. In a certain sense, indeed, the ark *was* recovered from Baal-perazim.

Our next notice of the ark is in 2 S. 7, a passage full of varied interest, though in its present form not older than the sixth century. It tells us (and no doubt the

¹ The reason why David deposited the ark at Baal was, according to Kosters, that he had not yet conquered Jebus or Jerusalem. Those who hold another view as to the time of the conquest of Jebus will give a different reason. David had indeed conquered Jebus, but had not yet adapted it by fresh buildings to serve the purpose of a capital. See DAVID, § 10.

² Since the above was written, Winckler has made another attempt to produce an intelligible view of the history of the ark (*GI 70 ff.*). It is difficult to see that there is any solid ground for his very revolutionary hypothesis; but, at any rate, he perceives a problem which escaped the earlier writers before Kosters.

¹ Tiele, *BAG* 122 f. 305 f. 392 ff., referred to by Kosters, *ThT* 27:364 [93].

² The reference in 2 S. 6:3 to the house of Abinadab seems to be an editorial insertion (see KOSTERS, *op. cit.* 368).

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statement is historical) that David wished to build a cedar-house for the ark, but was forbidden by an oracle.

6. Permanent abode. We can understand, therefore, that for a time (as 2 S. 11:11 suggests) the ark was still carried with the army as an insurance against defeat.¹ The capture of it by the Philistines, however, had already given a blow to the primitive, fetishistic conception of the ark, and an occasion arose when David, it would seem, was inwardly moved to express a far higher view. It was probably a turning-point in Israel's, as well as in David's, religious development. The circumstances were these. David was fleeing from Jerusalem before Absalom. Zadok wished to carry the 'ark of God' with David and his body-guard. The king, however, protested, and commanded Zadok to carry it back, 'that it may be seated in its place' (2 S. 15:25, 26). He was conscious (if v. 26 may be followed) that Yahwé might have cause to be displeased with him, and would rather suffer his punishment meekly than seem, by having the ark with him, to demand the interposition of Yahwé as a natural right. Henceforth, therefore, the symbol of Yahwé's presence should no more 'leave its place': Yahwé would direct Israel's affairs, both in peace and in war, from Zion. Early in Solomon's reign the greatest of all Israel's sanctuaries was erected. Much as the original passage of Solomon's biography has been edited (see Kau. *HS* and cp 2), it is beyond question that this king transported the ark from its temporary abode to the sanctuary of his temple. There—so both he and David hoped—it was to serve as a national centre, and complete the unification of Israel. The hope was, however, disappointed; nor do even the writers of Judah spend a word on the ark, or give a hint as to the feelings of the people towards it.

Our next news of the ark is indirect, and comes from an exotic or post-exilic passage of the Book of Jeremiah (3:16). The passage runs thus: "In those days no more shall one say, 'The ark of the *Érith* of Yahwé,' neither shall it come into one's mind, neither shall one think upon it, nor miss it, neither shall it be made again.' The full import of the words may be doubtful; but at least one thing is clear—the ark, on the possession of which the weal or woe of Israel had once seemed to depend, had passed away. This is too patent from later writings to be denied. Ezra 1 and 1 Macc. 4 do not mention the ark among the sacred vessels. Josephus (*BJ* v. 55) declares that the Holy of Holies contained nothing at all. Lastly, Tacitus, relating the entrance of Pompey into the temple, uses the emphatic words, 'Inde vulgatum nullas intus deum effigies; vacuum sedem et inania arcana' (*Hist.* 59). How the ark disappeared will be considered presently (see next §).

Suffice it to add here that the *sépher tôrah* or 'Book of the Law' succeeded to the undivided reverence of true Israelites, and is still, with its embroidered mantle and ornaments, the most sacred object in every synagogue. When, then, and how did this holy thing, which, according to Jer. 3:16, was by many so painfully missed, pass out of sight? We have accounted for one strange gap in our historical notices respecting the ark: how shall we explain the still longer and stranger lacuna which extends from (say) 960 to 586 B.C.? Why is it that neither the historians nor the prophets of this period (so far as we possess their works) refer to the fortunes of the ark or to the popular reverence for it in their own time? Three answers seem possible. (1) Soon after 960 the ark may have been captured by an enemy—a calamity which was deliberately suppressed by the historians, just as they suppressed the

destruction of the temple of Shiloh. Giesebrecht and Couard have pointed to the invasion of Judah by Shishak (Sesonk I.), king of Egypt, about 928, as the occasion of this (see 1 K. 14:26). The objection is that Shishak's campaign, as the bas-reliefs at Karnak appear to prove,¹ was against Israel as well as Judah, and that, Egypt being too weak at that time to think of permanent conquests, the expedition must have been simply due to vainglory and to greed. If Shishak took away from Palestine anything in the nature of an idol, it must have been the 'golden calves' of Jeroboam, and not the outwardly unattractive wooden chest in the sanctuary of the temple of Rehoboam. Besides, Rehoboam and his priests would never have allowed the capture of the ark to become known: they would certainly, in the interests of the temple, have substituted a new chest, for which pious fiction the supposed discoveries of Babylonian kings mentioned by Tiele (*H.G.* 461) may perhaps furnish a parallel. (2) The ark may have been carried away with the temple treasures in 785, by Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 14:14), who would hardly have omitted to reclaim the long-lost treasure of the Ephraimitish sanctuary at Shiloh. The objection to this is that the ark had long ceased to be the special possession of a tribe, and that events had proved that Joash could well dispense with the ark, while to have carried it away would have been an offence against the great hero of united Israel—David. (3) The ark (which was probably renewed by the priests, when decayed from age) may have retained its place till the great catastrophe in 586, and previously to this may have lost much of its ancient prestige owing to the growing sense of the inconsistency of identifying such an object as the ark with the great God Yahwé, and perhaps also to discourses of the prophets against a superstitious reverence for the ark which have been lost, or even suppressed by editors. This view—which is in the main that adopted in 4 Esd. 10:22, and implied by the legend in 2 Macc. 25 (cp below, § 15), that Jeremiah² hid the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense in a cave—is by no means an improbable one. The only obvious objection to it can easily be met. The assertion in Deut. 10:1, that the ark was simply the repository of two inscribed tables of stone need not imply that D, like P, is an archaeologist, and that the object which is thus wrongly described no longer existed. It is more natural to suppose that, like the other fetiches to which this writer is so vehemently opposed, the sacred stones which (as we shall see) were the objects venerated of old in the ark still held their place, concealed from view but secure. The Deuteronomist, speaking in the name of Moses, could not help assuming the sanctity of the ark and its contents. In the interests of piety, however, he transformed (as far as words could do it) the nature of the objects in the ark. That venerable coffer was not, he meant to say, in any sense the dwelling of the deity, whom no temple could hold (1 K. 8:27): it simply contained a perfect written embodiment of the fundamental demands of Israel's righteous God.

This leads us to consider the origin and affinities of the ark. For the ark of the Deuteronomist (and of P¹, 9. Real nature. Mr. Rassam's discovery of a coffer with two inscribed alabaster tablets in a little temple at Balawat, near Mosul;³ but the coffer (which was not placed in the sanctuary) also was of alabaster, and with its contents corresponds to the chests containing sacred books which were among the regular appurtenances of Egyptian (and probably of Syrian) temples, but were not meant to be carried. For the ark known to the earliest Hel rew traditions, however, there are many monumental

1 We must not refer here to 1 K. 2:26, which states, according to MT, that Abiathar used to 'bear the ark before David'—i.e., in his campaigns. The right reading is, not *ark*, but *tabernacle*, 'ephod'; cp 1 S. 23:69. Cp the same mistake in 1 S. 14:18, MT. (So first Theinus.)

1 St. *GTI* 35:1; WMM. *Ass. u. Exc.* 166-166a.
2 In the Talmud (*H. Or. 12b*) it is Josiah who hides the ark and other sacred objects, including the pot of manna (see below, § 15).
3 Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 65; cp Pinches, *TSEA* 783.

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parallels. In Egypt, for instance (from which Renan too hastily derives the Israelite ark), no festival procession could be sculptured or painted without them.¹ The arks, with their images, were placed on boats, which were ornamented at the ends with heads of the divinities within; the king himself, being divine, also had his ark-boat. Such an ark-boat, too, is referred to in the strange story of the daughter of the king of Bahtan,² where an image of the god Honsu is said to have been transported to Syria, to deliver a princess from the spirit that oppressed her. These shrine-boats must originally have had their parallels in Babylonia; the constant expression for the sacred arks in the cuneiform texts is *elippi*³—i. e., 'ships.' Within the best-known historical periods, however, it was in simple arks or coffers that the images of the gods were borne in procession at the Babylonian (and Assyrian) festivals.

Thus it appears that two things were essential in a sacred ark—that it should be of a size and a material which would permit it to be carried, and that it should contain a representation or mystic symbol of a deity. The ark known to David and Solomon doubtless complied with these conditions. It was a simple wooden box, such as the ancestors of the Israelites had used in their nomadic state for their few valuables,⁴ without either the coating of gold or the cherubim with which the reverence of a later writer provided it. As to its

10. Contents. contents, the inscribed 'tables of stone,' which we should never have expected to find in the Holy of Holies, were but a substitute of the imagination for some mystic symbol or representation of Yahwè. Of what did that symbol consist? We are, of course, bound to do what we can to minimise the fiction or error of the Deuteronomist; but we must not deviate from the paths of historical analogy. These duties are reconciled by the supposition that the ark contained two sacred stones (or one).⁵ This view, no doubt, implies a survival of fetishism; but there are traces enough of fetishism (on which see IDOLATRY, § 4) elsewhere in Hebrew antiquity to justify it. The stones (or stone) must have been ancient in the extreme. They (or it) originally had no association with Yahwè; they represented the stage when mysterious personality and power were attached to lifeless matter. Being portable, however, they were different from the sacred stones of Bethel, Beth-shemesh, Shechem, and En-rogel, and are most naturally viewed as specimens of those bœtyls, animated stones, which, according to Sancho-niathon, were formed by the heaven-god, and were presumably meteorites. They may have belonged originally to the tribe afterwards called Ephraim; and when the several tribes united in worshipping Yahwè, the God of Moses, the Ephraimitish ark with its contents may have been adopted as the chief sacred symbol of Yahwè. The earliest narrators (see above, § 3, end) viewed the ark (which was virtually one with what it contained) as a substitute for the immediate presence of Yahwè, the sin of the 'Golden Calf' at Sinai having proved the Israelites to be unripe for such an immense privilege. The primitive Israelites, however, who knew nothing of the story referred to, must have regarded it, not as a substitute, but as the reality itself.

The portableness of the Israelitish ark did not, it is true, lend to its being carried about in processions. Its reason is that, to the Israelite, the object within the ark was much more than an

¹ See the procession of the arks of Amen Rê, Mât, and Honsu (the Theban triad) in the second court of the temple of Ramesses III. at Medinet Habû (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 289), and Plate V. in Naville's *Festival Hall of Osorkon*, 2 (cp p. 18).

² Maspero, *RPP* 3 404-5.
³ Del. Ass. *HWB* s.v. *elippu*. On the processional arks in Babylonia, see Tiele, *ZA* 2 179 ff.; C. J. Ball, *PSBA* 144.

⁴ Cp Daughte, *Anc. Des.* 1 27.
⁵ Cp Vartke, *Die Kel. des A* 1 321; St. GVI 457 f.; Beninger, *Hebr. Arch.* 370. There were and still are two sacred stones, a black and a white, built into the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca (WRS, *Kin.* 297 f.).

idol. It was not merely one of a class of objects, each of which contained a portion of the magical virtue of the deity whom it represented:¹ it was the only object with which Yahwè was so closely connected that the ark (for reverence forbade mention of the stones) and Yahwè were practically synonymous terms. It was, therefore, too sacred to be moved for a slight reason. Worshipers would rather make a procession round or before the ark (cp 2 S. 6 14) than bear it in procession themselves. The reverence implied in the story in 2 S. 6 6 f. may represent the feeling of an age later than David's; but circumstances had long been leading up to that extreme exaggeration. The higher the conception of Yahwè became, the greater was the awfulness which encompassed the ark,² until (it appears probable) by a natural reaction the nobler Israelites rejected the fetishistic conception of the ark and its contents altogether. Thus we get one great distinction between the ark of the Israelites and other sacred arks: it was not subservient to idolatry. The only occasions on which it left its resting-place were times of war. Then, indeed, it was carried with the host into the fray, just as the Philistine images were carried into battle by the Philistines (2 S. 5 21)—not to speak of Arabian and Carthaginian parallels.³ It was not specially a 'warlike palladium,' however, except for the periods when war rather than peace was the normal state of the people;⁴ and we have found even David, at a great crisis in his life, deciding to put his trust in his God without the presence of the ark.

The notices of later writers are valuable mainly for the religious history of the period of their authors.

12. Later notices. show us how, near the close of the pre-exilic (and afterwards in the post-exilic) age, pious men imagined to themselves the nature and circumstances of the ark. It is, therefore, unsafe to infer with Bertheau, from 2 Ch. 35 3, that the ark was removed from the sanctuary by Manasseh; unsafe, also, to infer, with the old Cambridge scholar Spencer, from P's description of the ark, that it was designedly made like the arks of Egypt, in order that the Israelites might miss no splendour or elegance which had charmed their eyes at Zoan. That Manasseh, with his syncretistic liberality, would have removed the ark is altogether improbable. Spencer's theory, on the other hand, may contain an element of truth, and is, at any rate, more plausible than the view developed out of P's account by Riehm.⁵ It is probable that the priestly legislator (P₂), in his description of the ark, did, unconsciously and in no servile manner, take suggestions from the sacred chests of Babylonia and Egypt, which he had seen or heard of. The simple chest of which J and E had doubtless spoken was unworthy (he thought) to be in any sense the symbol of the 'Lord of the whole earth.' Not such an ark could Moses have ordered to be made, for Yahwè was all-wise and must have 'filled' the artificers of the ark and the tabernacle 'with a divine spirit in wisdom and understanding' (Ex. 35 31). We must not, however, overlook the references to the ark in writings of the Deuteronomic school. We are told (Dt. 10 8) that Yahwè 'separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark of the *b'riah* of Yahwè,' and in Dt. 31 9 (cp 25 f.) we find a special title given to 'the priests the sons of Levi,' which is derived from this function (cp Josh. 3 3). For other Deuteronomic references to the ark, see Dt. 31 25 f.; Josh. 8 33 1 K. 3 15 6 19 8 9 21.

¹ Cp Maspero, *RPP* 3 433, n. 2.
² Cp 1 S. 3 200. 'And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before Yahwè, this holy God?'

³ See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 37.
⁴ Kautzsch and Kraetzschmar (see 'Literature') hardly seem to hit the mark. We cannot lay any stress on the titles in 1 S. 4 4 2 S. 6 2, on grounds stated already (above, § 1).

⁵ Riehm thinks (*HWB*), art. 'Bundeslade' that the ark was constructed in such a way as to show the diametrical opposition between the religion of revelation and the religion of nature worship, the presence of Yahwè (symbolised by the cherubim on the ark) being conditional on Israel's performance of its covenant-duties.

We now return to the much more important notices in the Priestly Code and in Chronicles. A full description of the ark is given in Ex. 25 10-22

13. P's 37 1-9. It was made of acacia wood. **description.** This statement is possibly based on tradition which is particular as to the materials of sacred objects. The shittah-tree grows not only in Arabia, but also in parts of Palestine: the ark, therefore, could be renewed if necessary. It was oblong—two cubits and a half in length, one and a half in breadth and in height. Gold was overlaid on it within and without, and on the lid, which had a projecting golden rim (7), was a plate of pure gold (2277); see MERCY-SEAT), sustaining two golden cherubim (see CHERUB, 1.), or winged figures, whose wings extended over the ark. From these cherubim Yahweh promised to communicate with Moses, and reveal his will for Israel. According to Ex. 30 26, the ark was to be anointed along with the tabernacle and the rest of its furniture. When made, it was brought, we are told, to Moses (39 35), and placed by him in the tabernacle, screened by the veil (102, in the Holy of Holies; see 26 33 2. 1. In Lev. 16 9 the sanctity of the ark is emphasised by the command that Aaron (i.e., the High Priest) shall enter the Holy of Holies only once a year. In Nu. 3 31 the charge of the ark is committed to the Kohathites, and in 4 5 it is commanded that when the tabernacle is moved Aaron and his sons (i.e., the priests) shall carefully cover up the ark with the veil, before the Kohathites take it up, in order that the latter may neither see (v. 20) nor touch (7. 15) the holy things. In 7 89 (RV) the Voice (i.e., of Yahweh) speaks to Moses from the 'Mercy-Seat.' The gloss in Judg. 20 27 f.—a gloss added under the influence of P₂—states that the ark was at Bethel in the days of Phinehas, and the editors, who follow P₂, doubtless understood that the ark was always in the tabernacle till the battle of Aphek (cp TABERNACLE).

The Chronicler adds scarcely any fresh incidents to the account of the ark, and cites the earlier narratives in Samuel and Kings on the assumption that the regulations of the Priestly Code were observed throughout the history. In 1 Ch.

14. Chronicler, 15 1 f. he makes David say, 'None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites, and they carry it accordingly; and at first sight it appears as if the Philistine Obad-edom became a Levite (77. 18 21 24); see however OBEDI-EDOM, 2. A profound sense of the sanctity of the ark is shown in 1 Ch. 28 2, where the ark or the 'Mercy-seat' is called 'the footstool of God,' and in 2 Ch. 8 11, where Solomon refuses to let Pharaoh's daughter dwell in the palace of David, 'because the places (?) are holy, wherunto the ark of Yahweh hath come.' In 35 3, Josiah commands the Levites to 'put the holy ark in the Temple'; 'it shall not be a burden on your shoulders.'

The only direct references to the ark in the Psalms are in Ps. 132 8 (cp 2 Ch. 6 41), where it is styled ארון אלהים 'ark of thy strength'; and in Ps. 78 60, where God is said to have delivered his 'strength' (i.e., the ark) into captivity. An indirect reference has often been supposed in Pss. 24 47 and 68; but this involves the untenable assumption of their pre-exilic origin.

The ark is only twice mentioned in the NT. It and its contents are described in Heb. 9 4 as in P₂, except

15. NT. that the pot of manna (see above, § 8, note) is said to have been *in* (instead of *beside*) the ark. In Rev. 11 19, after the seventh angel has sounded, 'the temple of God in heaven' is opened, and 'the ark of God's covenant' is seen within. The words 'in heaven' (ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) are however probably an editorial insertion (Spitta). It is the earthly (not the heavenly) temple that is referred to, and the meaning of the statement is that the ark which was hidden (so

tradition variously said) by Jeremiah or Josiah, shall suddenly reappear in the sanctuary in the latter days.

See, besides Spitta, *Die heiligen Hebräer* (1883), *Saying* (on the names of the ark), *ZATW* II 314-324 [93]; *Comment* (on the ark), *ZATW* II 329; *Konrad* (on the ark), *ZATW* II 330-331; *Yahweh* (on the ark), *ZATW* II 331-332; *Konrad*, *ZATW* II 331-332 [93]; *De. 10 1-5*; *Nawak* and *Boissier*, *Heb. Arch.*, Winkler, *ed.* I (1891) 2-17; *Kronenberg*, *Die Bundesversteigerung*, *ibid.* pp. 20-21; *Edo.*, *ibid.* 147-151; (on other sacred arks); *Simpson*, 'Ark-shrine of Japan,' *J. O. L.* 5 550-554.

16. Literature. **ARKITE** (אֲרָכִיתִי—i.e., the 'Arkite, man of 'Arka'; ΑΡΧΗΚΙΟΣ [ARX. I. 100 385 6; 91100 377 2]), a Samaritan (Phoenician) title, *ibid.* 1010-1011 2 1 1 1 (100). **ARAKEI** [A.], see *GEORGIEFF*, *ibid.* 101 1. *ARAKI* אֲרָכִי, *Jos. l.c.* is mentioned among the cities taken by Tiglath-pileser III. (cp *KAT* 104, 254 f.), and, at a much earlier period, in the Amarna tablets (e.g., 78, 12, *Arkata*; once [126, 22] *Arkat*; the *Arkintu* of Thotmes III. seems to be a collateral form).¹ The lofty *tell* commanding the remains of the ancient city was discovered by Shaw in 1722. At its S. foot flows the Nahr 'Arka in a deep rocky bed, towards the sea, two hours distant. To the E. of the *tell* is the village of 'Arka, about 22 m. N. of Tripolis. It was an important place in the Roman period, when, through being the birthplace of Alexander Severus, it was called Caesarea Libani. It was famous for the worship of Astarte. See *Smith's Dict. of Ant. and Arch.*, *Arka*; *Salm.* *GIJ* 1 498 n.

ARMAGEDDON, ἌΡΜΑΓΕΔΩΝ (ΑΡΜΑΓΕΔΩ-ΔΩΝ [TR.], Ἀρμαγεδών [WH.], Ἀρμαγεδών [L. Tr. 22]; see *Ann. Armen. Acad.*, *ibid.*)

1. How understood by author. ΕΡΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ, *vers. Memphis*, the name of the last great battle (see *Rev. 16*). Between the sixth vial and the seventh is inserted a vision (Rev. 16 13, 16) which has no connection with the context, being apparently the sequel of the vision of the three angels in Rev. 14 6-11. The three angels proclaim the coming judgment upon the world-power and the way to escape it; the three demoniacal spirits (from the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet) seek to counteract this by 'gathering the kings of the whole world for the war of the great day of God the Almighty.' The junction of forces is made at 'the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon.'

Two questions have to be asked; (1) What did the writer understand by Har-Magedon (if this is the correct reading)? and (2) What was the meaning of the term in the source, whether written or oral, from which he drew? It is in the highest degree probable that the writer himself interpreted the phrase, 'the mountains of Megiddo' (cp Ἀρμαγεδών = Mount Gerizim, Eupolemos *ap. Eus. PE* 9 17). Both from its natural advantages and from its history the *Plain* of Megiddo (*Zech.* 12 11) would have been the more obvious scene of such a great gathering; but the writer could plausibly justify the substitution of 'mountains' for 'plain' by the much-studied apocalyptic descriptions of Ez. 38 8 21 39 2 17, where the hordes of Gog are said to meet their end 'upon the mountains of Israel.' Megiddo itself is, of course, a hill-town, though close to the great Plain of which it commands the southern entrance: there is nothing incorrect, therefore, in the phrase 'the mountain-district of Megiddo.' Har-Magedon is no doubt half-Hebrew; but it would be strange if readers of Jewish Greek could not interpret it (cp terms like *Ναζαρέθ* in *Ϟ*). See *APOCALYPSE*, § 46.

If, however, we hold it to be probable that the small apocalypse (see Spitta, *Offenb.* 568) to which 16 16 belongs is a translation of a Hebrew original, and

2. Original meaning. certain, at any rate, that the writer built to a considerable extent on traditional

¹ Cp the ethnic *Irkanatai* on the month of Shalmaneser II. (281; *KAT* 179). See Hommel, *Gesch. Sem.*, Ed. Meyer 'Glossen z. d. Thontaf. von Et-Am,' *Aegyptica* (97), p. 69; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 247.

¹ This inclusion is in harmony with the transcendentalism of the later conception of the divine nature.

semi-mythic stories eschatologically interpreted, it becomes a question whether his interpretation of the name of the great battlefield as meaning 'mountains of Megiddo' is correct. The restoration of the original text offered by a writer in *ZATW* 7 170 [87], *הר מנין* ('will gather them unto his fruitful mountain'—*i.e.*, the mountain-land of Israel), does not give a definite locality, which seems to be required in this context. Nor are the attempted numerical explanations quoted by Spitta (*Offenb.* 402) more probable. Gunkel, therefore, thinks (*Schöpfung*, 266) that 'Harmagedon' must be a name of mythic origin, connected in some way with the fortunes of the dragon who is the lineal heir of the Babylonian dragon Tiamat, the personification of chaos and all evil (cp CREATION, § 1). On p. 389 of the same work Zimmern communicates a conjecture of Jensen that *μαγεδων* is identical with *μαγαδων* in the divine name *Τεμεμγαδων*, the husband of *Ερεσχιγυαλ* (= Bab. Ereškigal), the Babylonian goddess of the underworld. See *Rhein. Mus.* 49.49, where in a magic formula given by Kuhnert from Greek papyri we read, *θεοῖς χθονίοις Τεμεμγαδων καὶ κοίτην Περσεφώνη Έρεσχιγυαλ κ.τ.λ.* (1886 also HADAD-RIMMON). The same two (doubtless Babylonian) names occur on a lead tablet from Alexandria, *Rhein. Mus.* 18 563, where the former is given as *Τεμεμγαδων*. It would be natural that the spot where Tiamat was defeated (and was again to be defeated) by Marduk should be called by a name which included that of a god of the underworld.

T. K. C.

ARMENIA (אַרְמֵינָה), 2 K. 19.37 1s. 37.38† AV. RV ARARAT.

ARMLET (אַרְמֵלֶת), *εμπλοκιον* [BAFL], so RV for AV TABLET in Ex 35.26 (περικελευσθιον? [BAFL]), Nu. 31.50. It may be doubted, however, whether the word does not mean an ornament for the neck (so RVmg, NECKLACE)—perhaps a necklace consisting of a number of little spheres, cp Ar. *kumza*^m, a little ball. See ORNAMENTS.

ARMONI (אַרְמֹנִי), 'Palatium'?; *ερμωνοσι* [B], *נִיעַר* [A], *אַרְי* [L], a son of Saul sacrificed by David to the vengeance of the Gibeonites (2 S. 21.8†). See RIZPAH. Neither he nor Mephiboseth [I], the two sons of Rizpah, is mentioned elsewhere.

ARMOUR, ARMS (אַרְמִיּוֹת), 1 S. 17.54. See BREAST-PLATE, 1. HELMET, GLOVES, SHIELD; and cp WAR, and WEAPONS.

ARMOUR-BEARER (נֹשֵׂא בְרִיחַים), which happens to occur only with a suffix, *נֹשֵׂא בְרִיחַי*, Judg. 9.54, etc., or in the CONSTR. ST., *נֹשֵׂא בְרִיחַ יוֹאָב*, 2 S. 23.37 1 Ch. 11.39). Abimelech, Saul, Joab, all had armour-bearers; Goliath's squire is called a shield-bearer (1 S. 17.7). On the age of armour-bearers, cp WRS, *OT/C*² 431; Che. *Aids to Crit.* 77 n. 1s. 52 n. 1. *נֹשֵׂא בְרִיחַי* (EV 'Ye that bear the vessels of the Lord') is taken by most commentators (Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Cheyne formerly) to mean 'armour-bearers of Yahwē'; but this is improbable (see Di. *ad loc.*).

ARMOURY. In Neh. 3.19 *הַנְּשִׂימֹת*, 'weapons, arming,' (*ἄρμα*, ἡ *συνάπτουσα*), and in Jer. 50.25 *הַנְּשִׂימֹת*, 'treasure, store,' are probably contractions for *בֵּית הַנְּשִׂימֹת*, 'house of weapons,' and *בֵּית הַנְּשִׂימֹת*, 'house of treasure' respectively. In Cant. 4.4 'thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury' *לְהַנְּשִׂימֹת* is difficult. Vg. renders it *cum propugnaculis*, while G merely transliterates (*θαλαπιωθ* [BN], *ἀρμ.* [A]), and OS² 202, 84 has *θαλαπιωθ*—*ἐπαλῆξ* ἢ *ψῆλα*. The meaning 'armoury' has no philological basis (see Del. *ad loc.*), and yet it is the only meaning which suits the context. Cheyne (*Exp. Times*, June '98) supposes corruption of

the text and reads *לְשִׂמֵתִים* 'for the shields.' The neck of the Shulamite is compared to the tower of David adorned with small metal plates—*i.e.*, perhaps to the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' in which were suspended the shields and targets of gold. Fancifully the poet represents these shields as suspended on the outside (cp Ezek. 27.11). Budde and Siegfried agree in placing the 'tower' at Jerusalem.

ARMY (צְבָאָה, חֵיל, מִעֲרֵבָה, חֵיל). The main army of Israel, like that of all primitive nations, and, in the last

1. **General resort**, of all nations, consisted of the whole able-bodied adult male population. In Nu. 1.1-3 (P), twenty is fixed as the age at which a man became a soldier; but it is not probable that any such regulation was rigidly observed in practice. This general levy constituted the fighting force of Israel in the wilderness, at the time of the settlement and under the 'Judges,' and remained its chief military resource throughout its national history. Under the 'Judges,' the armies mentioned are, for the most part, the levy of the tribes or clans immediately concerned. On special occasions, however, such as the war against Sisera, and Saul's relief of Jabesh-gilead, all the fighting men of Israel were summoned, and their obedience to the summons was represented as a paramount religious duty.

The armies obtained from such levies varied greatly in number and efficiency; a clan, or even a tribe, whose immediate interests were threatened, would readily take the field in its full strength. An appeal for a general levy of Israel would scarcely ever be more than partially responded to; Deborah (Judg. 5) complains of the absence of Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher; the national leaders sought to prevent such derelictions from duty by the most solemn appeals to religious sanctions—Deborah curses Meroz (Judg. 5.23), and Saul, when a spirit (or impulse) from God came upon him, threatened to cut in pieces the oxen of all recreants (1 S. 11.6).

When armies were required these national or tribal levies were called together by messenger (*בְּרִי הַמְּבִיאִים* Judg. 1 S. 11.7), sound of trumpet (*שֹׁפָר* Judg. 6.34), or erection of standard, or other signal (*נֶזֶן* Jer. 46, see ENSIGN); when the emergency was over they dispersed to their homes. They were well suited to carry on or repel border forays, but could not maintain prolonged warfare, especially at any distance from their own territory, or even oppose adequate resistance to any formidable invasion. These levies were composed entirely of infantry (*בְּרִי* 1 S. 4.10 15.4); the Israelite territory, in early times, was chiefly hill-country, where cavalry force could neither be formed nor used. The first Israelite who is mentioned as possessing horses is Absalom, 2 S. 15.1 (cp HORSE, § 3).

Such armies were very loosely organised. As Wellhausen (*HI* 436 [85]) points out, 'what there was of

2. **Command**, hands of the elders and heads of houses; in time of war they commanded each his own household force.' So Abraham leads the expedition to rescue Lot (Gen. 14), and Jair conquers the 'tent villages of Jair' (Nu. 32.41). Similarly, P describes the 'princes' of the tribes as also their captains in war (Nu. 1. f.). Deborah (Judg. 5.14 f.) speaks of the princes and leaders of Issachar and other tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 21). In practice, however, the hereditary heads of tribes and clans were often set aside on account of the ability and self-assertion of other leaders. Indeed, these hereditary heads of houses play a very small part in the actual history, possibly because history emphasises what is exceptional. The 'judges,' whose main function was to head the Israelite armies in special emergencies, were men called by a kind of divine inspiration. Gideon and Saul are not the heads of their tribes or even clans:

Gideon's family was 'poor in Manasseh and he was the least in his father's house' (Judg 6:15), and Saul's family is described in almost identical terms (1 S. 9:21). In the absence of any other widely recognised authority, the priests of the great sanctuaries, and especially of the ark, sometimes assumed the command of armies, when called by ambition or the sense of duty (DEBORAH [7:2], the house of ELI [7:1], SAMUEL [7:2]). When the tribes were partly merged in the kingdoms, and the clans and families were in a measure superseded by the towns and village communities, the levy would naturally follow the new order (Amos 5:3). Probably under the kings the levies did not always assemble by clans, but men were collected by the royal officials from the various districts (cp GOVERNMENT, § 20). In any case, the organisation of the levies was subordinated to that of the standing army, and they were divided into 'thousands,' 'hundreds,' 'fifties,' and 'tens,' institutions which are said by an ancient tradition, Ex. 18:25 (JE), to have originated with Moses.

A second important element of the military strength of Israel, as of all nations at a similar stage of development, lay in the personal following of men who made war their occupation.

3. Bands. These 'bands' (בָּנָיִם, also used of a division of an army) may be roughly likened to the vassals of feudal chiefs, the 'free companies' of the middle ages, and even to the banditti in unsettled districts. As in the case of England and Scotland, the 'bands' flourished specially on the frontiers; the territory of Israel had a frontier very long in proportion to its area. Such 'bands' could take the field much sooner than a clan-levy, and would be better disciplined and much more expert in warfare. More than once they rendered signal service to the nation. The 'vain fellows' whom that captain of banditti, Jephthah, gathered round him (בָּנָיִם רֵיקִים, Judg. 11:3) were the kernel of the army which defeated Ammon, and David's following was one chief instrument in the restoration of Israel after Gilboa. 1 S. 22:30 gives us a detailed account of the formation, character, and career of such a body (see DAVID, § 4). It was a self-constituted frontier-guard, living on the plunder of the neighbouring tribes and by levying blackmail on their fellow-countrymen, whom they claimed to protect. The warlike services rendered by the 'bands' were accompanied by serious drawbacks. They added to the danger of civil war; they embittered the relations with neighbouring tribes; and they were capable, like David, of taking service with foreigners even against their own countrymen. We do not hear of them after David's time; they would scarcely be tolerated by powerful kings, but were sure to reappear in unsettled times.

As the main function of a king was that of permanent commander-in-chief, a monarchy implied some sort of

4. Army. standing army and permanent military organisation. In time of peace the king kept a bodyguard as the main support of his authority, and this bodyguard formed the nucleus of the army in war (cp GOVERNMENT, § 18). We find Saul 'choosing' 3000 men (1 S. 13:2) and sending the rest of the people to their tents. He did not keep these chosen men as a permanent army, for in 1 S. 24:2 he chooses another 3000 when he wishes to pursue David. Probably he did his best throughout his reign to keep by him a picked force, which was virtually a standing army. He had a permanent commander-in-chief, Abner (אֲבִנֵר 1 S. 14:50), and his personal following must have included other permanent military officers (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21). David's band of followers during his exile served as the kernel of a much more complete and extended military organisation. The office of commander-in-chief remained a permanent institution, and the captains of the host (הַצֵּה 2 S. 24:4) also appear as permanent officers. A bodyguard, practically a

continuation of David's companions in exile, was formed, and its captain is mentioned as one of the great officers of state (2 S. 8:18 בְּרִיבְרִיבִים, בְּרִיבְרִיבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, בְּרִיבְרִיבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ). Now, however, the bodyguard had come to consist of foreign mercenaries, 'Cherethites and Pelethites,' probably Philistines (see CHERETHITES, CAPHTOR). In 2 S. 15:18 we find 600 Philistines from Gath in David's army; 6's μαχηται, however (in a doublet), suggests a reading *gibborim*, or 'mighty men,' for *gittim*, or 'Gittites.' If the latter is the correct reading, the Gittites may have been either part of the bodyguard, or else an independent band of mercenaries (see DAVID, § 11(4)). The Cherethites and Pelethites are not mentioned after the death of David; but the bodyguard of foreign mercenaries must have remained a permanent institution. 1 K. 14:27 speaks of the captains of the guard, literally 'runners' (רָצִים, רָצִים), that kept the palace gates (cp 2 K. 10:25). 2 K. 11:4 speaks of 'the centurions of the Carites and of the guards' (הַבְּרִיבְרִיבִים וְהַבְּרִיבְרִיבִים), where the Carites are possibly identical with the Cherethites. If the reading in 2 S. 23:8 is correct, and if רֵאשֵׁי הַבְּרִיבְרִיבִים (AV 'chief among the captains'; RV 'chief of the captains') is rightly explained as referring to the third occupant of a chariot (Πρωστάρχης [BAL], Ex. 14:15, etc.), it may indicate the use of chariots by David, though it is probably used in its later sense of 'captain' (see CHARIOT, § 10).

With the very doubtful exception of these 'shalshim,' we have no reference to Israelite chariots and cavalry before the end of David's reign.

According to EV of 2 S. 8:4, he reserved horses for a hundred chariots out of the spoil taken from Hadoram ben Bishai, king of Zobah; BAL translates 'reserved for himself a hundred chariots.' Reuss and Kautsch translate 'a hundred chariot horses.' No reference is made to the use of these chariots or horses in war; moreover, the passage probably belongs to the last editor of Samuel.

Solomon, however, established a force of 1400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen (1 K. 10:26), and accordingly we find mentioned among his officers 'captains of his chariots and of his horsemen' (בְּרִיבְרִיבֵי הַבָּיִת וְבְרִיבְרִיבֵי הַסּוּסִים, 1 K. 9:22). Occasional references occur in the later history to Israelite chariots and horsemen (2 K. 8:21, 13:7). Probably the armies of Israel and Judah were modelled on the army of Solomon till the end of these monarchies; but their main reliance would be on the infantry. Towards the close of the Jewish monarchy a quasi-religious feeling against the use of chariots and cavalry seems to have arisen, and Dt. 17:16 forbids the king to multiply horses (cp. Dt. 20:1 Is. 31:1). The references to the houghing of horses by Joshua (Josh. 11:6) and David (2 S. 8:4) are probably due to a Deuteronomic redactor.

Nothing is said about paying soldiers. In earlier times the Israelites who formed the national levy would find their own weapons and provisions, the latter being often obtained from the enemy by plunder or from friends by gift or exaction. Probably throughout the history the general levy was mostly provided for in this way; though, as the royal government became more powerful and more completely organised, it may have done something towards feeding and arming these levies (see GOVERNMENT, § 20).

The bodyguard and the rest of the standing army, including the charioteers and cavalry, stood on a different footing. They were maintained by the government (1 K. 4:7), chariot cities being assigned as a provision for the chariots and cavalry. They were probably paid; certainly the foreigners in the bodyguard did not serve for nothing. The plunder taken from enemies would be an important part of the remuneration of the soldiers, and a principle of division between the actual combatants and the reserve is laid down in 1 S. 30:24. The rules as to exemption from military service in

Dt. 20 are probably an ideal based on traditional public opinion.

No reliance can be placed on the numbers which are given for Israelite armies. At the same time, the two kingdoms seem to have been populous in prosperous times, and a general levy of able-bodied adults may sometimes have attained very large dimensions.

Under powerful kings the Israelite armies were strengthened by the auxiliary forces of subject allies—e.g., Edom (2 K. 3). Doubtless such assistance was sometimes purchased, after the manner of the narrative in 2 Ch. 25.

The details as to the Levites in the account of the deposition of Athaliah in 2 Ch. 23 (cp 2 K. 11) were probably suggested by the institutions of the Chronicler's own time (*circa* 300 B.C.).

6. Levitical guard. These details seem to show that the Levitical guard of the Temple was then in existence. As this guard is not provided for in the Priestly Code, it was probably formed after the time of Ezra. Possibly the *προσδράμης τοῦ ἱεροῦ* [V.] in 2 Macc. 3.4 may have been the captain of this guard. If so, however, it is difficult to suppose that the present text is correct in ascribing him to the tribe of Benjamin (see, however, BENJAMIN, § 7 end). The captain of this guard, under the title of *στρατηγός*, is mentioned by Josephus in his account of the time of Claudius Caesar (*Ant.* xx. 62), and of the destruction of the Temple (*BJ* vi. 53), and in *1 Kk.* 22.4 and *Acts* 4.1.5. Probably the officers, *ὑπηρέται*, who assisted in the arrest of Jesus (*Jn.* 18.3, cp 7.32.45) belonged to this body.

In the post-exilic period, under the suzerainty of the Persians, and of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, the Jews could scarcely be said to have an army. The Book of Nehemiah clearly shows that they had to trust to their own energy and courage for protection against hostile neighbours; but they fought as a city militia rather than as a peasant levy.

The revolt of the Maccabees made Judæa a military power. The long wars not only habituated the bulk of the people to arms, but also produced a standing army, which soon included many foreign mercenaries. Jewish soldiers also received pay (1 Macc. 14.32), probably, however, only picked bands that formed the standing army and ranked with the other mercenaries. Josephus (*BJ* i. 25) tells us that Hyrcanus I. (135-107 B.C.) was the first Jew who maintained foreign mercenaries (*ἑτεροπορεῖν*). Alexander Jannæus (106-79 B.C.) employed Pisdian and Cilician mercenaries, and at one time was at the head of a mercenary army of 1000 horse and 8000 foot, in addition to 10,000 Jews. These mercenaries are styled 'Greeks' (*BJ* i. 435, cp 54). As the Jews had long been subjects of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, their armies would be equipped and disciplined after the Greek fashion.

When the East fell under the supremacy of Rome, the Herods, as clients of Rome, formed their armies on the Roman model. Indeed, Herod the

8. Roman Period. Great was at times in command of Roman forces, and Jewish and mercenary 'cohorts' (*στραταί*) are spoken of as fighting side by side with the Romans (*BJ* i. 156.162). Herod's army consisted largely of mercenaries drawn chiefly from the Teutonic subjects and neighbours of the empire—Thracians, Germans, and Gauls (*BJ* i. 339).

The insurgent armies in the Jewish war were very heterogeneous. The national government appointed military commanders for the various districts, among whom was Josephus. He tells us that he organised an army of 100,000 on the Roman model, including 4500 mercenaries, a bodyguard of 600, but only 250 horsemen; a typical Hebrew army in its constitution. The garrison of Jerusalem is said to have consisted of 23,400 men, including Idumæans and bands of Zealots. They seem to have possessed some organisation and dis-

cipline, but were divided into adverse factions (*BJ* v. 61).

The armies of the other states of Syria did not differ essentially from those of Israel. From the first, however, they made use of chariots and cavalry,

9. Foreign armies. and throughout the history, except during the reign of Solomon, the Syrians were superior to the Israelites in these arms (*Josh.* 11.4.17.10 *Judg.* 1.10.47.1 S. 135.2 S. 84.1 K. 20.25.22.31, etc.). On the other hand, the great military empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon possessed a much more extensive and effective military organisation. They had corps of chariots, light-armed and heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, together with archers and slingers and engineers. Their armies included large forces of mercenaries and tributaries. For military purposes these great empires stood to the Syrian kingdoms in about the same relation as that of a first-class European power to the smaller Asiatic states.

It is not necessary to notice the Persian army, and of the armies of the Ptolemies and Seleucides we need say only that they were modelled on the Macedonian armies of Philip and Alexander, with some modifications due to Oriental influences. For example, they employed elephants (1 Macc. 1.17, etc.).

The Roman army is incidentally alluded to in the NT. The legion (*Mt.* 26.53 *Mk.* 5.9.15 *Lk.* 8.30) varied

10. Roman army. considerably at different times in numbers and in constitution; during the early empire it was a composite force, consisting of about 6000 legionary infantry, together with cavalry, light-armed auxiliaries, and military engines. The legionary infantry, or legion proper, were divided into ten cohorts. The 'band' (*στραία*) which took Jesus (*Mt.* 27.27 *Mk.* 15.16 *Jn.* 18.312) was probably a cohort (so RV¹⁸⁸⁶) forming the Roman garrison in Jerusalem. The same cohort is mentioned in *Acts* 21.31. In *Acts* 10.1 we read of the Italian band, and in 27.1 of the Augustan 'band.' The Italian 'band' may have been an independent cohort of Italian volunteers (*Schür.* *GJ* 1.386). The 'Augustan band' (*στραία Σεβαστη*) may have been part of the Sebasteus—i.e., Samaritan—auxiliaries, who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 87), formed a large part of the Roman garrison of Palestine. The name might be, and doubtless was, understood as 'Augustan' as well as 'Sebasteus' (the title 'Augustan' was borne by some of the Roman legions). See further, CORNELIUS, § 1. The officers of the legion were the tribunes and centurions. Six tribunes were attached to a legion and were associated in command. We frequently find a tribune holding independent command of a cohort or larger force: the 'chief captain' (*Jn.* 18.12 *Acts* 21-25), *χιλιάρχος*, commanding the cohort at Jerusalem was a tribune. Each cohort contained ten centuries or bodies nominally consisting of a hundred men; these were commanded by centurions. As the independent cohorts were organised on the model of the legions, it is probable that the cohorts, tribunes, and centurions of the NT belonged to the auxiliary forces. Commens says of the Roman garrison in Palestine that it consisted, as elsewhere in provinces of the second rank, of a moderate number of cavalry and infantry divisions, in this case of Samaritans and Syrian Greeks—subsequently one ala and five cohorts or about 3000 men. The province, therefore, did not receive a legionary garrison. A small force under a Roman commandant occupied the citadel at Jerusalem. During the time of the Passover this was reinforced by stationing a stronger division of Roman soldiers in one of the temple buildings (*Prov. Rom. Emp.*, ET, 2.186).

W. H. B.

ARNA (*ARNA*) b. Ozias, in the genealogy of Ezra (4 *Esd.* 1.2), apparently = ZERUBBATH in *Ezra* 7.4.

ARNAN (אָרְנָן; אֲרָנָא [BA], אֲרָנֹן [L]). According to MT of 1 Ch. 3.21, the 'sons of Arnan' occur in the

prevents us from reading Ur-Casdim (written אר כשדר) in Gen. 19 as between Asshur and Lud.

8. The name given in Judith i. to the king of Media who was formerly identified with Deioceus the founder of Eclatana, or with Phraortes his son. The name, however, has been borrowed to give an air of antiquity to the narrative, and, as in the cases of Holofernes, and others in this book, stands for some more modern personage, probably Mithradates. See JUDITH, ii.

T. K. C.

ARROW, see WEAPONS, DIVINATION, § 211.

ARROW-SNAKE in Gen. 49:17 AV^{ms}: אֲרָוֹת; 'cerastes'. ΕΡΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΣ [C¹BAD¹]. SERPENT, § 1, no. 101, and in Is. 31:4 RV אֲרָוֹת (ΕΙΧΙΝΟΣ [C¹MM²]). AV GREAT OWL (q.v., 2); see SERPENT, § 1, no. 8.

ARSACES (ΑΡΣΑΚΗΣ [AN. -σac. (N once) V]), 'king of Persia and Media, by whom Demetrius Nicator (DEMETRIUS [2]) was defeated and made a prisoner (1 Macc. 11:7. 15. 22). See PERSIA.

ARSARETH. RV ARZARETH (so Lat. *arzareth*, also ארזרת, ארזרת; AV^{ms}: ARARATH—i.e. ארררר ארררר [cp Dt. 29:27 [28] Jer. 22:26])—'the other land,'¹ the region, a journey of one year and a half beyond the Euphrates, where the exiled tribes were supposed to be settled (4 Esd. 13:45; cp v. 49). This belief in the 'Lost Tribes' is found already in Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 52).

ARSIPHURITH (αρσιφουριθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:16, RV; see JORAM.

ARTAXERXES ארתחששתא, Ezra 4:7, or ארתחששתא, Ezra 4:7a, or ארתחששתא, Ezra 4:7b, or ארתחששתא, Neh. 2:1. 5:14. 13:6. Baez's text: ΑΡΘΑΘΑ [B]; ΑΡΘΑΧΑΘΑ [A]; ΑΡ-ΑΡΑΘΑΘΑ [N¹]; ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N²]; ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N³]; ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N⁴]. The following variants occur:—

Ezra 4:7a¹: ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [B], ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [A], 11 (ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [B], ΑΑ ΘΑ [A]), 6:14 (ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [B]), 7:1 (ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [B]), 7:11 (ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [B]), 12 (ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [BA]), 21 (ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [B]), 21 (ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [B]), Neh. 2:1 (ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [B], ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N¹]), ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N²], ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N³], 5:14 (ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [B], ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N]), ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ [N], 13:6 (ΑΡΑΡΑΘΑ [BN]).

Artaxerxes is the name given to the king of Persia, who, we are told (Neh. 2:1. 5:14. 13:6), gave permission to Nehemiah his cupbearer to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and to this end made him governor (*peha*; cp Assy. *bel-pahiti*, town governor, and *pihātu*, province, satrapy). The same name is borne by the king who permitted Ezra and his band to return to Palestine, and, along with his ministers and princes, lavished tokens of favour on the returning exiles (Ezra 7). The statement in Ezra 4:7-23 that earlier efforts of the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem ceased at this king's command is unhistorical (see EZRA, ii. § 10), and the account in Ezra 7:11-26 of the favour shown by him to the temple and its ministers is probably exaggerated (see EZRA, i. § 2). It is certainly incorrect to name him along with Cyrus and Darius as having promoted the building of the temple (Ezra 6:14), for this had already been completed in the reign of Darius.

The name, which is certainly identical with the Persian *Artakshatra* ('the true, or legitimate, kingdom,' an expression taken from the teaching of the Avesta; Assy. *Artakitsu*, Susian *Artakhsata*),—forms more closely approximating the Hebrew, was pronounced by the Greeks Artaxerxes (so in 1 Esd. B; but ΑΡΑΧΑΘΑ ΑΡΒΑ sometimes). The king intended is beyond doubt one or another of the three Persian rulers who bore that name. The attempts to identify him with Cambyses, or with Pseudo-Smerdis, or with Xerxes, on the false assumption that Artakshatra was not a name but a title, were abandoned long ago. The only question is, Which of the three?

The third in the list, Artaxerxes Ochus, is excluded, both by chronology and by the known character of that energetic despot and zealot for the Mazdaean

creed, which alike prohibit the supposition that he can have been the benevolent patron of Nehemiah and Ezra. Which of the remaining two is meant is still disputed among scholars.

As in Ezra 4:6, the name follows immediately on that of Ahasuerus, and no more precise designation is added, it is natural enough to think of Artaxerxes I. If, however, as seems probable (see EZRA, ii. § 10), Ezra did not come to Palestine till after Nehemiah, and if it be true, as we read in Ezra 7:7, that the date of Ezra's arrival was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, while the established date of Nehemiah's arrival is the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, then Ezra's expedition must have been under Artaxerxes Mnemon, and so more than half a century after Nehemiah's mission. This, however, is not at all probable, and it seems preferable to assume that the date assigned to Ezra's arrival (in the seventh year of Artaxerxes) is an invention that had been suggested by the transposition of the two expeditions.

We have thus good reason for assuming, with Kuenen, Rysel, Ryle, and others, that by Artaxerxes we ought throughout to understand Artaxerxes I., Longimanus, a surname which is doubtless to be taken in the same sense as the expression in the inscription of Darius (Naḫš i Rustem, inscr. a, § 4, L. 43 f.) to the effect that the spear of the Persian reaches far. He is described as having been a good-hearted but weak sovereign, ruled by his wives and favourites,—an account which harmonises with what we learn from Nehemiah.

C. P. T.—W. H. K.

ARTEMAS (ΑΡΤΕΜΑΣ [Ti. WH]), most probably a contraction from ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ; see Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* 8:9 (§ 21), and cp APOLLOS, § i n., a companion or messenger of Paul, mentioned once in the Pastoral Epistles (Tit. 3:12: 'When I shall send Artemas unto thee . . . give diligence to come unto me').

In the lists of the 'seventy disciples' which we owe to Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus we appear as bishop of Lystra.

ARTEMIS (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ [Ti. WH]), Acts 19:24. 27. 34 f. RV^{ms}; EV DIANA.

ARTILLERY (אֲרִיָּה), 1 S. 20:40 AV; AV^{ms}: 'instruments,' RV WEAPONS (q.v.).

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES. See TRADE AND COMMERCE, and HANDICRAFTS.

ARUBOTH (אֲרֻבוֹת)—i.e. as in RV *Arubboth*; ΕΝ ΑΡΑΒΩΘ [A]. . . . ΒΗΡ ΒΗΘ . . . [L]. . . . Θ. ΒΗΡ . . . [B]), 1 K. 4:10 f., the seat of the third of Solomon's twelve prefects (see BEN-HESED). The third is one of the districts omitted by Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 23, ed Niese). See BEN-HESED. Cp Schick, 'Wady 'Arubb, the Aruboth of Scripture,' *PEF Qu. St.* Oct. 1898, pp. 238 ff.

ARUMAH אֲרֻמָּה, Kr. אֲרֻמָּה, with prep. ב; ΑΡΜΑ [B], ΑΡΙΜΑ [A], and OS⁹ 225, 2, ΕΡΜΑ [V¹], the place where Abimelech dwelt before his capture of Shechem—obviously not very far from that town (Judg. 9:41). Perhaps it is represented by the modern *el-'Ormah*, 6 m. SSE. from Shechem, where there are ruins still (Van de Velde, *Reisen*, 2:268). Otherwise the place is quite unknown.

For אֲרֻמָּה (v. 31: אֲרֻמָּה [B]) אֲרֻמָּה [A], AV 'privily,' RV 'craftily,' RV^{ms}: 'in Tormah' (so Jos. Kimhi, who took it to be the name of a town), it is best to read אֲרֻמָּה, 'in Arumah.' Eus. wrongly identifies it with *ρωμά* near Diopolis = Lydda (cp RUMAH).

ARVAD (אֲרָוֹד [Bā.]), אֲרָוֹד [Gi.]), whence the gentilic *Arvadite* (אֲרָוִדִי), Gen. 10:18 = 1 Ch. 1:10 f. (so C¹BAD¹ everywhere ΑΡΑΔΙΟΣ, but ΑΡΑΒΑΔΕΙ 1 Ch. 1:16 [L]; Egypt. *'Aravu[us]*, etc.; Assy. usually *Arm(u)ada*; ΑΡΑΔΙΟΣ, for ΑΡΑΔΙΟΣ, 1 Macc. 15:23; Targ. Jer. אֲרָוִדִי—i.e. of Antaradus;—Jos. *Ant.* i. 62 ΑΡΑΔΙΟΣ, etc.; mod. *Ruvād*, etc.), a town referred to by Ezekiel (27:8) in his elegy on Tyre as one of some thirty cities and countries that had contributed to its

¹ Less probably אֲרֻמָּה, land of Arat—i.e., Ararat (Volkmar).

heroes in 1 Ch. 27 (v. 7), where we find Asahel commander of a division of David's army. The incompatibility of this statement with his death before David became king of Israel was obvious. The present text, accordingly, adds 'and Zebudiah his son after him,' for which אֲשָׁאֵל has 'son καὶ ἰδὲ ἀδελφοί,' to which אֲשָׁאֵל adds ὁπίσσω αὐτοῦ.

2. An itinerating Levitical teacher temp. Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 178 (אֲשָׁאֵל [BA], אֲשָׁאֵל [B]).

3. An overseer of chambers in the temple temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:1).

4. 'Father' or ancestor of JONATHAN [13], temp. Ezra; Ezra 10:1 (אֲשָׁאֵל [B], אֲשָׁאֵל [B], אֲשָׁאֵל [B] as in 1) = 1 Esd. 9:14, AZARIL (אֲשָׁאֵל [A]).

ASAHI AH (אֲשָׁאֵל), 2 K. 22:12-14, RV ASAIAH, 2.

ASAIAH (אֲשָׁאֵל), § 31, 'Yahwê hath made'; אַצְאִיא [BAL].

1. One of the Simeonite chieftains who dispossessed the Manassites (see RV), 1 Ch. 4:31-41 (Azracl [B]).

2. 'King's servant': Azracl, 2 K. 22:12, AV ASAMEIAH (אֲשָׁאֵל [A], אֲשָׁאֵל [B], אֲשָׁאֵל [B] אֲשָׁאֵל [B] אֲשָׁאֵל [B]) = 2 Ch. 34:20 (אֲשָׁאֵל [B], אֲשָׁאֵל [B]).

3. A Manassite family, 1 Ch. 6:30 [13] (Azraha [B]), 159 (Azracl [B], אֲשָׁאֵל [A]), 11 (אֲשָׁאֵל [A]).

4. A Simeonite family, 1 Ch. 15 (Azra [B]), probably same as 3), but cp MAASEIAH, II. 16 (Neh. 11).

ASANA (אֲשָׁאֵל [B]), 1 Esd. 5:31 = Ezra 2:59, ASNAH.

ASAPH (אֲשָׁאֵל) an abbreviated name, § 50, אַצְאִיפ [BAL].

1. The father of Joah, the recorder, 2 K. 18:18 (אֲשָׁאֵל [BA], אֲשָׁאֵל [L]), 37 (אֲשָׁאֵל [B]) = Is. 36:322; but אֲשָׁאֵל suggests the reading 'Shaphan' or 'Shaphat.'

2. The keeper of the royal 'paradise' or forest (probably in Palestine), Neh. 2:2 (אֲשָׁאֵל [L], אֲשָׁאֵל [Jos.]).

3. The eponym of the Asaphite guild of singers, Ezra 2:41 315, Neh. 7:44 11:17 (only אֲשָׁאֵל in אֲשָׁאֵל [BA]) 1 Ch. 25:1 f., and elsewhere, who is represented by the Chronicler as a seer (2 Ch. 29:30) and as a contemporary of David and Solomon, and chief of the singers of his time, Neh. 12:46 1 Ch. 15:17 (אֲשָׁאֵל [N]) 16:5 (אֲשָׁאֵל [N]) 2 Ch. 5:12, etc.² On the later equation of Asaph with the Ar. Lokman and Gk. Aesop, cp *Story of Ahiqar*, lxxvii. f. Complicated as the history of these guilds is, we are able to see from Ezra 2:41 that at one time the terms 'b'ne Asaph' and 'singers' were identical, and that the singers were kept distinct from the Levites. The guilds of the b'ne Asaph and b'ne Korah were the two hereditary choirs that superintended the musical services of the temple. They do not seem to have been very prominent before the Exile. More important, however, was the triple division. This comprised the three great names of Asaph, Heman, and Ethan (or Jeduthun), which were reckoned to the three Levitical houses of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (1 Ch. 6; see PSALMS). A still older attempt to incorporate the name among the Levites may, according to WRS, *OT/C* (2) 204, n. 1, be seen perhaps in the occurrence of the name ABIASAPH (q.v.), the eponym of the Asaphite guild, as a Korahite. Of the threefold division of singers a clear example may be seen in Neh. 12:24 where Hashabiah, Sherabiah, and Jeshua, the chiefs of the Levites, are appointed to praise. Similarly, in Neh. 11:17 three singers are mentioned—Mattaniah, Abda, and Bakkukiah. Mattaniah and Abda are descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun. 'Bakkukiah' we should correct to 'Bukkiyah,' a son of Heman. Thus, each of the three great guilds finds its representative. See ETHAN, 2, HEMAN, JEDUTHUN.

The name Asaph occurs in the titles of certain Psalms (see PSALMS).

4. The best supported reading in Mt. 17 (אֲשָׁאֵל [Ti. WH]), cp RV^{mg}; on this reading see ASA, footnote.

1 In 2 Ch. 34:21 אֲשָׁאֵל has אֲשָׁאֵל for אֲשָׁאֵל.
2 In 1 Ch. 25:1 אֲשָׁאֵל reads אֲשָׁאֵל, which corresponds very nearly to 1 Ch. 9:10 (אֲשָׁאֵל [A]). In 2 Ch. 34:13 אֲשָׁאֵל reads אֲשָׁאֵל.

where TR and EV have Asa. See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 b.

ASARA (אַצְאָרָא [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:31 RV; AV AZARA.

ASARAMEL, a name occurring in the inscription set up in honour of Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 14:28). The writing begins as follows:—'On the 18th day of Elul in the 172nd year, this is the third year of Simon, the high priest *en asarameel* (so אֲשָׁאֵל, whence AV SARAMEL, *en asarameel* [NV], *asarameel* [Vg.]) in a great congregation'—etc. It has long been recognised that this expression is a transliteration of some Hebrew word which stood in the original, as is the case with the difficult *sarbeth sabañai el* in the title of this book (see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 1). By some it is taken to represent a place—e.g., it might be a corruption of Jerusalem (Castellio)—or to represent the Heb. אֲשָׁאֵל אֲשָׁאֵל, 'the court of the people of God'—i.e., the great court of the temple (Keil); cp Ev. *Geseh* (1432)—or אֲשָׁאֵל אֲשָׁאֵל, the court of Millo (Grotius), or אֲשָׁאֵל אֲשָׁאֵל, 'the gate of the people of God.' It is better, however, to see in this expression an honorific title. From 1 Macc. 13:42 we see that contracts were dated from the first year of Simon 'the great high priest, and captain and leader of the Jews' (cp the titles given him in 14:47 and 15:1), and it seems natural that in an inscription written in honour of Simon we should find more than the simple title 'high priest.' (Cp the Pesh. אֲשָׁאֵל אֲשָׁאֵל, 'leader [or "great one"] in Israel'.) Hence Asarameel is taken by many (Wernsdorf, Scholz, Grimm, Zöckler, etc.) to represent אֲשָׁאֵל אֲשָׁאֵל, 'prince of the people of God.' The great difficulty would then lie in the presence of the preposition *en*. This, however, may have been inserted by a copyist who supposed that the word was the name of a place not of a person.¹ Possibly *en* is an integral part of the word, and we should read אֲשָׁאֵל אֲשָׁאֵל, 'the sprout (cp Is. 11:1) of the people of God,' or, better, אֲשָׁאֵל אֲשָׁאֵל, 'protector of the people of God' (cp v. 47b).

ASAREEL, or, better, RV Asarel (אֲשָׁאֵל), § 67; cp אֲשָׁאֵל, and see AHAB, § 4, n. 5; אֲשָׁאֵל [B], cc. [A] אֲשָׁאֵל [L] which adds καὶ אֲשָׁאֵל, 'son' of (the unknown) Jehalehel (1 Ch. 4:16) and 'brother' of ZIPH (q.v., 2), Ziphah and Tiria.

ASARELAH (אֲשָׁאֵל [Bä. Ginsb.]), § 73; cp אֲשָׁאֵל; אֲשָׁאֵל [B], אֲשָׁאֵל [A], אֲשָׁאֵל [L], a 'son of Asaph' 1 Ch. 25:2; called Jesarelah, EV JESHARELAH (אֲשָׁאֵל; אֲשָׁאֵל [B], אֲשָׁאֵל [A]) in v. 14.

ASBACAPHATH (אַצְבָּאָפָּאֶת [B]; in Pesh. the name is אֲשָׁאֵל). 1 Esd. 5:69 RV^{mg}, AV 11:61 (1) Asbazareth, RV Asbasareth (אַצְבָּאָפָּאֶת [A]), the name answering in 1 Esd. 5:69 אֲשָׁאֵל to the Esarhadon of || Ezra 4:2 (which is reproduced by אֲשָׁאֵל, אֲשָׁאֵל). The right reading is אֲשָׁאֵל, which represents אֲשָׁאֵל. This is evidently an alternative to the reading אֲשָׁאֵל of Ezra 4:10, and it suggests that the writer of the gloss in Ezra 4:9 f. (see 'Ezra' in *SBOT*) found, not אֲשָׁאֵל, but אֲשָׁאֵל, in his text of Ezra 4:2. So Marq. (*Pund.* 59); but, in connection with the difficult theory that the name originally given in Ezra 4:2 was אֲשָׁאֵל, Sargon; see ASNAPPER.

ASCALON (אַצְכָּאֶלֹּן), 1 Macc. 10:86, etc., RV ASHKELON (q.v.).

ASCENT OF THE CORNER (עֲלִית הַקֶּנֶת; אֲנָא

1 The prefixed *en* is explained by Schürer (*CVI* 1 197, n. 17) as a corruption of *ayen* (אֵינִי), which corresponds to the Gr. στρατηγός. Renan's suggestion (*Hist. d'Isra.* ix. cap. 1 *ad fin.*) that *en asarameel* is a corruption of some *wisah*, may be mentioned in his view the expression is similar to those which Arabian authors often add to the names of persons.

MECON THC KAMTHIC [B]; ANABACEOC THC K. [NA]; THC Δ. Τ. ΓΩΝΙΑC [L] Neh. 3:1 RV. See JERUSALEM.

ASEAS (ΑCΑΙΑC [BA]). 1 Esd. 9:32 = Ezra 10:31. ISSIAH, 5.

ASEEBEBIA, RV **Aseebias** (ΑCΕΒΗΒΙΑC [BA]). 1 Esd. 8:47 = Ezra 8:18, SIEREBIAH, *q.v.*

ASEBIA (ΑCΕΒΙΑΝ [A]). 1 Esd. 8:47 AV. RV **Asebias** = Ezra 8:19, HĀSHĀBIAH, 7.

ASENATH (ΑΣΗΝΑΘ; ΑCΕΝΝΕΘ [ADE], -ΕΝΕ. [E]). ACCENEΘ [L], daughter of Potipherah, priest of On; wife of Joseph (Gen. 41:45-50, 46-50). A genuine Egyptian name. See JOSEPH I, § 4; and in the apocryphal 'Life of Aseneth,' APOCRYPHA, § 12.

ASER, RV ASHER (ΑCΗΡ [BA]), Tob. 1:2. See HAZOR, 1.

ASEREB, RV SERAR (CΕΡΑΡ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:32 = Ezra 2:53, SISERA, 2.

ASH (ἄσ. ΠΙΤΥC), better RV **Fire-Tree**, seems to be named (Is. 44:14) as a tree used by makers of idols. If *ash* is genuine (see below) we may reasonably hold it to be the Assyrian *irin*—cedar or fir.

'Ash' is supported by the versions (scelus, pinus) and by the Rabbis (ref. in Ges. *Theo.*); Tristram's suggestion, *Pinus halepensis*, Mill. *bot. Alpina* Pinus (VAB, 13), is attractive. That Heb. *ash* = Lat. *pinus* is improbable; פֶּן cannot be *Fraxinus ornus*, L., the Manna Ash, a native of S. Europe, not found further E. than W. Asia Minor. Celsius (*Historical*, 185 ff.) held פֶּן to be the *arvis* of Abulfadl, and the 'thorny tree' that he meant it is not difficult to make out. *Telios-argentea* (Celsius) and *chrysea* (Celsius) like *Sorbus Aucuparia* is called *ash*, *ash* (*chrysea*, *ash* in the flora of Egypt, 200), and that the little tree grows in Arabia, though not yet proved, is by no means improbable. *Rhus typhina*, which also might be thought of, resembles *Sorbus aucuparia* more closely.

The reading, however, is uncertain. It occurs only in this passage, and a Mass. note calls attention to the 'small *p*,' which seems to point to a reading פֶּן 'cedar.' Perhaps a better emendation would be פֶּן ('God').

So Klo, and Che. (SBOT, Heb. 138), following G. The word פֶּן is wanting in nearly all the best MSS (BBAQT) of C, and in others appears as a Hexaplaric addition with an asterisk. The text of the whole verse as it appears in B² and other MSS is simply—ἀσκηθὲν ἔκαστος ἐκ τῶν ἄμικτων ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄμικτων (the Peshitta is even shorter, 'the wood that was cut down from the thicket, that by rain was nurtured'). Between *ash* and *ash* Origen inserted in the Hexaplaric text this addition, from Aq. and Theod., *αὐτὰρ κέδρον, καὶ ἄσκηθον αὐτῶν καὶ ἄσκηθον αὐτῶν* and similarly added *scelus* after ὁ οὐρανός; see Fiebig's *Hexapla* in loc.

N. M.—W. T. T. -D.

ASHAN (אַשָׁן; ACAN [BA], ACENNA [A], ACANNA [L]), an unidentified site in the lowland of Judah, apparently in its most southern part (Josh. 15:42, ANOX [B], ACENNA [A], CANN, [L]), assigned in Josh. 19:7 (ACAM [A]) to Simeon, and named among the priests' cities in 1 Ch. 6:59 [44] = Josh. 21:16 (where for MT אַשָׁן, EV AIN, AIN [A], NAËIN [L]), we should probably read אַשָׁן, Ashan; cp C² ACAN; so Bennett in *SBOT*. Ashan may perhaps be the same as the BOK-ASHAN [*q.v.*], or CHOR-ASHAN (RV COR-ASHAN) of 1 S. 30:30, the site of some well or reservoir.

ASHARELAH (אַשְׁרֵלָה; ἄCASHAL. Ba. Ginsb.), 1 Ch. 25:2 RV, AV ASARELAH.

ASHBEA (אַשְׁבֵּעָ, § 42, for אַשְׁבֵּעָ?; ECOBA [BA], ACEBA [L]). The 'house of Ashbea' included 'the (Judahite) families of the house of those that wrought fine linen' (1 Ch. 4:21); or Beth Ashbea may be the name of their dwelling-place. Nothing further is known of this weaving guild.

ASHBEL (אַשְׁבֵּל, § 43; ACBHA [ADL]; ACABHALOC [Jos.]; Sam. אַשְׁבֵּל, gentile *Ashebelite*, Nu. 26:38

(אֲשְׁדּוֹד, אַCΥΒΗΡ[Ε] [BAF], -CΟΥΒΗΡ[Ι] [L]), in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 6 [B]), Gen. 46:21 = Nu. 26:38 (אַCΥΒΗΡ [BAF], -CΟΥΒ [L]) = 1 Ch. 8:1 (αCBA [B]); apparently represented by ISHBAEL in 1 Ch. 7:6-11 (1 Ch. 7). Probably the name is a corruption of ISHBAAL (*q.v.*).

ASHCHENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז), Jer. 51:27 AV; RV ASH-KENAZ, *q.v.*

ASHDOD, AZOTUS (אֲשְׁדּוֹד, 'strength, strongly-founded' or perhaps 'man [men] of Dod, Dudu'; cp ASIHUR, BENE-BERAK?; ΑCΩΤΙC [BA]C² 1:1, hence its name in Apoc., NT, etc.), gentile **Ashdodite**, AV **Ashdodthite** אַשְׁדּוֹדִי, Josh. 13:3 (αCΩΤΙC)ΙOC [BAL]; pl. fem. אַשְׁדּוֹדִי; Neh. 13:23 in Kr. אַשְׁדּוֹדִי; αCΩΤΙC [BAL], -ΙΔAC [B]), a famous Philistine city some 2-3 m. from the Mediterranean coast, about half-way between Gaza and Joppa. It was one of the five confederated towns of the Philistines, and stood far above the others in importance—a pre-eminence due doubtless to its commanding position on the great military road between Syria and Egypt, at the spot where a branch of it leads off to Ekron and Ramleh. It survives in the modern *Esdud*, a miserable little village on a woody and beautiful height, to the W. of which, at an hour's distance, are still found the traces of a harbour now called *Minet el-Kal'a*.¹

JE assigns Ashdod to Judah (Josh. 15:46 f., *אַשְׁדּוֹד*, *ασειδωθ* [B], *ασδοθ* [A, in v. 47 om.], *ασωδ* [L]); but this statement clearly needs modification in view of Josh. 13:3-14, cp 11:11—*ασειδωθ* [B], *ασωθ* [A], *ασωθωθ* [F], *ασειδωθ* [L]), which is supported by the fact that Israel seems never to have subdued the Philistine stronghold (2 Ch. 26:6 is doubtful). In Samuel's time the ark was removed thither from Eben-ezer, and placed in the temple of Dagon (1 S. 5 f.), whose cult was more particularly associated with Ashdod (cp 1 Macc. 10:8; 11:4).² Ashdod is denounced by Amos with other Philistine towns for the infamous slave-raids upon Judah, and the same prophet alludes to it again in terms which show that in the middle of the eighth century it was a place of no little repute (39 [Egypt], C² reads 'Assyria,' against which cp We., Now.; Aq., Sym., Theod. read Ashdod). Although unmentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser's campaign against Philistia and Phœnicia (cp Wi. *GIT* 1:23) it probably suffered at his hands. On the other hand, we are fortunately well-informed of its fate some years later in the siege alluded to in Is. 20:1 (711 B.C.).³ As a commemorative record relates (cp A. 17²) 398 f., *KB* 265 f.), Azuri (cp Heb. *ḥy*, *Azzur*), king of Asdudu, had been superseded⁴ by his brother Ahi-miti (cp Ahimoth, Mahath), who in turn was overthrown by the anti-Assyrian party (the Ha-at-ti)⁵ in favour of Yamani (or Yavani = the Ionian?). Ashdod was besieged, not by Sargon, but, as the MT more correctly states, by his general or TARTAN [*q.v.*]. This siege, as Is. 20:6 suggests, involved the surrounding peoples, and ultimately resulted in the flight of Yavani to the land of Musri, which belongs to Miliuhha, the district lying in N. Arabia, bordering on Edom (see MIZRAIM, § 2b). The same tablet records the destruction of (*tr*) *Gimtu Asudimmu*, which, according to Schrader, is 'Gath of

¹ In early Christian times Ἄζωτος παραλιος and Ἄζωτος μεσόγειος are kept distinct. Josephus sometimes speaks of Ashdod (and similarly of Jabneh, Jamnia) as an inland town (*Ant.* xiv. 4:4, *Bf* i. 77), at other times as a coast town (*Ant.* xiii. 15:4). There may have been a harbour here in the time of Sargon; cp above.

² Hence it has been conjectured that Dagan-takala in the Amarna tablets (*KB* 625 f.) belonged to Ashdod.

³ For the date, etc., cp Ch. *Intr.* 120 f.; Wi. *Alt. Unt.* 149 ff.

⁴ He had sought to ally himself with the surrounding kings against Assyria. Another inscription relates that the men of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab had sent presents to Pir'u, king of Musri, for a like purpose (cp *KB* 264 f., and note).

⁵ These Ha-at-ti of Ashdod seem to have been closely related to Musri (cp also Wi., 'Musri, etc.' in *MG*, 1898, 126 f.).

the Ashdodites' (cp 'Gath of the Philistines,' Am. 6.2, and for a wider use of Ashdod see below). Others (Del. *Par.* 289 f., Wl. Che.) read as two names, and explain the latter as אֲשְׁדוֹד *i.e.*, the port of Ashdod (cp note 1, below).

Ashdod soon regained its power, and in the following century the 'great city of Syria' (Herod 2.157) was besieged by Pсамметихus for twenty-nine years, an allusion to which is seen in Jer. 25.20 (less probably also Zeph. 2.4; see ZEPHANIAH, II.). Further evidence of its independence may be seen in the mention of Ahi-milki, king of Ashdod, temp. Esarhaddon (*A.C.* 17 355 12).

The Ashdodites were allied with the Arabians and the Ammonites against the Jews of Jerusalem (Neh. 4.7 [1]), and Nehemiah, denouncing the foreign marriages, mentions the women of Ashdod (also of Ammon and Moab), whose offspring speak a degraded dialect called אֲשְׁדוֹדִית (Neh. 13.23 f., ἀσδωσθ[ε]ν [B.N.A.L.]): cp the allusion in Zech. 9.6. The use of Ashdod in these passages is peculiar, and, if genuine, suggests that the name Ashdod comprised also the surrounding district (cp Schrader's explanation of *asudimmu* above).¹

Ashdod and its neighbourhood was ravaged by Julius (1 Macc. 5.68, cp 4.15), and in 147 B.C. his brother Jonathan defeated Apollonius there and burnt the temple of Dagon (1 Macc. 10.77 ff., cp 11.4). John Hyrcanus burnt the towers in the surrounding fields after defeating Cendebeus (1 Macc. 16.10). In the time of Alexander Jannæus it belonged to Judæa (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15.4); but it was separated from it under Ptolemy (Jos. *R.* i. 7.7). In the NT it is mentioned only once, in connection with Philip's return from Gaza to Cæsarea (Acts 8.40). See Schürer, *GIT* 207 f., Wl. *GIT* 1.223 f.; and cp PHILISTINES.

ASHDOTH-PISGAH (אֲשְׁדוֹת הַפִּסְגָּה) is uniformly translated, in RV, 'the slopes (*margin*) or springs of Pisgah' (Dt. 3.17 4.49 [here also AV] Josh. 12.3 [no marg. note] 13.20; for B's readings see PISGAH). In like manner, the Heb. אֲשְׁדוֹת, rendered 'springs' in Josh. 10.40 12.8, is in RV 'slopes.' The declivities or shoulders of a mountain plateau, where it sinks sharply into the plain, are meant. The word is perhaps derived from אֲשַׁר in the sense of 'pouring out';² the explanation usually given is that the Ashdôth are the line on the mountain-side where springs break forth. See PISGAH.

ASHER (אֲשֵׁר; אֲשֵׁר [B.A.L.], אֲשֵׁר [A.*Nu. 7.2], אֲשֵׁר [B.], Josh. 17.10; Jos. אֲשֵׁר; gentilic אֲשֵׁרִי).

1. Name and origin. Asherite), the eponymous head of the tribe of the same name. Unimportant for the history of Israel—it is traced by the Yahwist to Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen. 30.12 f.),—this tribe, perhaps more than the other Zilpah and Bilhah tribes (see ISRAEL, § 5), raises questions difficult to answer. Is the popular etymology (Gen. 30.13, probably also alluded to in the 'Blessings') correct, or does the name not rather point to some deity—in which case it is natural to connect it with the root אֲשַׁר ('to be propitious,' whence the name of the Assyrian God Ašur?³ In what relation does Asher stand to a once somewhat important state called *Aseru*,

As(s)aru, which occupied W. Galilee in the time of Seti I. and Ramses II. (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 236-9)? Did that ancient people to some extent throw in their lot with the invaders from the wilderness (cp HARNEPHER), or is Asher in the OT simply a geographical name for some Israelites who settled in a district already long known as Asher? Hommel (*AH* 228, 237) thinks that the Asherites were one of several Israelitish tribes which, before the time of Moses, had encamped in the district between Egypt and Judah (cp SHIHOR-LIBNATH) and that they are the Habiri referred to in the Amarna letters as having burst into Palestine from the south. Jastrow, on the other hand, inclines to identify the Habiri with the Asherite clan Heber (see below, § 4) and to connect the Asherite clan Malchiel with the followers of Milkili, the writer of several of the Amarna letters, while G. A. Barton suggests that the sons of Abd-äsirta (b'nê Ebed Ašera), of whom we hear so much in the letters of Rib-Addi of Gebal, may have become an important constituent part of the OT tribe of Asher, so that it inherited their name in abbreviated form. That the OT Asherites were at all events not

2. Earlier references. very closely bound to Israel is proved by our earliest historical notice of the tribe, according to which it took no interest in the rising against Sisera: 'Asher sat still at the shore of the sea, and abode by his creeks' (Judg. 5.17).¹ Moreover, that they were somewhat mixed up with older inhabitants appears clearly enough in Judg. 1.32. Whilst, therefore, the fertility ascribed in the 'Blessings of Jacob and Moses' to the district where Asher dwelt, although it at once suggests the popular etymology (see above), is known to have been really characteristic of the part of Galilee in question (see ref. in Dr. on Dt. 33.24, and cp BIRZATH), we can hardly say how far the distinctness from the Phœnicians of the coast, apparently implied in v. 25 of the later Blessing, was an actual fact. On the other hand, the writer of the account of ISHBAAL (*q.v.*, 1) seems to have thought Asher worth mentioning as included in the Benjaminite claim (see ASHURITES, GESUR, 1). It is not surprising in view of the prevailing vagueness, that the 'Blessing of Jacob' speaks of ZEBULON in almost the same words that the Song of Deborah had applied to Asher, and that the 'Blessing of Moses' then associates ISACHAR with Zebulun. Definite boundary there can hardly have been, whilst the distribution of the population must have changed somewhat from age to age. We need not wonder that the account of Asher's territory

3. Boundaries. which the priestly compiler has given us in Josh. 19.24-31 (in which some scholars have found traces of JE) is unusually vague. Not many of the places can be identified with certainty. ALAMMELECH (Wady el-Melek), JIPHATH-EL (Jefat), CABUL (Kabül), KANAH (Kāna) have probably been identified, and possibly also ELRON (*i.e.*, ABRON, I.) and HAMMON, 1 (Umm el 'Amüd). UMMAH probably should be read ACHO. SHIHOR-LIBNATH (*q.v.*) may perhaps be the Nahr ez-Zarkä. MISHAL and HOSAH (*q.v.*) are probably to be recognised in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions.

That Acho or Achizib or Sidon was ever included in an Israelitish tribe Asher, is a purely ideal conception, and the same is clearly true (Judg. 1.31 f.) of other cities in the list. For indications of an Aramean element in the population (2 S. 10.6) see ARAM, § 5.

The tribe to the S. of Asher was Manasseh. In Josh. 17.11 we have a Yahwistic passage which is commonly interpreted as declaring that Dor lay within the limits of territory ideally assigned to Asher, although it really belonged to Manasseh. This interpretation gives support to the hypothesis that Shihor-Libnath (Josh. 19.26) is to be taken as the southern boundary of Asher, and to be identified with the river Zarkä, which enters the sea almost midway between Dor and Cæsarea. If Asher really moved northwards from an earlier home

¹ So in 1 Macc. 14.34 Gazara (in reality 17 m. to NE.) is 'upon the borders of Azotus'; cp also (doubtfully) 2 Ch. 26.6.

² Delitzsch compares the Ass. *isdu*, pl. *isdüti*, the 'base' of anything (*Prof.* 46; cp Dr. on *Deut.* 3.17).

³ Title long ago wrote, 'Asher, like Gad, is a god of good fortune, the consort of Asherah' (*Vergegenw. Gesch. von Ägypt. u. Mesopotam. Götterdiensten*, 1872, p. 542), and both parts of this statement may still be defended. So Che. *Proph.* 1.3(1) 1.103 (on Is. 17.9). Cp Del. *Ass. Hist.* 148. G. A. Barton (*JBL* 15.174 [1906]) suggests a connection with the divine name implied in the name Abd-äsirta referred to towards the end of § 1 (see ASHERAH, § 2). Jensen (*Hilfere u. Armenier*) offers proof that the name of the consort of the goddess Ašratu was Hadad or Rammän the storm-god. Had he also the title Ašir? Lastly G. H. Skipwith (*JQR* 11.241 [1901]) even suggests a connection between אֲשֵׁר and Osiris (the father of Horus; cp HARNEPHER).

¹ On the statement in Judg. 6.35 7.23, that Asher took part in the conflict with Midian, see Moore, *ad loc.*

in S. Palestine (see above, § 1), traces or at least memorials of it may have long survived (see SHIHOR-LIBNATH). This would make it not quite so difficult to understand the account of P, even if it is a fact that he really brings Asher farther S. than Carmel (Josh. 19:26).

The linguistic peculiarities of the verse Josh. 17:11 support the suggestion of Dillmann (*ad loc.*) that all that follows the word 'Asher' except 'the three heights' belongs really to 22:12, taking the place there of the words 'those cities' (cp Josh. 17:17); but we do not know what 'the three heights' are (though they certainly might include 'the heights of Dor'; cp Josh. 11:22). There is, however, little historical importance in the question whether Dor is represented as belonging to Asher, since, as a matter of fact, it and the cities mentioned with it remained in the possession of the Canaanites or Phoenicians.

On the other three sides the territory of Asher is even less defined. According to Josh. 19:27, it was continuous with Zebulun on the E., while according to 2:34 it stood in the same relation to Naphtali. It is difficult to bring it into relation with Issachar. In general, Asher must be regarded as the north-western-most district connected with Israel, and as stretching indefinitely W. and N. and losing itself gradually amongst the Phoenicians of the coast.

(1.) P's genealogy of Asher (given twice: Nu. 26:44, probably the more original, = Gen. 46:17), which is reproduced in almost identical form by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 7:30, f.), is very simple, consisting probably of (primarily) the three clans, the Imnites (perhaps really Jamin; so $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{BAL}}$ in Nu. and perhaps \mathfrak{S}^{B} in 1 Ch.), Ishvites (doubtful), and Bertites.

With the last mentioned are associated as secondary clans the Heberites (known as a Kenite name)² and the Machilites (known as a personal name in the Amarna letters from S. Palestine) as 'sons,' and Serah (perhaps an Aram. name; root not found in Hebrew) as sister. There is no earlier mention, however, of any of these names in connection with Asher, though the first and third are well known in the central highlands of Palestine.

(ii.) To this simple genealogy the Chronicler appends (1 Ch. 7:30) a remarkable list of thirty Machilites and over thirty Heberites—remarkable because the names are not of the distinctive type that abounds in the Chronicler. The list, if we remove certain textual corruptions,³ looks as if it were meant to be schematic (e.g., 3 sons and 3 x 3 grandsons, followed by some seventeen in the fourth, fifth, and sixth generations); but we cannot reach a text that inspires confidence. It must be remembered, however, that many of the names may well be foreign. Harnepher has been referred to above. The affinities of some of the names are worthy of note: note, e.g., the remarkable groups Heber, Ithran, Jether; so also Beria, Shelesh = Shilsha of v. 37 (Shalishat cp \mathfrak{S}^{B}), Shual.

1 K. 2:36 speaks of a certain Anna as being of the tribe of Asher (but see GENEALOGIES, i. § 8).

2. Tob. 1:2 RV, AV ASER. See HAZOR, 1.

H. W. H.

ASHER (אָשֶׁר; אֲשֶׁר [BAL]), a town on the southern border of Manasseh, mentioned in Josh. 17:7 (RV) in the following terms:—'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath which is before [i.e., E. of] Shechem.' After this we are told that 'the border went along to the right hand [i.e., to the S.], unto the inhabitants [i.e., the district] of Entappuah.' These statements must be taken in connection with the description of the N. border of Ephraim in 16:6, where the names which correspond to Asher and Michmethath are Michmethath and Taanath-Shiloh, and Taanath-Shiloh is stated to be E. of Michmethath. On the assumption that En-tappuah is SW. of Shechem (see TAPPUAH, 2), Asher must lie somewhere to the E. of Shechem, between Michmethath and Taanath-shiloh. Thus far we have proceeded on the

theory that RV's reading is correct; it is in fact that of most scholars, including Dillmann and Kautzsch. The rendering seems, however, to need revision. Considering that MICHMETHATH (*q.v.*) stands in 17:7 in close proximity to Asher (without any connecting *and*), and that it would be natural to distinguish this Asher from the better known one (with which indeed Kerr in *PEFQu St.*, 1877, p. 45, actually confounds it) by adding the name of the district in which it was (cp 'Kedesh-Naphtali'), it seems probable that Michmethath is the name of a district, and that we should render (against the accents and Targ., but in accordance with $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{BAL}}$), 'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher of (the) Michmethath,' the starting-point alone being mentioned in the opening clause, as in 15:2 (so Reland, J. Schwarz, Conder). The description in 17:7 will then exactly correspond to that in 16:6 in so far as Michmethath is the first point mentioned on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh. 'Asher of the Michmethath' might be some place in the N. of the district called 'the Michmethath.' If this district is the plain of *el-Makhdha*, two ruined places at once suggest themselves, now called the upper and the lower *Makhdha* respectively (Guérin, *Sam.* 1 459 f.). Here, however, no villages preserve any traces of the ancient name. Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 22:29 93:28) suggest another identification. They refer to a village called Asher, 15 R. m. from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis, a description which points to *Tevāsīr*, 1 R. m. NE. of Thebez, where the 15th R. milestone has actually been discovered (Séjourné, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1895, p. 617 f.). *Tevāsīr* is now a mud hamlet; but it succeeds a place of some importance. Rock-cut sepulchres abound (Guérin, *Sam.* 1 108). It is not probable, however, that Eus. and Jer. had a clear or correct view of the boundary line, and the transition from Asher to *Tevāsīr* is not an easy one. (The latter name seems to be the plur. of *tevasir*, but 2 $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{BAL}}$ *tevasira*. So Kämpfmeier, *ZDPV* 16:2.) T. K. 1.

ASHERAH, plur. **Asherim**, the RV transliteration of the Heb. אֲשֵׁרִים (pl. אֲשֵׁרִים); in three late passages

1. The אֲשֵׁרִים, a word which AV, following \mathfrak{S}^{B} **Ashera** (אֲשֵׁרָה [BAL]) and Vg. (*Iucus*), renders **post. grove, groves**. That this translation is mistaken has long been universally recognised. RV avoids the error by not translating the word at all; but, by consistently treating the word as a proper noun, it gives occasion to more serious misunderstanding.

The *āshērā* was a wooden post or mast, which stood at Canaanite places of worship (Ex. 34:13 Judg. 6:25 and frequently), and, down to the seventh century, also, by the altars of Yahweh, not only on the high places, or at Samaria (2 K. 13:6) and Bethel (2 K. 23:15), but also in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23:6). The *āshera* is frequently named in conjunction with the upright stone or stèle (*massibā, hammām*; see MASSEBAH and IDOLATRY, § 4). The pole or post might be of considerable size (cp Judg. 6:25 f.); it was perhaps sometimes carved (1 K. 15:13)¹ or draped (2 K. 23:7), but the draping especially is doubtful. The shape of an *āshera* is unknown. Many Cypriote and Phoenician gems and seals representing an act of adoration show two (more rarely three) posts, generally of about the height of a man, of extremely variable forms,² which are supposed by many archaeologists to be the *āsheras* (and *massēbas*) of the OT (see PHENICIA). This is not improbable, though direct evidence is thus far lacking; but in view of the

1 'A shocking thing (Jewish tradition, *phal'us*) as an *āshera*'; on 2 K. 23:7 see below.

2 See Lagarde, *Antiquité Méridionale*, 1877, f.; Osmundsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1893, where a great many of these pieces are collected. Similar figures are found on Assyrian reliefs, and on Carthaginian *cièpe*. We may compare the Egyptian *dedu* column (at Busiris), the Indian sacrificial post (Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 91), the so-called 'totem-posts' of the N. American Indians, etc. See in general Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, 2 376 f., and Jevons, *Inst. Hist. Rel.* 134 f.

great variety of types, and the age and origin of the figures in question, it can hardly be confidently inferred that the *asherahs* of the Old Canaanites and Israelites were of similar forms. The representations do not give any support to the theory that the *asherah* was a phallic emblem.

It is the common opinion that the *asherah* was originally a living tree (*Sifre* on Dt. 12₃, *Aboda sara*, fol. 45

2. Not a tree. The pole or mast was a conventional substitute.¹ This is antecedently not very probable. The sacred tree had in Hebrew a specific name of its own (*el, ʔlā, ʔlōn*, or, with a different and perhaps artificial pronunciation, *allā, allōn*), which would naturally have attached to the artificial representative also; nor is it easy to explain, upon this hypothesis, how the *asherah* came to be set up beneath the living tree (2 K. 17₁₀). The only passage in the OT which can be cited in support of the theory is Dt. 16₂₁: 'Thou shalt not plant thee an *asherah* of any kind of tree (RV) beside the altar of Yahwē thy God,' or, more grammatically, 'an *asherah*—any kind of tree' (אֲשֵׁרָה לִי עֵץ). As, however, in the seventh century the *asherah* was certainly not ordinarily a tree, this epexegetical would be very strange. In the context, whether the words in question be original or a gloss, we expect, not a restriction of the prohibition such as this rendering in effect gives us, but a sweeping extension of it. We must, therefore, translate, 'an *asherah*—any wooden object.'²

It does not appear from the OT that the *asherahs* belonged exclusively to the worship of any one deity. The *asherah* at Ophrah (Judg. 6₂₅) was sacred to Baal; the prohibitions of the law (Dt. 16_{21 f.}) are sufficient proof that they were erected to Yahwē,³ nor is there any reason to think that those at Bethel, Samaria, and Jerusalem were dedicated to any other god. The assertion, still often made, that in the religion of Canaan the *mesophus* were sacred to male, the *asherahs* to female deities, is supported by no proof whatever.

From certain passages in the OT (especially Judg. 3₇ 1 K. 18₁₉ 2 K. 23₄),⁴ it has been thought that there was

3. A goddess? also a Canaanite goddess *Ashera*, whose symbol or idol was the *asherah* post. Since in the places cited the names of Baal and *Ashera* are coupled precisely as those of Baal and Astarte are elsewhere (Judg. 2₁₃ 106 1 S. 7₄ [שֵׁשׁ־בַּאֲשֵׁרָה אֲשֵׁרָתוֹ] 12₁ [שֵׁשׁ־בַּאֲשֵׁרָה אֲשֵׁרָתוֹ] 12₁ [שֵׁשׁ־בַּאֲשֵׁרָה אֲשֵׁרָתוֹ]), many scholars have inferred, further, that *Ashera* was only another name or form of the great Semitic goddess, Astarte (Theodoret, *Quest.* 55 in *iv. Reg.*, Selden, Spencer, etc.); whilst others attempt in various ways to distinguish them—*e.g.*, Astarte, a pure celestial deity, *Ashera*, an impure 'telluric' divinity (Movers); or the former a goddess of the Northern Canaanites, the latter of the Southern (Tiele, Sayce). Conservative scholars such as Hengstenberg, Bachmann, and Baethgen, however, have contended that in the passages in question the symbol of Astarte is merely put by metonymy for the name of the goddess; and many recent critics⁵ see in these places only a confusion (on the part of late writers) of the sacred post with the goddess Astarte.⁶ A critical examination of the passages makes it highly probable

¹ See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc., Pl. lxxvix, 3 and 7, where in precisely similar relations to the scene a carved post (supposed *asherah*) takes the place of a cypress tree.

² It is not only a tree, but also a *stake* (Dt. 21₂₂ and often). That the trees depicted on Phen. coins, etc., were called *asherahs* (Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 213) is merely inferred from the OT.

³ The condemnation is based, not on the fact that the presence of these symbols presumes the worship of other gods, but on the principle that Israel shall not worship Yahwē as the Canaanites worship their gods (Dt. 12_{2 f.}).

⁴ In 2 K. 21₇, 'the image of the *asherah*,' the word *image* is a gloss; cp *v.* 3 and 2 Ch. 33₇. On 1 K. 15₁₃ and 2 K. 23₇, see above. In 1 K. 18₁₉ the 400 prophets of *Ashera* are interpolated (We., Klo., Dr.).

⁵ We., G. Hoffmann, E. Mey., St., WRS, and others.

⁶ This confusion is found in a still greater measure in the versions.

that in the OT the supposed goddess *Ashera* owes her existence only to this confusion. In the Amarna correspondence, however, there is frequent mention of a Canaanite who bears the name *Abd-āsratum*, equivalent to Heb. 'Ebed-*āshērā*, sometimes with the divine determinative,—*i.e.*, Servant of (the divine) *Ashera*. This has not unnaturally been regarded as conclusive evidence that a goddess *Ashera* was worshipped in Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C.¹ The determinative might here signify no more than that the *asherah* post was esteemed divine—a fetish, or a cultus-god—as no one doubts that it was in OT times; cp Phœnician names such as 'Ebed-sūsīm, Servant of (the sacred) horses (CS i. 46, 49, 53, 933, etc.); or 'Ebed-hēkal, Gēhēkal (G. Hoffmann), which might in Assyrian writing have the same determinative; further, Assyr. *ākurru*, 'temple, sanctuary,' in pl. sometimes 'deities' (Del. *HVB* 718). The name of the 'goddess *Āsratum*,' however, occurs in other cuneiform texts, where this explanation seems not to be admissible; viz., on a hæmatite cylinder published by Sayce (*ZA* 6₁₆₁); in an astronomical work copied in the year 138 B.C., published by Strassmaier (*ZA* 6₂₄₁, l. 9 ff.); and in a hymn published by Reiserer (*Sumer.-babylon. Hymnen*, 92)—in the last in connection with a god *Amurru*, which suggests that the worship may have been introduced from the West. See Jensen, 'Die Götter *Amurru* (*ā*) and *Āsratu*,' *ZA* 11₃₀₂₋₃₀₅.

The word *asherah* occurs also in an enigmatical Phœnician inscription from Mašūb, which records a dedication 'to the Astarte in the *asherah* of El-hannom' (G. Hoffmann); where it is at least clear that *asherah* cannot be the name of a deity. The most natural interpretation in the context would be 'in the sacred precincts.' In an inscription from Citium in which the word was formerly read (Schroeder, *ZDMG* 35₄₂₄, 'mother *Ashera*'; contra, St. *ZATW* 1344 f.; cp E. Mey. in Roscher, 2870), the reading and interpretation are insecure (see CS i. no. 13). Cp PHœNICIA.

The etymology and the meaning of the word are obscure. The most plausible hypothesis perhaps is that

4. Etymology. *āshērīm* originally denoted only the sign-posts set up to mark the site or the boundaries of the holy place (G. Hoffmann, *l.c.* 26). The use of the word in the Mašūb inscription for the sacred precincts would then be readily explained, and also the Assyrian *āširtu* plur. *āšrūtī* (*ēšrūtī*), defined in the syllabaries as meaning 'high place, oracle, sanctuary.' In any case, *āshērā* is a *nomen unitatis*, and its gender has no other than a grammatical significance.

For some further questions connected with the prophetic opposition to the use of *asherahs* in the worship of Yahwē and the prohibition in the laws, see IDOLATRY, § 8.

The older literature is cited under ASHTORETH [p. v.]. For recent discussion see We. *CH* 281 f. note; St. *GLI* 1458 ff.; *ZA* 11₁ 225, 4 202 ff. 283 ff.; G. Hoffmann, *Ägypt. religionsph. Inschriften*, 26 ff.; *Rev. Sem.* 2^e 187 ff. On the other side, Schr. *ZA* 3₃₆₄. Reference may be made also to Baethgen, *Beitr.* 218 ff.; and to Collins, *PSBA* 11₂₀₁ ff., who endeavours to show that the *asherah* was a phallic emblem sacred to Baal. G. F. M.

ASHES (אֲשֵׁרָה, of uncertain derivation) is used in various figures of speech typifying humiliation, frailty, nothingness, etc.; *e.g.*, to sit in, or be covered with, ashes (Job 28, cp Ez. 27₃₀ Lam. 3₁₆), to eat ashes (Ps. 102₉), to follow after ashes (Is. 44₃₀, *Ch. ad loc.*, cp Hos. 12₁). To throw ashes on the head (2 S. 13₁₉ Is. 61₃), or to wear ashes and sackcloth (Dan. 9₃ Esth. 4₁ Jonah 3₆, cp Mt. 11₂₁ Lk. 10₁₃), was a common way of showing one's grief; see MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1. The combination 'dust and ashes' (אֲשֵׁרָה וְעָפָר; cp also DUST) is found in Gen. 18₂₇ Job 42₆ (cp Ecclus. 10₉)—note the striking assonance אֲשֵׁרָה וְעָפָר Is. 61₃, 'instead of ashes a coronal'; cp Ewald's 'Schmuck statt

¹ Schr. *ZA* 3₃₆₄, and many. The name is once written with the common ideogram for the goddess Ištar (Br. Mus. 33 obv. 1, 3).

Schmutz' 'Proverbs of ashes' (Job 13:12) is a symbolism of empty trifling sayings.¹

To denote the 'ashes' of sacrificial victims the above word is found only in Nu. 19:9 f., where the ashes of the burnt heifer are represented as endowed with the power of rendering clean or unclean the person who came into contact with them (cp Heb. 9:13). The usual term is אֶשֶׁתֶּן *dešen*, prop. 'fatness,' which comes to be used of the ashes of the victims mixed with fat. From Lev. 1:16 (P) it would seem that these were placed on the east side of the altar, and afterwards removed to a place 'outside the camp' (ib. 4:14, cp 6:14; [L. P]).²

It is noteworthy that אֶשֶׁתֶּן occurs only twice outside P: viz. Jos. 31:40 and 1 K. 18:35 (the latter in a passage which is a late addition to the book; see KINGS, § 5, n. 1). אֶשֶׁתֶּן אֶשֶׁתֶּן 'ashes (RV mg. 'soot'); cp Ges.-Ba. of the furnace, Ex. 27:10 (אֶשֶׁתֶּן אֶשֶׁתֶּן is quite obsolete; see FURNACE, אֶשֶׁתֶּן, אֶשֶׁתֶּן usual rendering of אֶשֶׁתֶּן (cp also in NT, ib. above); is found again in 2 Mac. 13:5, in connection with the tower full of ashes at Betea (2) wherein Menelaus met his death. Τέφρα (of which the verb τείφω, 'to turn to ashes,' is used in 2 Pet. 2: of Sodom and Gomorrah) is found only in Tob. 6:16 & 2, 'ashes of perfume' (or 'incense,' RV) and Wisd. 2:3, 'our body shall be turned to ashes.'

ASHHUR (אֶשְׁחֻר) RV; AV ASHUR אֶשְׁחֻר, § 81, originally 'man of Horus' [on this class of names see also ELLIARD] in 1 Ch. 2:36, אֶשְׁחֻר [B], אֶשְׁחֻר [A], אֶשְׁחֻר [L]; in 4 Ch. 2:36 [B], אֶשְׁחֻר [A], אֶשְׁחֻר [L]. אֶשְׁחֻר, אֶשְׁחֻר, mentioned apart from the more important branches of Hezron—Jerahmeel, Ram, and 1 Meneptah (Caleb) as a posthumous child (1 Ch. 2:24 & 3), father of Tekoa (see JUDAH).

ASHIMA אֶשִׁימָה אֶשִׁימָה [B], אֶשִׁימָה [A], a Hamathite deity (2 K. 17:30^f). On the true form of the name (cp C) and its meaning, see HAMATH.

ASHKELON אֶשְׁקֶלֶן, deriv. unknown, אֶשְׁקֶלֶן [B], אֶשְׁקֶלֶן [A];³ ethnic אֶשְׁקֶלֶן, [-E]תִּירוֹת, Ashkelonite, Josh. 13:3 RV, AV ESHKALONITE; mod. 'Ashkalān [with initial ʔ], one of the five cities of the Philistines, the only one (it is generally held)⁴ just on the sea coast (cp Jer. 47:7), lies 12 m. N. from Gaza. The site is a rocky amphitheatre, with traces of an old dock, filled with Herodian and Crusading ruins. It has no natural strength; its military value seems to be due to its command of the sea, though the harbour was small and difficult of access.

Under the Egyptian rule Ashkelon was a fortress; letters from its governor Jitia appear in the Amarna correspondence (Am. Tab. 211 f.), and Abd-hiba of Jerusalem complains that the territories of Ashkaluna and Gazri have joined in the alliance against him (ib. 180, 14). Ashkelon seems to have revolted from Rameses II. (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 222; cp EGYPT, § 58), and from Menepthah (see EGYPT, § 60, n.); but it was reconquered by them.⁵ The storming of the city

¹ In 1 K. 20:38 & 41 it is almost certain that with RV we should point אֶשֶׁתֶּן instead of אֶשֶׁתֶּן (AV ashes) and render 'head-band'; see THOMAS.

² Hence the denominative אֶשֶׁתֶּן, 'to clear away the fat-ashes' Ng. 402 Ex. 27:3; see ARAV, § 13.

³ Ashkalon and Ekron are confused in C more than once; e.g., 1 S. 31.

⁴ (With regard to the site of Ashkelon proper, it is possible to hold that, like other Philistine cities, it lay a little inland; Antoninus Martyr (ch. 33, ed. Gildemeister, 23), indeed, in the sixth century A.D., expressly distinguishes it from the sea-side town, and in 576 A.D. a synodical letter was signed, both by the Bishop of Ascalon and by the Bishop of Maiumas Ascalon. According to Clement Ganneau (see *Rev. archéol.* 27:368), the inland town was on the site represented by the modern villages, *Hammam* and *el-Mejdel* (see *Courcier, Jud.* 2:109; Cl. Ganneau, *Arch. Res. in Pal.* 2:190). In a Greek translation of a lost Syriac text (published by Raabe) Ascalon appears to be described as bearing the name of *πάλαμα-ιτε*, *πάλαμα* (dove) in allusion to the sacred doves of Astarte, and as being about 2 m. from the sea. The Ar. name *Hammam* means 'dove.' There are, however, two other theories respecting *el-Mejdel*, one of which possesses much plausibility (see MIGNAL-GAU).

⁵ Ascalon (Askalni) is one of the places in Palestine which Meneptah, on the Israel-stele, claims to have captured.

is represented on a wall of the Ramesseum at Thebes; the inhabitants are depicted in the sculptures with Hittite features.

Ashkelon is not enumerated among the towns of Judah in Josh. 15, and apparently in Judg. 1:18 also we ought, with C, to read a negative; cp Josh. 13:3. It was Philistine in the days of Samson (Judg. 14:19), Samuel (1 S. 6:17), David (2 S. 1:20), Amos (Am. 1:8), Zephaniah (2:47), and Jeremiah (Jer. 25:47-71, and in the *Chronicle age* (Zech. 9:5)). It was taken by Sennacherib (Schröder, *KAT* 1:165 f., *Iskaluna*), who deposited its king Sidka in favour of Surludari, son of Rukibiti, 701 B.C. In the time of Ashurbanipal it had a king Miinti.

The fish-goddess, Derketo (see ATARGATIS), had a temple to the east of the city on a tank, of which, between *el-Mejdel* and *Ashkalān*, some traces still remain. After the conquest of Alexander the Great, Ashkelon became, like the other Philistine cities, thoroughly Hellenic; but, more prudent than they, it twice opened its gates to Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Mac. 10:86 11:60), and again to Alexander Jannæus. It was the birth-place of Herod the Great, who gave it various buildings (Jos. *H. J.* 2:111) and was afterwards the residence of his sister Salome (Jos. *H. J.* 6:3). It is said to have been 'burnt to the ground' by the Jews in their revolt against Rome (Jos. *H. J.* ii. 181), but then to have repulsed the enemy twice (ib. iii. 212). In Roman times it was a centre of Hellenic scholarship; and under the Arabs, who called it the 'Bride' and the 'Summit of Syria,' was a frequent object of struggle. It was taken by the Christians in 1154; retaken by Saladin in 1187; dismantled and then rebuilt by Richard in 1192 (cp Vinsauf, *Itin. Ricard.* 54 ff.); and finally demolished in 1270. There are considerable ruins, which have been described by Guérin (*Jud.* 2:153-171), and, best and most recently, by Guthe (*ZDFV* 2:164 ff., with plan; cp *PEF. Mem.* 3:237-247). The neighbourhood is well watered and exceedingly fertile, the *Ascalonia capra*, scallion (shallot) or onion of Ascalon, being among its characteristic products. See, further, PHILISTINES, and, for Rabbinical references, Hildesheimer, *Beitr. zur Gesch. Palästinas*, i. 76. G. A. S.

ASHKENAZ אֶשְׁכְּנַז; אֶשְׁכְּנַז [B], אֶשְׁכְּנַז [A]; CENEZ). The people of Ashkenaz are mentioned in Gen. 10:3 and (אֶשְׁכְּנַז) 3:10, 1 Ch. 1:9, in connection with Gomer; in Jer. 51:27 (אֶשְׁכְּנַזֶּעֶס אֶשְׁכְּנַזֶּעֶס אֶשְׁכְּנַזֶּעֶס [B], אֶשְׁכְּנַז, אֶשְׁכְּנַז [Q]) after Minni. There is no occasion to connect their name with the proper name Askanios in Hom. II. 2:862 13:793, nor with the Ascanian tribes in Phrygia and Bithynia, and infer that the original home of Ashkenaz was in Phrygia (Lenormant, E. Meyer, Di.). Rather Ashkenaz must have been one of the migratory peoples which in the time of Esar-haddon burst upon the northern provinces of Asia Minor, and upon Armenia. One branch of this great migration appears to have reached Lake Urumiyeh; for in the revolt which Esar-haddon chastised (1 R. 45, col. 2, 27 ff.), the Mannai, who lived to the SW. of that lake, sought the help of Ispakai 'of the land of Ašguza,' a name (originally perhaps Ašgunza) which the scepticism of Dillmann need not hinder us from identifying with Ashkenaz, and from considering as that of a horde from the north, of Indo-Germanic origin, which settled on the south of Lake Urumiyeh. (See Schr. *COT* 2:293; Wi. *GBA* 269; *AM* 6:488-491; similarly FRIEDR. Del., Sayce, Knudtzon.) T. K. C.

ASHENAH (אֶשְׁנָה, אֶשְׁנָה [AL]), the name of two unidentified sites in the lowland of Judah; one apparently in the more north-easterly portion (Josh. 15:33 אֶשְׁנָה [B]), the other much farther south (15:43, אֶשְׁנָה [B], אֶשְׁנָה [A], -CANN- [L]).

ASH-PAN (אֶשְׁפָּן), 1 K. 7:50 AV¹⁹⁰⁷; see CENSER, 2.

ASHPENAZ אֶשְׁפְּנַז, אֶשְׁפְּנַז [C], [Tω] אֶשְׁפְּנַז [Theod. BA], chief of the eunuchs under Nebuchad-

rezzar [Dan. 13]. The current explanations are untenable,¹ and the cause is obvious. The name is corrupt, and has been brought into a delusive resemblance to Ashkenaz. An earlier form of the name, equally corrupt, and brought into an equally delusive resemblance to an ancient Hebrew name, is Abiezir (אביעזר; see ABIEZER, 1); this is the form adopted by S. What is the original name concealed in these two apparently dissimilar forms? S enables us to discover it by its reading, evidently more nearly accurate than that of MT in Dan. 11: *καὶ ἄρα τὸν Δαριῶν Ἀβιεζερὶ τῷ ἀνάδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀγαπήσας αὐτὸν Δαριῶν*. . . . The MT indeed, in vs. 11:16, represents Daniel as communicating with a third person called Melzar, or 'the Melzar'; but a comparison of vs. 37-10:18 shows that this representation must be incorrect. It was the 'prince of the eunuchs' that Daniel must have addressed in vs. 11; a slight transposition and a change of one point are indispensable (see MELZAR). We have now, therefore, four forms to compare; (a) אביעזר, (b) אשפז, (c) המלצר, and (d) שפיצר² (Pesh. in vs. 11). Of these, (c), (e), and (d), virtually agree as to the last two letters (if in a we neglect the final *z*, which is not recognised in Syro-Hex. or by Ephrem). These letters are *z*. Next, (a), (b), (c), and (d) agree as to the presence of a labial; and the first two are for a mute, the others for a liquid. Also (b) and (c) attest a *z* or *z*, and (a) and (d) a *z*, which might be a fragment of a *z*, while (b) and (d) present us with a *z*, and the *z* in (a) looks like a fragment. Next, (a), (b), and (c) attest an *h* or *h*, and lastly, (a), (c), and (d) agree as to *z*. The almost inevitable conclusion is that the name of the chief eunuch was בלשצר, commonly pronounced Belshazzar. This is not the only occasion on which the name Balshazer (= Belshazzar) has suffered in transmission (see BILSHAN, SAREZER). T. K. C.

ASHRIEL (אֲשִׁרְיֵל), 1 Ch. 7:14, AV, RV ASRIEL.

ASHTAROTH (עֲשִׁתְרֹת)—i.e., Ashtoreth in her different representations;—ΑΣΤΑΡΩΘ [BAL], -ΤΑΓΩ. [1] [Josh. 9:11]. ΑΣΘΑΡΩΜ [A] [Josh. 13:31]; the adjective is Ashterathite, 'עֲשִׁתְרָתִי, Ο ΑΣΤΑΡΩΘ[Ε] [BA], ΘΕCΤ. [A], ΕCΘΑΡΩΘ[Ε] [1], 1 Ch. 11:44. Ashteroth-Karnaim (רְנַיִם עֲשִׁתְרֹת; ΑΣΤΑΡΩΘ ΚΑΡΝΑΙΜ [A], -ΤΕΡ ΚΑΙΝ. [1])—i.e., 'Ashteroth of the two horns'—'Ashteroth of (=near) Karnaim'?) in Gen. 14:5,³ and Be-esh-terah (בֵּית עֲשִׁתְרָה, i.e., 'house of

1. References. Astarte'; ΒΟCΡΑΝ[B], -ΠΡΑ [L], ΒΕΓ-ΘΑΡΑ [A]) in Josh. 21:27, but עֲשִׁתְרֹת simply in Dt. 14 Josh. 9:10 12:4 13:12,31, where it appears, along with Edrei, as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan; and in 1 Ch. 6:56 [71] ΑCΘΡΩΘ [B] ΡΑΜΩΘ [A]) as a Levitical city. Then, in Am. 6:13 (Grätz's restored reading) we have Karnaim as the name of a city E. of the Jordan taken by Israel, and in 1 and 2 Macc. Karnaim or Karnion as a city in Gilead with a temple of ATARGATIS [g.v.] attached to it. The lists of THOMES III. (circa 1650 B.C.) contain an 'A-s-ti-ra-ty (R² 205:545; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 162, 313; cp Ashtarti, Bezold and Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tabl.* in *Brit. Mus.* 43, 64). Whether these names represent one place or two places is, on the biblical data, uncertain.

It is significant, however, that Eusebius and Jerome

¹ For example, Halevy compares Pers. *astari*, 'hospitium' [*JAs.*, 188, 228: f); Nestle too explains 'hospes' from the Armenian (*Marg.*, 38). Frd. Del. and Schr. offer no explanation.

² If we adopt the form אשפז, a slight difference in the summation will be the result.

³ Here it is described as the abode of the Rephaim at the time of the invasion of Chedorlaomer. Or were there two neighbouring cities? Kuennen, Buhl, and Siegrf.-St. read 'Ashtaroth and Karnaim,' claiming Θ as on their side. Probably, however, the right Θ reading is ΑΣΤΑΡΩΘ ΚΑΡΝΑΙΜ [AL] (see Nestle, *Marg.*). Moore explains 'the Astarte of the two-peaked mountain'; see especially G. F. Moore, *JBL* 156 ff. (197), and cp col. 336, n. 3.

(OS²) 2096:1 845 268:8² 108:17) record the existence in

2. The OS Astaroth-Karnaim, 'which lay 9 R. m. apart, between Adara (Edrei) and Abila' of the Decapolis; one of them, 'the city of Og,' (say) 6 R. m. from Edrei, the other 'a very large town of Arabia [in which] they show the house of Job'; and in the *Peregrinatio* of S. Silva of Aquitaine (4th cent.) Carnes is mentioned as the place where she saw Job's house. Now, at the present day there is a *Tell 'Ashtarath* on the Bashan plateau, on the W. of Haurān, 21 m. E. of the Lake of Galilee (long. 36° E., lat. 32° 50' N.), 1900 ft. above the sea; and 2 m. N. lies El-Merkez, where the tombs of Job and his wife are shown, and there was the ancient Christian monastery of Job, while 1 m. farther N., at Sheikh Sa'd, is a basalt monolith, with Egyptian figures, known as Job's stone (see Erman, *ZDPV* 15 205-211). In this neighbourhood, then, must have lain one of the Ashtaroths of the OS. It does not suit the datum of the latter—'between Adara and Abila'; but this may be one of the not infrequent inaccuracies of the OS. From this Ashtaroth Eusebius places the other 9 R. m. distant. Now, 6 R. m. S., near the W. el-Ehrēr (the upper Yarmūk), lies Tell el-Ash'ari, which some (like van Kasteren) take as the second Ashtaroth.³ This, Buhl (*Geog.* 249) prefers to find 8 R. m. S. of Tell 'Ashtarath in Muzerib, the great station on the *Haj* road, with a lake and an island with ruins of pre-Mohammedan fortifications. A market has been here since the Middle Ages, and the place must have been important in ancient times. Moreover, it suits another datum of the OS, in lying about 6 R. m. from Edrei.

Much more difficult is the question of identifying any of these sites, or the two Ashtaroths of the OS, with the corresponding names of OT.

3. OT sites. Names in this part of Palestine have always been in a state of drift. That Tell 'Ashtarath is the 'Ashteroth Karnaim of Gen. 14:5 or the 'Ashteroth of other texts has in its favour, besides its name, the existence of a sanctuary, even though this has been transferred in Christian times to Job. On the other hand, Muzerib must have been of too great importance not to be set down to some great place-name of the OT; and its accessibility from Edrei suits the association, frequent in the OT, of the latter with Ashtoreth. As to the Karnaim of 1 Macc. 5:26 (which, of course, is the same as the Karnaim of Am. 6:13), it cannot have been Muzerib, as Buhl contends, for in such a case the lake would certainly have been mentioned in connection with the assault of Judas upon it (a lake is mentioned near Caspis or CASPHON [g.v.] which Judas took previously); and in 2 Macc. 12:21 Karnion is said to be difficult to get at *διὰ τὴν πύκνωσιν τῶν τόπων στυβήθηα*. This does not suit Muzerib, or Tell 'Ashtarath, or Sheikh Sa'd. Furrer, therefore, has suggested for Karnion *K'ron* or *G'ron*, the Agrena of the Romans, in the inaccessible *Lefj*. Till the various sites have been dug into and the ancient name of Muzerib is recovered, however, we must be content to know that there was an 'Ashteroth Karnaim near *Tell 'Ashtarath*, and that possibly there was a second site of the same name in the same region in OT times.

On the whole subject see especially *ZDPV* xiii. xiv. and xv., Schumacher, *Across the Jordan* (203-210), and Buhl, *Stud. zur Topogr. des N. Ostjordanlandes*, 1:1 ff., *Pal.* 248-250; also Moore, *JBL* 16:155 ff., and, for an etymological explanation of the name 'Ashtoreth of the two horns,' WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 313.

G. A. S.

ASHTORETH (עֲשִׁתְרֹת), a goddess of the Canaanites

¹ *Sub Aor. Kapnaev.*

² *Sub Kapnaevu.*

³ So Schumacher. 'The double peak of the southern summit of *Tell el-Ash'ari*, formed by the depression running from N. to S., would make the appellation of Karnaim, or "double-horned," extremely appropriate' (*Across Jordan*, 208). In a Talmudic discussion as to the constructions for the Feast of Booths it is said that Ashteroth Karnaim was situated between two mountains which gave much shade (*Succa*, 2a; cp Neub. *Géog.* 246). Many regard this statement as purely imaginative.

and Phœnicians. The Massoretic vowel-pointing, which

is followed by EV, gives the word the vowels of *bīsheth*, 'scandalous thing' (cp Molech for Melek); the true pronunciation, as we know from the Gr. Ἀσθάρη also even Ἐσθάρη, alongside of Ἀσθάρη [BAL] and from Augustine,¹ was 'Ashtart.' In the OT the name in the plural (the 'Ashtārōth) is coupled with the Baals, in the general sense, 'the heathen gods and goddesses,'² a usage with which the Assyrian *ilīni u-īštarāti* is compared. Solomon is said to have built on the Mt. of Olives (1 K. 11.5, cp 33) for the Phœnician 'Ashtart a high place, which was destroyed more than three centuries later by Josiah (2 K. 23.13).

Of the character of this goddess and her religion we learn nothing directly from the OT. Her name does

not occur either in the prophets or in historical texts in any other connections than those cited above; it is nowhere intimated that the licentious characteristics of the worship at the high places were derived from the cultus of Astarte. The weeping for Tammuz (Ez. 8.14), which Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome identify with the Phœnician mourning for Adonis (so Ἐσθάρη), was more probably a direct importation of the Babylonian cult.³ This is doubtless true also of the worship of the 'Queen of Heaven' (Jer. 7.18 [Ἐσθάρη ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ], 44.17 ἴ.), whatever the name may mean (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN). The law which forbids women to wear men's garments, or men women's (Dt. 22.5), may be aimed at obscene rites such as obtained in the worship of many deities in Syria and Asia Minor, but need not refer specifically to the cult of Astarte.

Many inscriptions from the mother-country and its colonies, as well as the testimony of Greek and Latin

writers, prove the prominent place which the worship of Astarte had among the Phœnicians; Egyptian documents place the 'Ashtart of the Hittite country' by the side of the 'Sutech of Heta,' the principal male divinity; the Philistines deposited Saul's armour as a trophy in the temple of 'Ashtart (1 S. 31.10 Ἐσθάρη το ἀστροπ[ε]ϊον), perhaps the famous temple at Ashkelon of which Herodotus writes (1.105);⁴ the stele of Mesha, king of Moab (9th cent. B.C.), tells how he devoted his prisoners to Ashtar-Chemosh; a city in Bashan often mentioned in the OT bears the name Ashtaroth (cp also Ashteroth Karnaim, Gen. 14.5, and Beeshterah, Josh. 21.27; see ASHTAROTH). 'Ashtart was worshipped in Babylonia and Assyria under the name Ištar (considerable fragments of her myth have been preserved); in Southern Arabia as 'Athtar (masc.); in Abyssinia as 'Astar';⁵ in Syria as 'Atar or 'Athar (in proper names: cp ATARGATIS [q.v.] = Dercêto). The Arabs are the only Semitic people among whom we do not find this deity; and even here it is possible that al-Lât and al-'Uzza were originally only titles of Astarte. The normal phonetic changes in the word show that the worship of Astarte did not spread from one of these peoples to the others, but was common to them before their separation. The fem. ending is peculiar to the Palestinian branch of the race, and, as has been observed, in Southern Arabia 'Athtar was a god, not a goddess.

Unlike Baal, Astarte is a proper name; but under this name many diverse divinities were worshipped. The Ištar of Arbela was recognised by the Assyrians themselves as a goddess different from the Ištar of

Nineveh; the Ištar of Agadê from the Ištar of Urku (see ASSYRIA, § 9, BABYLONIA, § 26). The inscription of Eshmunazar shows that more than one 'Ashtart had a temple in Sidon; and we know many others. Whether those differences are only the consequence of natural divergence in the worship of the primitive Semitic deity, in the immense tract of time and space, or, as is altogether more probable, in great part due to the identification of originally unconnected local *numina* with Astarte, the result is the same:¹ there were many Astartes who were distinguished from one another by character, attributes, and cultus—a class of goddesses rather than a single goddess of the name.²

Astarte was often the tutelary divinity of a city, its 'prophetress' (*bā'alat*); and then, of course, its protectress and champion, a warlike goddess.

On the other hand, she was a goddess of fertility and reproduction, as appears strikingly in the myth of the descent of Ištar. These two characters might be attributed to different Astartes, as among the Assyrians (cp the Aphroditis); but they might also coexist in one and the same goddess, and this is doubtless the older conception.

The figures from Babylonia and Susiana, as well as from Phœnicia and Cyprus, which are believed to represent Astartes, express by rude exaggeration of sexuality the attributes of the goddess of generation.³ That the cultus-images of Astarte were of similar types is not probable. At Paphos she was worshipped in a conical stone, and many representations show the evolution from this of a partially iconic idol.

In the astro-theology of the Babylonians the planet Venus was the star of Ištar. It is a common but ill-founded opinion that in Palestine Astarte was a moon goddess. The name of the city, Ashteroth Karnaim, is often alleged in support of this theory. Even if the translation, 'the horned Astarte,' be right, however, it is a very doubtful assumption that the horns represented the crescent moon—it is quite as natural to think of the horns of a cow or a sheep, or of an image of the goddess made after an Egyptian type (see EGYPT, § 13);⁴—and it is a still more unwarranted assumption that Astarte was elsewhere in Palestine represented in the same way. It would be a much more logical inference that the horns were the distinctive attribute of this particular Astarte.⁵ The other testimony to the lunar character of Astarte is neither of an age nor of a nature to justify much confidence (*De dea Syr.* 4; Herodian, v. 64). The point to be insisted on is that the widely accepted theory that Astarte was primarily a moon goddess, by the side of the sun god, Baal, has as little foundation in the one case as in the other.

In Dt. 7.13 'the *ashtārōth* of the flocks' are parallel to the 'offspring of the herds,' from which it has been ingeniously argued that among the nomadic Semites Astarte was a sheep-goddess (WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 12.310, and 469 ἴ.); but this also seems hazardous.

Of the cultus of Astarte we know comparatively little. Religious prostitution (Hdt. 1.199; Strabo xvi. 120;

Ep. Jerem. 4.2 ἴ.; Bar. 1.4 ἴ.); *1 K. 16.31*;

5. Cultus. 6, etc.) was not confined to the temples of Astarte, nor to the worship of female divinities. Nu. 25.1-5 connects it with Baal-peor; Am. 27 Dt. 23.18 (17), etc., show that in Israel similar practices infected even the worship of Yahwê. There is no doubt, however, that the cultus of Astarte was saturated with these abominations.

¹ In the period from which most of our monumental evidence comes, still another cause must be recognised: syncretism with the Egyptian religions (see EGYPT, § 16).

² This use predominates in Hebrew, which has, indeed, no other word for 'goddess'; but, as has been remarked above, it is found in Assyrian also.

³ Heuzey, *Nouv. découvertes assyriennes*, 1889, p. 1 ἴ.; Olauson-Richter, *Kypros*, etc. On the origin of this type see, however, S. Reinhardt, *Rel. Archæol.* v. 287, 288, 289, p. 300 ἴ.

⁴ Cp the representation of Baah of Byblos, *J. A. S.* 11, Pl. 1.

⁵ On Ashteroth Karnaim see *J. A. S.* 16, 17, 18 ἴ.

¹ *Quæst.* 16 in *Int.*. Estart, Astart. Confirmatory evidence is given by the Egyptian transcription.

² *Judg.* 2.1; 10.1 ἴ. S. 7 ἴ. (Ἐσθάρη) § 12.10 (Ἐσθάρη τοῖς Ἀσσορίοις); all belonging to the later el-histric (B₂) or dendro-nomic school.

³ The identification of Tammuz with Adonis is found also in Melito (Curetton, *Spicil.* 25). The connection of the myths is unquestioned. See TAMMUZ.

⁴ It is, of course, not to be inferred that the Philistines worshipped Astarte before they invaded Palestine. The temple was an old Canaanite sanctuary.

⁵ Halévy's discovery is confirmed by the recent publication of the Axum inscriptions.

The origin and the meaning of the name are obscure ; but this is hardly a sufficient reason for supposing that the most universally worshipped of Semitic divinities was of non-Semitic extraction (see Haupt, *ZDMG* 34 758). The relation between Astarte and Aphrodite is an interesting and important question, upon which we cannot touch here.

Literature.—Selden, *De Dis Syris*, syn. ii. ch. 2; Movers, *Monatsh.* 155000; Scholz, *Geschichte und Landeskunde bei den alten Hebräern*, 25000; Bunsen, art. 'Astarte und Aschera' in *PR E*(2) 2147-161 (where the lit. in full may be found); Baethgen, *Beitr. zur semit. Rel.-gesch.*, 1888; E. Meyer, art. 'Astarte' in *Roscher's Lex. der griech. u. Röm. Myth.* 645-655, in part corrected by his. *Real-Encyclop. d. class. Alterthum* and her influence in the OT, *IBL*, 1077 ff.; 'The Semitic Isharseth', *Hesperia*, 1913-15 (1-27). See also Driver's very comprehensive article in Hastings, *DB*. G. F. M.

ASHUR (אֲשׁוּר), 1 Ch. 24 AV, RV ASHUR.

ASHURITES, THE (אֲשׁוּרִי, ΤΟΝ ΘΑΔΑΙΡΟΙ [B], ΘΑΔΑΙΡ [A], אַשּׁוּרִי [L]; 'Jezreel follows'), are mentioned in 2 Sam. 23 among various clans subject to the authority of Ishbaid. *Pesh. Vig.* read אַשּׁוּרִי, the Gesurites, which is accepted by some (see GESUR), while others (Kamph. Ki. Klo. Gr.) follow the Targ. (אֲשׁוּרִי אֲשׁוּרִי, cp. 66) and read אַשּׁוּרִי (cp. Judg. 13a)—i.e., 'the Asherites,' whose land lay to the W. of Jordan above Jezreel, which is mentioned next, the enumeration proceeding from N. to S.

ASHVATH (אֲשׁוּבָת; אֲשׁוּבָת [BA], 'צוּבָא [L]), in a genealogy of ASHER (1 Ch. 24 § 4 ii), 1 Ch. 7 33f.

ASIA (ἡ Ἀσία [Ti. WH]). Great uncertainty prevailed during the apostolic period as to the usage of the names of the districts of Asia Minor. The boundaries of several of the districts had long been uncertain—those between Mysia and Phrygia were proverbially so (Strabo, 564). This confusion arose from the fact that the names denoted ethnological rather than political divisions, and belonged to diverse epochs. They are like geological strata, which are clear enough when seen in section but impossible to disentangle when represented on a single plane. A further complication arose when the Romans imposed upon the country the provincial system. The official nomenclature was applied without any account being taken of the older history or of ethnical facts or popular usage. In the case of Lycia, Bithynia, or Pamphylia there was no distinction of any moment between the old and the new usage; but in the case of Galatia and Asia the difficulty of distinguishing the precise sense of the names is very great.

The province of Asia was formed in 133-130 B.C. when Attalus III. of Pergamum left his kingdom by will to Rome; the name Asia had early come into use because there was no other single term to denote the Aegean coast lands. The area of the province was subsequently increased, first by the addition of Phrygia (116 B.C.); we are, therefore, confronted by the difficulty of distinguishing whether, in any given case, the word Asia is restricted to the coast or extended to the entire province—in other words, whether it includes Phrygia or not.

In Acts 20, Asia indicates the towns of the highly civilized coast land, for the enumeration is popular and Greek in style, as is proved by the mention of Phrygia *as by the* Asia: according to the Roman mode of speaking, Phrygia was included in Asia, with the exception of that small part round Antioch (Phrygia Galatica) which fell to the province Galatia. Such names as Phrygia, Mysia, or Lydia were to a Roman without any political significance, being merely geographical terms denoting parts of the province of Asia, used on occasion to specify exactly the region referred to by the speaker (Cic. *pro Flac.* xviii. § 65; 'Asia vestra constat ex Phrygia, Mysia, C. Asia, Lydia'). Such use can be paralleled from the NT. In Acts 167 *κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν* [Ti. WH] is used to define rigidly the part reached by the apostles when warned from Bithynia. In Acts 60, a decision is more difficult. The Jews who 'disputed' with Stephen were probably those educated in the schools of Smyrna or Pergamum; but we cannot on a *strict* ground decide that some of them did not belong to Phrygia. Here, therefore, Asia may or may not be used in its Roman sense. So also in Acts 21 27=24 18.

The whole question of the sense in which geographical terms are used by the writer of Acts centres round Acts 166, where the apostles are forbidden to preach in Asia (καλοῦντες . . . λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ [Ti. WH]). Those interpreters (e.g., Con. and Hows. 1324) who take the preceding words (διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν [Ti. WH]) to express the opening up of new ground by missionary enterprise N. of Antioch in Pisidia are compelled to restrict the prohibition of preaching in Asia to the coast land—in other words, to take Phrygia, Galatia, and Asia in their popular non-Roman sense—for all Phrygia N. of Antioch belonged to Asia in its Roman or administrative sense. Yet we must ask if the simple διήλθον (AV 'gone throughout') can be taken to imply preaching.¹ If, however, the apostles did not preach in their passage through the district called here ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα, there appears to be no necessity for giving a popular meaning to the geographical terms here used, unless in the interests of what Ramsay calls the N. Galatian theory (see GALATIA, §§ 7-30, especially §§ 9-16). On this view, then, the words indicate such parts of Galatic Phrygia as had not been traversed at the time of receiving the prohibition (or, more probably, that part of Phrygia which belonged to the province Asia), together with Old or North Galatia. In favour of this is the fact that the part καλοῦντες must be prior in time to, i.e. contain the ground of, the action denoted by διήλθον,—'they traversed . . . because they had been forbidden.' If, in face of the difficulties of the N. Galatian view, we fall back upon the S. Galatian theory, the district ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα must be regarded as partly identical with that called τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν in Acts 18 23 (which can hardly be other than that of the S. Galatian churches); and also it must already have been traversed wholly or in part before the prohibition to preach in Asia (Rams. *Expos.* May 1895, p. 392; *Church*, 5 ed. p. 75). Ramsay consequently attempts to interpret the words διήλθον καλοῦντες as—διήλθον καὶ ἐκάλυψαν (διεκέλευσαν ἐκάλυψαν), or on purely subjective grounds adopts, with Lightfoot, the reading διεκέλευσαν δὲ from inferior MSS (*St. Paul* (1), p. 195). It seems better to take διήλθον δὲ as resumptive and as summing up the previous verses, with an ellipse—'so then they traversed . . . (neglecting Asia) having been forbidden': in which case, here, as elsewhere throughout the narrative of Paul's journeyings, the word Asia is used in its technical, Roman, sense.

This sense is clearly the best in the following passages:—during Paul's residence in Ephesus, 'all they which dwell in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19 10; see also *sv.* 22, 26 f.). The deputies escort the apostle from Corinth as far as Asia (Acts 20 4); other instances in the same chap. are *sv.* 16 (Ephesus was virtually capital of the province) and 18. In 21 2, *κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους* [Ti. WH], there is nothing to forbid our taking the word in its Roman sense. Similarly, in the Epistles, the technical sense is required—e.g., Rom. 16 5, Ephesus the first-fruits of Asia (RV); 1 Cor. 16 19, the churches of Asia; 2 Cor. 18, (probably) alluding to the riot at Ephesus, or to dangerous illness there; 2 Tim. 1 15. The Roman province is meant also in 1 Pet. 1 1, where the enumeration Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia (= Bithynia-Pontus) sums up all Asia Minor within the Taurus. Finally, in Rev. 14, the seven churches of Asia are those established in the chief towns of the Roman province. In 1 Macc. 8 6, 'Antiochus, the great king of Asia,' the word is used in a wider sense=Asia Minor, with Syria (so also 11 13, 'the diadem of Asia'; 12 39 18 32 2 Macc. 8 3; cp. *Jos. Ant.* xii. 3 3 18 4 7). In 2 Esd. 15 46, 'Asia, that art partaker in the beauty of Babylon,' the sense is still wider=Persian empire (16 1; cp. Herod. 1 66 177; *Jos. Ant.* xi. 8 3). W. J. W.

ASIARCH (οἱ Ἀσιαρχαί [Ti. WH], AV 'the chief of Asia'; RV 'chief officers of Asia'). An officer

¹ See Acts 15 41, διήγρητο, but with ἐπιστηρίων added; 16 4, διεσπορεύον, but with παρέδιδον added. On the other hand we have 13 14, διεσπορεύοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Περσῆς—no preaching on the way; and 17 1, διεσπορεύοντες τῆς Ἀσίας, ἅμα καὶ τῆν Ἀπολλωνίαν [Ti. WH], where also there was no attempt at evangelisation, so far as we can tell. (But see Rams. *Expos.* May 1895, p. 385 f.)

heard or only once in the NT—viz., in the account of the riot made by 'Demetrius and the craftsmen' at Ephesus (Acts 19:31). The annual assembly of civic deputies (*κοινὸν Ἀσίας*), over which he presided, was combined, in Asia, as in other provinces, with an annual festival in honour of the reigning emperor and the imperial system.

Soon after the victory of Actium, in fact as early as 29 B.C., Augustus had allowed temples to himself and Roma to be dedicated in Pergamum, the *de jure* capital of Asia, as well as in Nicomedia and Ancyra, the capitals respectively of Bithynia and Galatia (Tac. *Ann.* iv, 37-41). This blending of a religious with an administrative institution became a leading idea of the imperial policy; but, as regards the pomp of the festivals and the civic rivalries excited, the institution nowhere developed as it did in Asia. Naturally, the conduct of the games and festival in honour of the emperor fell to the president of the provincial Diet.

As the Asiarch bore most of the expense, though some was borne by voluntary subscription or apportioned to the several towns, this politico-religious office was open only to the wealthy—the prosperity of Tralles, for example, was shown by its continuous series of Asiarchs—and the title was retained after the expiration of the year of office. To find Paul counting friends among the Asiarchs—i.e., among those who then held or who previously had held the office—throws, therefore, a valuable side-light upon the attitude adopted towards Christianity by the upper classes of the provincials: it was an Asiarch, Philip, who at Smyrna resisted the cry of the mob to 'let loose a lion on Polycarp' (Eus. *H. E.* 4:15, § 27).

It would be a mistake, then, to imagine that the Asiarch, as such, had any connection with the Ephesian worship of *Artemis*.

In fact Ephesus, like Miletus, was expressly rejected by Tiberius as a claimant for the honour of an imperial temple, probably because of the risk of Caesar's worship being overshadowed by the local cult (Tac. *Ann.* iv, 55-6). It would naturally have been the right to put forward a candidate for the Asiarchate. We hear of similar offices in other provinces—e.g., a *ῥατοστάτης* in Bithynia, a *ῥυτάρχης*, and a *ἑπαρχός*. The last of these titles is clearly originally a political office—the head of the *langue* (Strabo, 602).

There was thus, at first, but one Asiarch in office at a time in all Asia—the president of the Diet at Ephesus; but as temples dedicated to Caesar multiplied in the province,² and each of them became the centre of an annual festival, the chief priests at such temples performed the functions discharged at the festival at Ephesus by the Asiarch, and finally the presidency of the festival even at Ephesus was taken from the chairman of the Diet and given to the chief priest. The Diet and its civil functions thus fell into the background, and the name Asiarch came to mean the priestly provider of a popular festival in connection with the worship of a dead or reigning emperor. With the growing importance of this worship the religious influence of the priestly Asiarchs extended; and as the worship of the emperor became the outward sign of loyalty to the empire, it was through the provincial chief-priesthoods that the old and the new faith came into contact. Hence Julian writes to the Galatarch as the proper medium for his anti-Christian propaganda. (See Momms. *Provinces*, I 344 fol. ET, Rams. *Class. Rev.* 3:174. A different view in a long article by Brandis in Pauly's *R. Enc.* new ed. s.v.) W. J. W.

ASIBIAS (Ἀσιβίας [B], Ἀσιβίας [A], Μελίτιος [L]), in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i, § 5, end), 1 Esd. 9:26 = Ezra 10:25 (Ἀσβία [N], Ἀ. [A], B. om.). See MALCHIJAH, 5. Asibias is probably a Greecised form of HASHABIAH.

ASIEL (Ἀσιήλ, § 31; Ἀσιήλ [BAL]). 1. A name in the genealogy of SIMEON (1 Ch. 4:35).

¹ καὶ αἱ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσὶν οἱ ἀποστόλοις κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσπαρχος καλοῦσιν (Strabo, 649).

² Already in 26 A.D., for example, a temple was erected in Smyrna to Tiberius, jointly with his mother Livia, and the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* iv, 154-63).

2. A scribe, 4 Esd. 14:24 (Ἀσβία).

3. Tob. 1: RV, AV ASAEI (g.v.).

ASIPHA (Ἀσιφθα [A]), 1 Esd. 5:29 = Ezra 2:43. HASUPHA.

ASKELON (Ἀσκλων), Judg. 1:18 AV, RV ASHKELON.

ASMODEUS, RV *Asmodeus* (Ἀσμοδαίου, [B] Ἀσμοδ[NA], -ἄεος [N]), called 'the evil demon' (Tob. 3:8, 17). Considering (1) the close connection of the story of Tobit with Media, (2) the affinity of the seven archangels in Tob. 12:15 to the seven Mazdean Ameshaspentas, and (3) the impossibility of deriving Asmodeus or Asmodai (or the later Hebrew forms, on which see below) from אשפה, 'to destroy,' we are obliged to look for an arch-demon of similar name and attributes in Mazdean demonology. The Asmodeus of Tobit has two attributes: he is lustful (like a satyr), and has the power to slay those who oppose his will (Tob. 3:8 f. 15 [B]). Now, it is true that there is no demon in Mazdeism of similar name who has exactly those characteristics; but one of the seven arch-demons who are opposed to the seven Mazdean archangels is called *Ashma*, and is the impersonation of anger (the primary meaning) and rapine. So constantly is he mentioned in the Avesta beside Angra Mainyu or Ahriman (with his weapon 'the wounding spear') that we could not wonder if he became naturalised in the spirit-world of the Jews in the Persian period. Once adopted, he would naturally assume a somewhat different form; his attributes would be modified by the sovereign will of the popular imagination. This was actually the course of history, as modern critics hold. By the time the Book of Tobit was written *Ashma* had already a well-defined *rité*, and, though vindictive as ever, had exchanged the field of battle for less noble haunts. The Asmodai of Tobit is, in fact, the counterpart of LILITH (g.v.), and in still later times divided with her the dominion of the *shēdim* or demons. Asmodai, or, as his name is written in Targ. and Talmud, אשמואי, אשמואי, was as dangerous to women as Lilith was to men, though we also find him represented in a less odious character as a potent, wise, and sometimes even ocular elf (see *Gittin*, 68a, in Wünsche's *1 er bab. Talm.* 2:180-183). The second part of the name *Asmodai* is of uncertain origin. Most connect it with the Zend *dāeva*, 'demon'; but, though the combination *Ashmo dāeva* is not impossible, it is nowhere found in the texts. Kohut's explanations (*Jüd. Angelologie und Aruch*, s.v.) are precarious.

Cp *Zendavesta and Pahlavi Texts in SBE*; Spiegel, *Eröbn. Alterthumskunde*, 2:131 f.; Grünbaum, *ZDMG* 31:204, etc.; Kohut's *Jüd. Angelologie*, 72, etc. T. K. C.

ASNAB (אשנב, 'thornbush'; אשנב [BA]; -ננא [L]; *asena*). The B ne *Asnah*, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 9), Ezra 2:50 = 1 Esd. 5:41, ASANA (אשנא [B], אשנא [A]) = Neh. 7:52 B (EV, following BNA, om.).

ASNAPPER, RV OSNAPPAR, better *Asenappar* (אשנפאר; אשנפאר [A], אשנפאר [B], אשנפאר [C], אשנפאר [L], *ASENAPHAR*), Ezra 4:9 f. To 'the great and noble *Asenappar*' is ascribed the transplanting of several nations into Samaria from beyond the Euphrates. The two epithets naturally suggest that an Assyrian king is referred to, and, as Bosanquet in G. Smith's *Hist. of Assyrian Empire*, 364 [71], suggested, the king can only be the conqueror of Susa—*Asur-bāni-pal* (אשורבניפל) = אשורבניפל.¹ This view is confirmed by the discovery (due to Marq. *Fund.* 59) of a various reading of אשנפאר which underlies the impossible ASBACAPHATH (g.v.) of 1 Esd. 5:69, viz. אשנפאר. The two readings supplement each other, and are explained by a common original אשנפאר, which is clearly *Asur-bāni-pal*. This great king's name which have stood both in Ezra 4:2

¹ An explanation, in the form which Gelzer gave to it (*AZ* 75 f. [75]), now widely accepted. Cp, however, Halévy, *RE* ix, 12.

('Esarhaddon' being an ignorant scribe's alteration) and in the source from which the statement in Ezra 4:2 is derived (perhaps 2 K. 17:24, which at present merely refers to 'the king of Assyria'). See further, ASUR-BAN-PAL.

ASOM (אסוֹם [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:33 = Ezra 10:33, HANSEM.

ASP (אֶסֶף, *pothion*; אֶסֶפֶת [BAL.]) in Dt. 32:33 Job 29:14-16 (ΔΡΑΚΟΝ [BNAC]) Is. 11:8 AV, in Ps. 58:4 91:13 AV¹⁹⁶ = ΒΑΚΙΛΙΚΟΝ [BNAR] E, and in Rom. 3:13; probably some species of viper (cp ADDER, 2), see SERPENT, § 4, D. 5.

ASPALATHUS (ΑΣΠΑΛΑΘΟΣ [BNA]); *calisamum* is associated with cinnamon and other perfumes in the Praise of Wisdom (Eccl. 2:15). Theophrastus (*Hist.* 9:7) mentions it along with various spices, etc., used in making unguents, and in Pliny (*H.N.* 22:24) it is '*radix unguentis expetite*'. Fraas, the most recent writer on classical botany (*Synopsis Plantarum Florae Classicae*, 49), refers it conjecturally to *Genista acanthoclada*, D.C., a native of Greece and the Grecian archipelago; but the most that can safely be said is that it seems to have been a prickly shrub, probably leguminous, with a scented wood or root. The ante-Linnaean commentaries devoted much attention to it, but with no more definite result. It has evidently been lost sight of since classical times, and supplanted by other perfumes. W. T. T.-D.

ASPATHA (אֶסְפָּתָה, פֶּאֶסְפָּתָה [BNA]); פִּיֶּאֶסְפָּתָה [N¹]. φά. [V]. φάσα [L]. one of the ten sons of HAMAN (cp. 1 Esd. 9:7). Pott and Benfey explain the name as the Pers. *aspadata*, 'ab equo sacro datus' (cp Be.-Rys.); but the MT reading is too insufficiently supported.

ASPHAR, THE POOL (ΑΔΚΚΟ¹ ΑΣΦΑΡ [NV]; Jos. 1:11 ΑΣΦΑΛ [A]; *lacus Asphar* [Vg.]), in the wilderness of Tekoa, is mentioned in connection with the struggle of Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees with Bacchides (1 Macc. 9:33; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1:2). The Be'er Asphar is probably the modern *Bir-Selhub*, a considerable reservoir in the wilderness, 6 m. WSW. of Engedi, and near the junction of several ancient roads (described by Rob. *BR* 2:202); the hills around still bear the name *Šufrā*, an equivalent of Asphar. A less probable identification is that with the ruins and cistern, *es-Za'ferāneh* to the S. of Tekoa (Buhl, *Pal.* 158). G. A. S.

ASPHARASUS (ΑΣΦΑΡΑΣΟΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:8 = Ezra 2:2, ΜΙΖΡΑΡ.

ASRIEL (אַסְרִיֶּלֶךְ, § 67, אֶסְרִיֶּל [BAL]; the patronymic is **Asrielite**, אֶסְרִיֶּלֶךְ, -[A] [BAF]. סַר. [L]), a Gileadite family, descended from Manasseh through Machir, Josh. 17:2 (יעֶזְרֵיחַ [B], עִרִי. [A], Nu. 26:31 (סַרְיִי. [L]). In 1 Ch. 7:14-19 (אֶסְרֵיֶּחַ [B], AV ASHRIEL; see MANASSEH), a very different Manassite genealogy, the name is probably dittography of the syllables immediately following (אֶסְרִיֶּלֶךְ; cp also text of 6¹); read, 'The sons of Manasseh whom his concubine the Aramitess bore' (cp Gen. 46:20 6). The name may be old, though it comes to us from later writers.

ASS (אֶסֶס, § 2 fem. אֶסֶס; ² אֶסֶס [BAL]; *asinus*, *asinus*). **Wild Ass** (אֶסֶס) or אֶסֶס (Chald. אֶסֶס; ⁴ *onos asyrius*; *anager*), and **Young Ass** (אֶסֶס, *παιος* [BAL]).

The following are the passages: (a) for 'ass' Gen. 12:16 22:3 49:14 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*). Ex. 13:23 Nu. 22:28 11. 22 to Judg. 5:10 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) [A.L.] 15:15 = K. 6:25 Is. 21:7 Zech. 9:9 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) Mt. 21:2 1 K. 13:15 etc.; (b) for 'wild ass' Job 6:5 11:12 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) 24:5 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) 29:5 Ps. 104:11 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*). Is. 32:14 Jer.

¹ The usual rendering of אֶסֶס or אֶסֶס in 6.
² Root אֶסֶס, 'to be red.' On the form cp Lag. *Uebers.* 11, Barth. *AV* 150.
³ The Ar. verb '*atana*' = 'contracto brevique gressu incessit'; but this may be denominative. אֶסֶס has of course no connection with *asinus*. See Lag. *Uebers.* 57, 817.
⁴ Lag. derives אֶסֶס from '*arada*', 'he threw a stone far,' referring to the effect of the animal's trampling hoofs (*Uebers.* 38 f.). אֶסֶס seems to be connected with the notion of swift flight.

2:4 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) 14:6 Dan. 5:21 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) Hos. 8:9 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) Gen. 16:12 RV (אֶסֶס *to esāss*); there was perhaps originally a reference to the wild ass also in 1 S. 24:14 [15] 26:20, where MT now reads אֶסֶס = FLEA [Vg.]. (c) For 'young ass' Is. 30:6 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*), 24 (אֶסֶס *to esāss*), EV 'foal', EV 'foal', EV 'colt', Zech. 9:9, and (אֶסֶס *to esāss*) Job 11:2, EV 'ass-colt', Judg. 10:4 12:14.

A comparison of the passages in which אֶסֶס and אֶסֶס respectively occur shows that the former was more used for carrying burdens and for agriculture, the latter for riding. Hence some have thought that אֶסֶס denotes a superior breed and not simply 'she-ass'; but this opinion is now given up. We must conclude that she-asses were preferred for riding. As the name אֶסֶס shows, the Eastern ass is generally reddish in colour; ¹ white asses are rarer, and, therefore, used by the rich and distinguished. This explains the reference in Judg. 5:10.²

The אֶסֶס (young ass, colt, foal; in Ar. specifically wild ass; see Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 127 ff.) was used variously for carrying burdens (Is. 30:6), for agriculture (1. 24), and for riding on (Zech. 9:9). On Judg. 10:4 12:14, see JAIR. On the place of the ass and on its employment among the Jews see generally Jos. c. *Ap.* 27.

The ass has been from the most ancient times a domesticated animal, and probably, in Egypt at any rate, preceded the horse as a servant of man. It is even questioned whether the wild stock from which it was derived survives at the present day, some authorities holding that the flocks of wild asses met with in various parts of Asia and Africa are but the descendants of those which have escaped from the domesticated state.

The domestic ass, *Equus asinus*, is believed to be descended from the wild ass of Africa, *E. asinus*, of which there are two varieties, *Africanus* and *Somalicus*; and the strong disinclination to ford even narrow streams which these animals show, and their delight in rolling in the dust, are regarded as indications that their origin is from some desert-dwelling animal. In former times this species seems to have extended into Arabia.

In the East the ass plays a large part in the life of the people, and has received a corresponding amount of care at their hands. Much trouble is taken in breeding and rearing the young. Darwin distinguishes four different breeds in Syria: 'first, a light and graceful animal (with an agreeable gait), used by ladies; secondly, an Arab breed reserved exclusively for the saddle; thirdly, a stouter animal used for ploughing and various purposes; and lastly, the large Damascus breed, with . . . peculiarly long body and ears.'

The wild asses which roam in small herds over a considerable part of Asia are sometimes regarded as belonging to one species, the *Equus hemionus*; sometimes to three, the *E. hemippus* found in Syria, the *E. onager*, the Onager of Persia, Beluchistan, and parts of Northern India, and the *E. hemionus* of the high table-lands of Tibet. Sven Hedin describes the last-named as resembling a mule. Living at such high altitudes it has unusually large nostrils. These are artificially produced by the Persians, who slit the nostrils of their tame asses when about to use them for transport purposes in mountainous districts. The Syrian species or sub-species rarely enters the N. of Palestine at the present time. Wild asses congregate in herds, each with a leader, and are said to migrate towards the south at the approach of winter. They are so fleet that only the swiftest horses can keep pace with them, a fact recorded both by Xenophon and by Layard; and they are so suspicious that it is difficult to approach within rifle-shot of them. They are eaten by the Arabs and the Persians. N. M.—A. E. S.

ASSABIAS (ΑΣΑΒΙΑΣ [L]), RV SABMAS, 1 Esd. 19:2 = 2 Ch. 35:9, HASHABIAH, 6.

ASSALIMOTH (ΑΣΣΑΛΙΜΩΘ [really -AC CAA. A]), 1 Esd. 8:36 AV = Ezra 8:10, SHELOMITH, 4.

ASSANIAS, RV **Assamias** (ΑΣΣΑΜΙΑΣ [B]), 1 Esd. 8:54 = Ezra 8:24, HASHABIAH, 7.

ASSAPHIOTH (ΑΣΣΑΦΕΙΩΘ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:33 RV = Ezra 2:55, HASSOPHERETH.

¹ Cp Plutarch's statement that the Egyptians excrete the ass *διὰ τὸ μακρὸν γενομένην τὸν Τυβιάνα, καὶ ἀνοῖξεν τὴν χροῖαν* (quoted by Bochart).
² אֶסֶס *צִירִית*, not strictly *white*, but white spotted with red, as the same word means in Arabic, where it is specially applied to the she-ass.

of אַשּׁוּר ("Ashur") was misunderstood by the authors of the vowel-points. The reference intended was, according to Hommel, to Ashur in S. Palestine; he proposes to read Ashur, not Asshur, also in Nu. 24.22 24. The latter view, at any rate, is very improbable (see BALAAM, § 6). Cp also GESHUR, 2.

ASSIDEANS, RV 'Hasidreans,' RV^{mg}, 'that is חַסִּידִים' (Ἀσιδαῖοι [ANV]), is a transcription of the Hebrew *hasidim*, *pious ones* (AV, generally, *saints*). It is often used of faithful Israelites in the Psalms (17 times in plur., 5 times in sing.), and sometimes unquestionably of the so-called Assideans (e.g. 116:15 149:59). In 1 Macc. the name appears as the designation of a society of men zealous for the law (1 Macc. 2:42—according to the correct text as given by Fritzsche), and closely connected with the scribes (1 Macc. 7:12 f.). It is plain from these passages that this society of 'pious ones,' who held fast to the law under the guidance of the scribes in opposition to the 'godless' Hellenising party, was properly a religious, not a political, organisation. For a time they joined the revolt against the Seleucids. The direct identification of the Assideans with the Maccabees party in 2 Macc. 14:6, however, is one of the many false statements of that book, and directly contradictory to the trustworthy narrative of 1 Macc. 7, which shows that they were strictly a religious party, who scrupled to oppose the legitimate high priest, even when he was on the Greek side, and withdrew from the war of freedom as soon as the attempt to interfere with the exercise of the Jewish religion was given up. We are not to suppose that the Assidean society first arose in the time of the Maccabees. The need of protesting against heathen culture was doubtless felt earlier in the Greek period. The 'former *hasidim*,' as a Jewish tradition (*Nedarim*, 10 a) assures us, were ascetic legalists. Under the Asmonean rule the Assideans developed into the better known party of the Pharisees, and assumed new relations to the ruling dynasty. It appears, from the *Psalter of Solomon*, which represents the views of the Pharisees, that the party continued to affect the title of 'pious ones' (ἁγίοι), but less frequently than that of 'righteous ones' (δικαιοί). Indeed, the third Jewish party of the Asmonean period had already appropriated the former name, if we may adopt Schürer's derivation of ESENE (q.v.). See We. Ph. u. Sadd. ('74), p. 76 ff., whose results WRS adopted, and cp Schür. *Hist. ET* 1:212; Che. *OPs*, 56 (on the use of 'Assideans'), and other passages (index under *khasidim*). W. R. S.—T. K. C.

ASSIR (אַסִּיר, 'prisoner'; but perhaps rather אֲסִיר = Osiris; 1 cp HUR).

1. (In Ex. אַסִּיר [PF], אַסִּיר [AL]; in 1 Ch. אַסִּיר, אַסִּיר, אַסִּיר [B], אַסִּיר [A], אַסִּיר אַסִּיר [L]; *al-ḥi*). The *eposon* of one of the families or divisions of the Korahite guild of Levites; Ex. 6:24 [P]. Cp 1 Ch. 6:22 f. 37 [2 f. 20], and for the interpretation of these discrepant genealogies see KORAH.

2. Son of Jeconiah (1 Ch. 3:17; אַסִּיר [BAL]). So AV, following a Jewish view that Assir and Shealtiel are the names of two different sons of Jehoiachin (*Syntheson*, 37 a; Midrash *Pesikta*, par. x; Midr. *Sifre hasidim*, no. 89; so Kimchi); but the best texts (B⁹, G⁹insb) make 'Jeconiah-Assir' the name of one man. Kau. *HS* and *SBOT* rightly restore the article before Assir (the preceding word ends in *n*). Render, therefore, 'Jeconiah the captive' (so RV). Cp SHEALTIEL.

ASSOS, or ASSUS (Ἀσσός [Ti. WH]), Acts 20:13,¹ a town and seaport in the Roman province of Asia; now *Bekram Kalesi*. Strabo, who ranks Assus and Adramyteum together as 'cities of note,' pithily describes the former as lying in a lofty situation, with splendid fortifications, and communicating with its harbours by means of a long flight of steps (610, 614). So strong was the position that it gave rise to a pun by the musician Stratonicus, who applied to it the line

ἄσσον ἴθ' ὡς κεν θάσσον δαίμονον περὶαὶ ἔθνη.
'Come again, that anon thou mayest enter the toils of death' (Hom. *Il.* vi. 143). The joke lay in reading "ἄσσον ἴθ' = 'Come to Assus.' The town was always singularly Greek in character. Leake observes that its ruins give 'perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists.' The material is granite, which partly accounts for their immunity from spoliation. One of the most interesting parts is the Via Sacra, or Street of Tombs, extending to a great distance to the NW. from the gate of the city. It is bordered by granite collins, some of them of great size. In Roman times, owing to its supposed power of accelerating the decay of corpses (Pl. *HN* 2:98 30:27), the stone of Assus received the name *sarcophagus*. Paul must have entered the city by the Street of Tombs on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:13 14). The apostle had landed at Troas and walked or rode the 20 m. thence to Assus in time to join his companions, who had meanwhile sailed round Cape Lectum.

A good account of Assos is given in Fellows, *Asia Minor*, 52; Murray's *Handbook of A. M.* 64; for its inscriptions see *Report of the American Expedition*, 157. W. J. W.

ASSUERUS (Ἀσσυρος [B] etc.) Tob. 14:15† AV, RV AHASUERUS (q.v., no. 3).

ASSUR (אֲשׁוּר) Ezra 4:2 Ps. 83:8 AV, 4 Esd. 2:8 EV (*Assur* [ed. Bensly]) Judith 2:14 etc. AV, RV ASSHUR; elsewhere RV ASSYRIA (q.v.).

2. (Ἀσσυρία [B]), 1 Esd. 5:31 = Ezra 2:51, HARBUR.

ASSYRIA

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Aššur, the name of the country known to us as Assyria, was written in Hebrew אַשּׁוּר, EV ASSHUR, or more fully אַשּׁוּר יָרְדֵן, in the LXX

1. **Names.** Ἀσσυρία and Ἀσσυρία (sometimes Ἀσσυρ) by Josephus and the Greek historians Ἀσσυρία, in the Greek of the Alexandrian epoch Ἀσσυρία, and in Aramaic *Athūr*, *Athūriyā*, in which form the name survived as that of a diocese of the Nestorian Church.

Other forms occurring once in \mathfrak{S} are:—*assur* in E and in A; *assurur* in D, in A, and in I, respectively; *asur* in E; *assurur*

in A¹; *assurur* in B²; *assur* in Bab. \mathfrak{S} 28 f. a, c, d (and twice in A); *sur* in R³.

By the Assyrians themselves the name of their country was written phonetically אֲשׁוּר אֲשׁוּר אֲשׁוּר, or (combining the two) אֲשׁוּר אֲשׁוּר, the signs אֲשׁ and אֲשׁוּ being determinatives respectively for 'land' and 'place.' Subsequently, the two signs that formed the word, אֲ (= aš) and אֲשׁ (= šur), were run together and the name was written אֲשׁוּ אֲשׁוּ אֲשׁוּ,

1 In 20:13 Vg. translates ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσσοῦ (Ti. WH) by *cim sustuliventi de Asson*, taking the word (incorrectly) as the name of the city.

¹ Nestle, *Eiernamen*, 111; Che. *Proph. Is.* (B) 2:144 300, and on Is. 10:1 in *SBOT*; see also NAMES, § 82.
² For literature see BABYLONIA, § 19 f.

𐎶 → 𐎶, and finally the writing of the name was abbreviated to the single horizontal stroke that forms its first syllable, 𐎶 → 𐎶, 𐎶 → 𐎶. The name was also written 𐎶 → 𐎶, 𐎶 → 𐎶, 𐎶 → 𐎶.

𐎶 → 𐎶 or 𐎶 → 𐎶 → 𐎶 (𐎶 = i.e., 'land of the god Ašur'.¹ In fact, it is probable that the city of Ašur, from which the land of Aššur was named, received its title from the national god. Other instances are known in which a god has given his name to the country or city that worshipped him. The land of Guti that lay to the E. of Assyria beyond the Lower Zāb appears to have taken its name from Guti its national god, whilst the god Sušinak gave his name to the city of Sušinak or Susa, the principal town on the banks of the Euleus. The general term among the Greeks for all subjects of the Assyrian empire was Ἀσσυριοί, which was more usually shortened to Σύριοι or Σύροι.² The abbreviated form of the word was, however, gradually confined to the western Aramaic nations, being at last adopted by the Arameans themselves. These people, on becoming Christians, dropped their old name in consequence of the heathen associations it had acquired in their translation of the NT, and styled themselves Συριαῖοι, whence the modern term 'Syria.' The unabbreviated name was used to designate the district on the banks of the Tigris, and this form of the word, passing from the Greeks to the Romans, finally reached the nations of northern Europe.

References to Assyria or the Assyrians in the OT are very numerous, though they are in the main confined to the historical and the prophetic books; the former describing the relations of Assyria with the later kings of Israel and Judah, the latter commenting on these relations and offering advice. The prophets, in their denunciations and predictions, sometimes refer to the Assyrians by name; at other times, though not actually naming them, they describe them in terms which their hearers could not possibly mistake.

The principal references may be classified under the following three headings: (a) Geographical use of the name Assyria; to describe the course of the Tigris in the account of the garden of Eden (Gen. 2, 14), and to indicate the region inhabited by the sons of Ishmael (25, 18). (b) References to historical events: the foundation of the Assyrian empire (Gen. 10, 11), and its classification among the nations (10, 10); Menahem's tribute to K. Jer. 2, 35; the captivity of northern Israel (Is. 7, 18, 20; 2 K. 17, 34; 2 Ch. 32, 29); the assistance of Assyria to Tiglath-pileser, followed by the capture and captivity of Damascus (2 K. 17, 31; 2 Ch. 28, 23); Hezekiah's submission to Sennacherib (2 K. 18, 17; 2 Ch. 32, 23); the siege and capture of Samaria (2 K. 18, 9-12), and the colonisation of the country by foreigners (17, 24 ff.); Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine and Hezekiah's payment of tribute, his refusal to submit to further demands, the escape of Jerusalem from the Assyrian vengeance, and Sennacherib's death (Is. 37, 36-38; 2 K. 19, 35-37; 2 Ch. 32, 23); the trade of Assyria with Tyre (Ezek. 27, 23); general references to past captivity or oppression by Assyria (Is. 52, 4; Jer. 50, 17; Lam. 5, 6; Ezek. 23, 5 ff., 25); reference to the punishment that overtook Assyria (Jer. 50, 18); reference to the colonisation of Palestine by Esarhaddon (Ezra 4, 2). (c) Prophetic criticism and forecasts: evil or captivity threatened or foretold to coming from Assyria (Nu. 24, 10; Hos. 9, 11; Is. 7, 17 ff., 10, 5, 23, 24; Ezek. 25, 2, 22, 24; Ps. 83, 9); the fulfilment of prophecy on Assyrian heathenism (Is. 5, 27, 28; Hos. 10, 15; Jer. 2, 18, 30); the participation of Israel in Assyrian idolatry (Ezek. 16, 28, 28, 5 ff.); prophecies of the return from captivity in Assyria (Hos. 11, 11; Mic. 7, 12; Is. 11, 11, 16; Zech. 10, 10); predictions of overthrow or misfortune for Assyria (Nu. 24, 24; Mic. 5, 5 ff.; Is. 10, 24 ff., 14, 25, 30, 31, 31, 8; Ezek. 31, 3 ff.; the prophecy of Nahum;

Zeph. 2, 13; Zech. 10, 11); references to Assyria as taking part in the final invasion and reconquest of mankind (Ezra 1, 19, 25; Is. 45, 13). In some of these passages, however, Assyria may = SYRIA (q. v.).

It is difficult to define exactly the boundaries of Assyria. The extent of the country varied from time to time according to the additional territory acquired in conquest by its monarchs, and the name itself has at times suffered from a somewhat vague and general application. The classical writers employed it in a conventional sense for the whole area watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, including northern Babylonia, whilst its use has even been extended so as to cover the entire tract of country from the coast of the Mediterranean to the mountains of Kurdistan. In a definition of the extent of Assyria proper, however, any vague use of the name may be ignored, for, although at one time the Assyrian empire embraced the greater part of western Asia, the provinces she included in her rule were merely foreign states not attached to herself by any organic connection, but retained by force of arms.

In general terms, therefore, the land of Assyria may be said to have been situated in the upper portion of the Mesopotamian valley about the middle course of the river Tigris, and here we may trace certain natural limits which may be regarded as the proper boundaries of the country. The mountain chains of Armenia and Kurdistan form natural barriers on the N. and E. On the S. the boundary that divided Assyria from Babylonia was in a constant state of fluctuation; but the point at which the character of the country changes from the flat alluvial soil of the Babylonian plain into the slightly higher and more undulating tracts to the N. gives a sufficiently well-defined line of demarcation. On the W., Assyria in its earliest period did not extend beyond the territory watered by the Tigris; but, finding no check to its advance in that direction, it gradually absorbed the whole of Mesopotamia as far S. as Babylon, until it found a frontier in the waters of the Euphrates.

The chief feature of the country is the river TIGRIS (q. v.), which, rising in the mountains of Armenia, runs southward and divides Assyria into an E. and a W. district. That part of Assyria which is situated on the E. or left bank of the Tigris, though the smaller, has always been much the more important. The country on that side of the river consists of a continuous plain broken up by low detached ranges of limestone hills into a series of shallow valleys through which small streams run. All the main tributaries, too, that feed the Tigris rise in the Kurdish mountains, and flow through the E. division of the country. The E. Khābūr, the Great or Upper Zāb, the Little or Lower Zāb, the Adhem, and the Diyālā join the Tigris on its left or E. bank. Being therefore so amply supplied with water, this portion of the country is very fertile, and well suited by nature for the rise of important cities. On the other hand, W. Assyria, which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, is a much drier and more barren region. The fall of the two rivers between the point where they issue from the spurs of the Taurus and the point where they enter the Babylonian alluvium—a distance of six hundred or seven hundred miles—amounts to about one thousand feet, the Tigris having the shorter course, and being, therefore, more rapid. The country between the rivers consists of a plain, sloping gently from the NW. to the SE. In its upper part this region is somewhat rugged; it is intersected by many streams, which unite to form the Belikh and W. Khābūr. The rivers flowing S. join the Euphrates, and the district through which they pass is watered sufficiently for purposes of cultivation. In the SW., however, the supply of water is scanty, and the country tends to become a desert, its slightly undulating surface being broken only by the Sinjār range, a single row of limestone hills. The district

¹ Throughout the present article the form Ašur is employed for the name of the god and city, Aššur for that of the land. In the inscriptions the name of the land is written with the doubled sibilant, an original Assyrian form that is not inconsistent with the later Greek and Aramaic renderings of the name (see Nöldke, *ZA* 1, 268 ff.). The name of the god, however, is written in the inscriptions both with the single and double sibilant, of which the former may be regarded as the more correct on the basis of the Greek and Hebrew transliteration of certain proper names, in which the name Ašur occurs (see Jensen, *ZA* 1, 1 ff. and Schrader, *ib.* 205 ff.).

² On this see SYRIA.

S. of these hills is waterless for the greater part of the year; the few streams and springs are for the most part brackish, while in some places the country consists of salt deserts, and in others vegetation is rendered impossible by the nitrous character of the soil. It is true that on the edges of this waterless region there are gullies (from one to two miles wide) which present a more fertile appearance. These have been hollowed out by the streams in the rainy season, and, being submerged when the river rises, have in the course of time been filled with alluvial soil. At the present day they are the only spots between the hill-country in the north and the Babylonian plain in the south where permanent cultivation is possible. It has been urged that this portion of the country may have changed its character since the time of the Assyrian empire, and it is possible that in certain districts extensive irrigation may have considerably increased its productiveness; but at best this portion of Assyria is fitted rather for the hunter than for the tiller of the soil. The land to the left of the Tigris is, therefore, much better suited for sustaining a large population, and it is in

5. Cities.

This district that the mounds marking the sites of the ancient cities are to be found. Ašur, the earliest city of Assyria, is indeed situated to the west of the Tigris, near the spot where Kal'at Sherik it now stands; but its site is within a short distance of the river, and it was the only city of importance on that side of the stream. Apart from its earliest capital, the chief cities of Assyria were Nineveh, Calah, and Dūr-Sargina. Nineveh, whose foundation must date from a period not much more recent than that of Ašur, was considerably to the N. of that city, opposite the modern town of Mosul (*Mawasil*), on the E. bank of the Tigris, at the point where the small stream of the Khosr empties its waters; its site is marked by the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yünüs (cp NINEVEH). Calah, founded by Shalmaneser I., corresponds to the modern Nimrūd, occupying a position to the S. of Nineveh on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Upper Zāb with the Tigris (cp CALAH). Dūr-Sargina, 'the wall of Sargon,' was founded by that monarch, who removed his court thither; the site of the city is marked by the modern village of Khorsābād, to the NE. of Nineveh (cp SARGON). It will be seen that there was a tendency throughout Assyrian history to move the centre of the kingdom northwards, following the course of the Tigris. Other cities of importance were Arba'il or Irba'il (Arbēla) on the E. of the Upper Zāb; Ingur-Bēl (corresponding to the modern Tell-Balawāt), situated to the SE. of Nineveh; and Tarbis, its site now marked by the village of Sherif-Khān, lying to the NW. of Nineveh.

From the above brief description of the country, it may be inferred that Assyria presents considerable differences of climate. E. Assyria was

the most favoured region, possessing a good rainfall during winter and even in the spring, and having, in virtue of its proximity to the Kurdish mountains and its abundant supply of water, a climate cooler and moister than was generally enjoyed to the W. of the Tigris. In this latter region the somewhat rigorous climate of the mountainous district in the N. presents a strong contrast to the arid character of the waterless steppes in the centre and the S. The frequent descriptions of the extreme fertility of Assyria in the classical writers may, therefore, be regarded as in part referring to the rich alluvial plains of Babylonia. Not that Assyria was by any means a barren land. She supplemented her rainfall by extensive artificial irrigation, and thus secured for her fields in the hot season a continual supply of water. Her cereal crops were good. Olives were not uncommon, and the citrons of Assyria were famous in antiquity. Fruit trees were extensively cultivated, and, although the dates of Assyria

were much inferior to those of Babylonia, orange, lemon, pomegranate, apricot, mulberry, vine, and fig were grown successfully. The tamarisk was an exceedingly common shrub; oleanders and myrtles grew in the eastern district; but, except along the rivers and on the mountain slopes, trees were scanty. The trees, however, included the silver poplar, the dwarf oak, the plane, the sycamore, and the walnut. Vegetables such as beans, peas, cucumbers, onions, and lentils were grown throughout the country. Though Assyria could not compete with Babylonia in fertility, her supply of stone and minerals far exceeded that of the southern country. Dig where you will in the alluvial soil of the south, you come upon no strata of rock or stone to reward your efforts. In Assyria limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate rock were common, whilst gray alabaster of a soft kind, an excellent material for sculpture in relief, abounds on the left bank of the Tigris; hard basaltic rock and various marbles were also accessible in the mountains of Kurdistan. Iron, copper, and lead were to be found in the hill country not far from Nineveh, while lead and copper were obtained from the region of the upper Tigris in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Diārbekr. Sulphur, alum, salt, naphtha, and bitumen were also common; bitumen was extensively employed, in place of mortar or cement, in building (cp BITUMEN). Of the wild animals of Assyria the lion and the wild bull are those most often mentioned in the historical inscriptions as affording big game for the Assyrian kings. Less ambitious sportsmen might content themselves with the wild boar and the deer, the gazelle, the ibex, and the hare; while the wild ass, the bear, the fox, the jackal, the wild cat, and wild sheep were to be found. The most common of the birds were the kite or eagle, the vulture, the bustard, the crane, the stork, the wild goose, wild duck, teal, tern, partridge (red and black), the sand grouse, and the plover. We know from the monuments that fish were common. Of the domestic animals of the Assyrians the principal were camels, horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, and goats. Dogs, resembling the mastiff in appearance, were employed for hunting. From the fact that heavy stone weights carved in the form of ducks have been found, it may be assumed that the duck was domesticated.

The Assyrians belonged to the northern family of Semites, and were closely akin to the Phœnicians, the 7. National Aramaeans, and the Hebrews. Their character. robust physical proportions and facial characteristics are well known from the monuments, and tally with what we know of their character from their own inscriptions and the writings of the Hebrew prophets. Is. 33 19 describes the Assyrians as 'a fierce people'—an epithet that fits a nation whose history is one perpetual warfare. The dividing line between courage and ferocity is easily overpassed, and in a military nation, such as the Assyrians were, it was but natural that there should be customs which to a later age seem barbarous. The practice of impaling the defenders of a captured city was almost universal with the Assyrians; the torturing of prisoners was common; and the practice of beheading the slain, whilst adding insult to the vanquished, was adopted as a convenient method of computing the enemy's loss, for it was easier to count heads than to count bodies. The difference in character between the Assyrians and the milder Babylonians was due partly to the absence of that non-Semitic element which gave rise to and continued to influence the more ancient civilisation of the latter (see BABYLONIA, § 5); partly, also, to differences of climate and geographical position. The ferocity and the courage of the Assyrians are to a great extent absent from the Babylonian character. It has been asserted that the Semites never make great soldiers, yet there have been two prominent exceptions to this generalisation—the Assyrians and the Carthaginians. The former indeed not

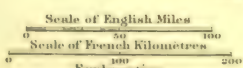
MAP OF SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA

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AND BABYLONIA.



Explanation	
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only displayed the energy of conquest, but also combined with it a great power of administration by which they organised the empire they had acquired. It was, however, the custom of the Greek historians, and afterwards of the Romans, to paint the Assyrians as a singularly luxurious and sensual nation. Their monarchs, from the founder of the empire down to the last king who held the throne, were described as given up to pleasure. It is possible that as regards the later empire this tradition contains a substratum of truth, for the growing luxury of Assyria may well have been one of the causes that brought about her fall. For the earlier and the middle period of Assyrian history, however, the statement is proved to be untrue, both by the records of Assyria herself and by the negative evidence of the Hebrew prophets. These contemporaries of Assyria, who hated her with the bitter hatred which the oppressed must always feel for their oppressors, rarely, if ever, denounce her luxury; it was her violence and robbery that impressed her victims. In the language of prophecy the nation is pictured as a lion (Nah. 2.12), and it is not as a centre of vice but as 'the bloody city' that Nahum foretells the destruction of her capital (3.1).

The Assyrians spoke a Semitic language, which they inherited from the Babylonians—a language that was

more closely allied to Hebrew and Aramaic than to Arabic and the other dialects of the S. Semitic group. They wrote a non-Semitic character, one of the varieties of the cuneiform writing (see BABYLONIA, § 5 ff.). Like their language, this system of writing came to them from the Babylonians, who had themselves inherited it from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia.

The Assyrians, although retaining the Babylonian signs, made sundry changes in the formation of them, and in some it is possible to trace a steady development throughout the whole period covered by the Assyrian inscriptions.

The forms of some of the characters in the inscriptions of almost every Assyrian king display slight variations from those employed by his predecessors. Indeed, in some few cases, the forms used at different periods differ more widely from one another than they do from their Babylonian original.

The literature of the Assyrians was borrowed. In a sense they were without a literature, for they were not a literary people. They were a nation of warriors, not of scholars. In this they present the greatest contrast to their kindred in the S. Possessed of abundant practical energy, they were without the meditative temperament which fostered the growth of Babylonian literature; and, although displaying courage in battle and devotion to the chase, they lacked the epic spirit in which to tell the tales of their enterprise. The majority of the historical inscriptions which they have left behind them are not literature: they are merely lists of conquered cities, catalogues of captured spoil, and statistics of the slain.

Though not original, however, the Assyrians were far from being illiterate. They took over, root and branch, the whole literature of Babylonia, in the copying, the collection, and the arrangement of which they displayed the same energy and vigour with which they prosecuted a campaign. It was natural that the priests and scribes, whose duty it was to copy and collate, should attempt compositions of their own; but they merely reproduced the matter and the methods of their predecessors. In a word, the Assyrians made excellent librarians, and it is to their powers of organisation that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian literature. Since, therefore, the language, the system of writing, and the literature of the Assyrians were not of their own making, but merely an inheritance into which they entered, the description of them in greater detail falls more naturally under the article BABYLONIA (see § 19 ff.).

The religion of the Assyrians resembles in the main that of the Babylonians, from which it was derived. The early colonists from the south carried with them the

gods of the country which they were leaving; but from the very first they appear to have somewhat modified the system and to have given a distinctly national character to the pantheon they borrowed.

9. Religion. This end they achieved by the introduction of the worship of Ašur, their peculiarly national god, who was for them the symbol of their separate existence. Ašur they set above all the Babylonian deities, even Anu, Bēl, and Ea taking a subordinate position in the hierarchy. It is true that we find Bēl mentioned at times as though he were on an equal footing with Ašur, especially in the double royal title 'Governor of Bēl, Representative of Ašur,' while Assyria is sometimes termed 'the land of Bēl' and Nineveh 'the city of Bēl.' These titles, however, were not inconsistent with Ašur's supremacy. He was 'the king of all the gods,' and any national success was regarded as the result of his initiative. It was Ašur who marked out the kings of Assyria from their birth, and in due time called them to the throne. It was he who invested them with power and gave them victory over their enemies, listened to their prayers, and dictated the policy they should pursue. The Assyrian army were 'the troops of Ašur'; the national foe was 'Ašur's enemy'; and every expedition is stated to have been undertaken only at his direct command. In fact, the life of the nation was consecrated to his service, and its energies were spent in the attempt to vindicate his majesty among the nations that surrounded them. His symbol was the winged circle in which was frequently enclosed a draped male figure wearing a head-dress with three horns and with his hand extended; at other times he is represented as holding a bow or drawing it to its full extent. The symbol may, perhaps, be explained as a visible representation that Ašur's might had no equal, his influence no limit, and his existence no end. This symbol is often to be found on the monuments as the accompaniment of royalty, signifying that the Assyrian king, as Ašur's representative, was under his especial protection; and we find it not only sculptured above the king's image but also graven on his seal and even embroidered on his garment. It is possible that we may trace in this exaltation of the god Ašur the Semitic tendency to monotheism, the complete vindication of which first found expression in the Hebrew prophets. It must not be supposed, however, that the new deity stood in any opposition to the older gods. These retained the respect and worship of the Assyrians, and stood by Ašur's side—not so powerful, it is true, but retaining considerable influence and lending their aid without prejudice to the advancement of the nation's interests.

The spouse of Ašur was Bēlīt—that is, 'the Lady' *par excellence*—and she was identified with the goddess Ištar (see especially 3 R. 24, 80; 53, n. 2, 36 f.), and in particular with Ištar of Nineveh. Another goddess who enjoyed especial veneration in Assyria was Ištar of Arbela, who became particularly prominent under Sennacherib and his successors, and was generally mentioned by the side of her namesake of Nineveh. She was especially the goddess of battle, and from Ašur-bāni-pal we know the conventional form in which she was presented. This monarch, on the eve of an engagement with the Elamites, feeling far from confident of his own success, appealed for encouragement and guidance to Ištar of Arbela. The goddess answered the king's prayer by appearing that night in a vision to a certain seer while he slept. On recounting his dream to the king, the seer described the appearance of the goddess in these words: 'Ištar, who dwells in Arbela, entered. On the left and the right of her hung quivers; in her hand she held a bow; and a sharp sword did she draw for the waging of battle.'

Besides Ašur and Ištar, two other gods were held in particular respect by the Assyrians—Ninib, the god of battle, and Nergal, the god of the chase. Almost all

the Assyrian kings, however, had their own pantheons, to whom they owed especial allegiance. In many cases the names constituting the pantheon occur in the king's inscriptions in a set order that does not often vary.

Such were the principal changes which the Assyrians made in the pantheon of Babylonia, the majority of whose gods they inherited, with their functions and attributes to a great extent unchanged. It is true that our knowledge of Babylonian religion, like that of Babylonian literature, comes to us mainly through Assyrian sources; but though it passed to them, its origin and development are closely interwoven with the history of the older country. The cosmology of the Assyrians and their conception of the universe were entirely Babylonian (see BABYLONIA, § 25); their astrology (*ib.* § 34), their science of omens (§ 32), their system of ritual and their ceremonial observances (§ 29 *f.*) were an inheritance from the temples and worship of the south.

Though in language, writing, and literature Assyria so closely resembles Babylonia, in her architecture she presents a striking contrast. The alluvial plains of the southern country contained no stone, and the Babylonian buildings were, therefore, mainly composed of brick. The resources of Assyria were not so poor; the limestone and the alabaster with which her land abounded stood her in good stead.

The palace was the most important building among the Assyrians, for the principal builders were the kings. It was erected, usually, on an artificial platform of bricks or earth; in which fact we may possibly see a survival of a custom of Babylonia, where such precautions against inundation were necessary. The platform was generally faced with stone, and was at times built in terraces which were connected by steps. The palace itself was composed of halls, galleries, and smaller chambers built round open courts, the walls of the former being ornamented with elaborate sculptures in relief. It is only from their foundations that our knowledge of the Assyrian palaces has been obtained. From these remains a good idea of their extent can be gathered; but there is no means of telling the appearance they presented when complete. Their upper portion has been totally destroyed; it is a matter of conjecture whether they consisted of more than one story. The paving of the open courts was as a rule composed of brick; but sometimes stone slabs, covered with shallow carving in conventional patterns, were employed.

The temple was subordinate to the palace. Our knowledge of its appearance is based mainly on its representation on the monuments, from which it would appear that the Assyrians inherited the Babylonian *zikkurratu* (temple-tower), a building in stages which diminish as they ascend (see BABYLONIA, § 16, *beg.*). Unmistakable remains of a building of this description were uncovered on the N. side of the mound at Nimrud. Another type of building depicted on the monuments has been identified as a shrine or a temple; it was a single-storied structure, with a broad entablature supported by columns or pilasters.

The domestic architecture of the Assyrians has perished. The dwellings of the more wealthy must have resembled the royal residence. On the bas-reliefs are to be found villages which bear a striking resemblance to those of modern Mesopotamia; and, having regard to the eternal nature of things eastern, we may regard it as not unlikely that the humbler subjects of Assyria were housed neither better nor worse than the villagers of to-day.

It was to adorn their palaces and temples that the Assyrians employed the sculptured slabs and bas-reliefs

with which their name is peculiarly associated. The majority of these have come from the palaces of Ašur-nāsir-pal, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Ašur-bāni-pal. The work of the earliest of these kings is distinguished from that of his successors by a certain breadth and grandeur of treatment; but the constant repetition of his own figure, accompanied

by attendants, human or divine, becomes monotonous.

The work of Sargon presents a greater variety of subject and treatment; but it is in the sculptures of Sennacherib and Ašur-bāni-pal that the most varied episodes of Assyrian life and history are portrayed. It was natural that battle-scenes should chiefly occupy the sculptor; yet even here the artist could give his fancy play. Whilst he was bound by convention to depict the vulture devouring the slain, he could carve at the top of his slab a sow with her litter trampling through a reed-bed. Armies in camp or on the march, the siege of cities or battles in the open, the counting of the slain and the treatment of prisoners—all are rendered with absolute fidelity. When an army crosses a river and boats for transport are not to be had, the troops are represented as swimming over with the help of inflated skins¹—a custom that survives on the banks of the Tigris to the present day.

Though the sculptures of Sennacherib and Ašur-bāni-pal have much in common, as regards both their matter and the method of their treatment, each king had his own favourite subject for portrayal on his monuments. Sennacherib liked most to perpetuate his building operations; Ašur-bāni-pal, his own deeds of valour in the chase. Sennacherib erected two palaces at Nineveh—the one at Nebi Yūnus, the other at Kuyunjik—but it is only at Kuyunjik that the palace has been thoroughly explored. On the walls of this latter edifice he caused to be carved a series of scenes in which his buildiers are represented at their work. Stone and timber are being carried down the Tigris upon rafts; gangs of slaves are collecting smaller stones in baskets, and piling them up to form the terrace on which the palace is to stand; others are wheeling hand-carts full of tools and ropes for scaffolding, or transporting on sledges huge blocks of stone for the colossal statues. The hunting-scenes of Ašur-bāni-pal may be regarded as marking the acme of Assyrian art. Background and accessories are for the most part absent. Thus, grotesque efforts at perspective, common to the most of early art, are avoided, with the result that the limitations in the methods of the early artist are not so apparent. The scenes portrayed are always spirited. The figures are all in motion. Whilst the elaboration of detail is not carried to an extreme, action is represented with complete success. This series of hunting-scenes contains pieces of great beauty. It is in striking contrast to the large majority of Assyrian sculptures, which tend to excite interest rather than admiration. Still, even the earlier work has not entirely failed in its purpose—ornamentation. The stiff arrangement of a battlefield has often a decorative effect; and the representation of a river with the curves and scrolls of its water contrasting with the stiff symmetrical line of reeds upon its bank, is always pleasing. Indeed, from a decorative point of view, Assyrian art attained no small success. Traces of colour are still to be found on some of the bas-reliefs, on the hair and beards of figures, on parts of the clothing, on the belts, the sandals, etc.; but the question whether the whole stone-work was originally covered

¹ A singular detail may be noticed with reference to the representation of these skins. The soldier places the skin beneath his belly, and by means of his arms and legs paddles himself across the water. Even with this assistance he would need all his breath before his efforts landed him on the opposite bank; but in the sculptures each soldier is represented as retaining in his mouth one of the legs of the inflated skin, into which he continues to blow as into a bagpipe. The inflation of the skin could be accomplished far more effectually on land before he started, and the last leg of the beast could then be tied up so that the swimmer need not trouble himself further about his apparatus, but devote his entire attention to his stroke. This, no doubt, was what actually happened; but the sculptor wishes to indicate that his skins are not solid bodies but full of air, and he can find no better way of showing it than by making his swimmers continue blowing out the skins, though in the act of crossing. This instance may be taken as typical of the spirit of primitive art, which, diffident of its own powers of portrayal, or distrusting the imagination of the beholder, seeks to make its meaning clear by means of conventional devices.

with paint, or only parts of it picked out in colour, cannot be decided.

Even more famous than their sculptured slabs are the colossal winged lions and human-headed bulls of the Assyrians. They fired the imagination of the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel, and they impress the beholder of to-day. These creatures were set on either side of a doorway or entrance, and were intended to be viewed both from the front and from the side—a fact that explains why they are invariably represented with five legs. A very curious effect was often produced by running inscriptions across the bodies of these beasts without regard to any detail of carving or design. *Asūr-nāsir-pal* was a great offender in this respect. Not content with scarring his colossi in this manner, he ran inscriptions over his bas-reliefs as well, and displayed a lack of imagination by repeating the same short inscription again and again with but few variations.

Carving in the round was rarely practised. A stone statuette of *Asūr-nāsir-pal*, a seated stone figure of *Shalmaneser II.*, and some colossal statues of the god *Nebo* have been found; but, though the proportions of the figure are more or less correct, their treatment is exceedingly stiff and formal. Modelling in clay, however, was common. A few small clay figures of gods have been discovered, and we possess clay models of the favourite hounds of *Asūr-bāni-pal*. We know, too, that the stone bas-reliefs were first of all designed and modelled on a smaller scale in clay: the British Museum possesses fragments of these clay designs, as well as the rough drafts on clay tablets which the Assyrian masons copied when they chiselled the inscriptions.

In their metal work the Assyrians were very skilful. This we may gather both from the monuments and from the actual examples of the art that have come down to us. A good majority of the originals of the metal trappings, ornaments, etc., that are represented on the monuments must have been cast. The metal weights in the form of lions are among the best actual examples of casting that we possess. In the British Museum, moreover, there is to be seen an ancient mould that was employed for casting. It was found near *Mösul*, and, although it must be assigned to a period about two centuries subsequent to the fall of *Nineveh*, it probably represents the traditional form of that class of matrix, and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that such moulds were extensively employed in the Assyrian foundries of at least the later empire. The mould in question is made of bronze, and is formed in four pieces which fit together accurately. Three holes may be observed on the flat upper surface. Into these holes the molten metal was poured. When the mould was opened after its contents had been given time to cool, there would be seen lying within it three barbed arrow-heads.

It was, however, in the more legitimate art of metal-beating that the Assyrians excelled. Much of the embossed work that adorned their thrones, their weapons, and their armour was wrought with the hammer, while the dishes and bowls from *Nimrūd* and the shields from the neighbourhood of *Lake Van* are covered with delicate *repoussé* work, the design on the upper side being finished and defined by means of a graving tool. The largest and finest examples of this class of work that have been preserved are the bronze sheathings of the gates of *Shalmaneser II.*, which were excavated at *Tell-Balawāt* in 1870 and are now to be seen in the British Museum. The bronze gates of nations in antiquity were not cast in solid metal. They would have been too heavy to move, and metal was not obtained in sufficient quantities to warrant such an extravagance. The gate was built principally of wood, on which plates of metal were fastened; the object being to strengthen the gate against an enemy's assault, and especially to protect its wooden interior from destruction by fire. The metal coverings of *Shalmaneser's*

gate consist of bronze bands which at one time strengthened and adorned it. A brief inscription runs round them, while the space is filled with designs in delicate relief illustrating the battles and conquests of the king and in general treatment resembling the bas-reliefs of stone to which reference has been made.

Iron was used by the Assyrians; but bronze was the favourite substance of the metal-worker. Specimens of the bronze employed have been analysed, and it has been ascertained that it consists roughly of one part of tin to ten parts of copper. We know from the jewels represented on the monuments that ornamental work in silver and in gold was not uncommon, and specimens of inlaid work and of work in ivory have been found at *Nimrūd*. Many of the examples we possess, however, betray a strong Egyptian influence, apparent in the general method of treatment and in the occurrence of the scarabæus, the cartouche, and a few hieroglyphs. Thus they must be regarded not as genuine Assyrian productions, but rather as the work of Phœnician artists copying Egyptian designs. Enamelling of bricks was extensively employed as a means of decoration. The designs consist sometimes of patterns, and sometimes of scenes in which men and animals take part. The colouring is subdued, and the general effect is harmonious. The fact that the tones of the colouring are so subdued is regarded by some as a proof that they have faded. Some excellent examples of enamelled architectural ornamentation in terra-cotta have been found at *Nimrūd*. They bear the name of *Asūr-nāsir-pal*.

Engraving on gems and the rarer stones and marbles was an art to which the Assyrians especially devoted themselves. There have been found a few gems and seals that are oval in shape; but the general form adopted was that of a cylinder. Those of cylindrical form vary from about an inch and a half to two inches in length and from about half an inch to an inch in diameter. They were pierced along the centre so that the wearer could suspend them from his person by a cord. The use to which they were put was precisely similar to that of the signet ring. A Babylonian or an Assyrian, instead of signing a document, ran his cylinder over the damp clay tablet on which the deed he was attesting had been inscribed. No two cylinder seals were precisely alike, and thus this method of signature worked very well. As every wealthy Assyrian carried his own seal-cylinder, it is not surprising that time has spared a good many of them. (It may be noticed in passing that the class of poorer merchants and artisans did not carry cylinders. When they attested a document they did so by impressing their thumb-nail on the clay of the tablet. Whether a certain social status brought with it the privilege of carrying a cylinder, or whether the possession of one depended solely on the choice or rather on the wealth of its possessor, is a question that has never been solved.)

The work on the cylinders is always *intaglio*, the engraver aiming at rendering beautiful the seal impression rather than the seal itself. The subjects represented, which are various, include acts of worship, such as the introduction by a priest of a worshipper to his god, mythological episodes, emblems of gods, animals, trees, etc.: the engravings are generally religious or symbolical. The official seal of the Assyrian kings forms the principal exception to this general rule; it is circular and represents a royal personage slaying a lion with his hands. The character of the work itself varies from the rudest scratches to the most polished workmanship, and it may be regarded as a general rule that the more excellent the workmanship the later the date. The earlier seals are inscribed by means of the simplest form of drill and graver, and the marks of the tools employed for hollowing are not obliterated, the heads of the figures being represented by mere holes, while the bodies resemble fish-bones; it should be noted, however, that

early Babylonian seals of great beauty have been found at Telloh.

It is strange that the Babylonian and the Assyrian, living in a land of clay, building their houses of brick

13. Pottery. and writing on clay tablets—in fact, with plastic clay constantly passing through their hands—produced no striking specimens of pottery. They employed clay for all their vessels; but the forms these assumed do not show great originality, and ornamentation was but niggardly applied. That the Assyrians were glass-blowers is shown by the discovery of small glass bottles and bowls.¹

The domestic furniture of the Assyrians does not demand a detailed description. All that was made of

14. Furniture and embroidery. wood has perished. Only the metal fittings survive; but these, with the evidence of the bas-reliefs, point to a high development of art in this direction. Perhaps the most sumptuous specimens of Assyrian furniture that the monuments portray are the throne in which Sennacherib is seated before Lachish, the furniture in the 'garden-scene' of Ašur-bāni-pal (both in the British Museum), and the chair of state or throne of Sargon on a slab from Khorsabad in the Louvre.

Of the art of embroidery, also, as practised by the Assyrian ladies, the invaluable evidence of the monuments gives us an idea. The clothes of the sculptured figures are richly covered with needle-work, especially on the sleeves and along the bottom of robes and tunics, while the royal robes of Ašur-nāsir-pal are embroidered from edge to edge. The general character of the designs, whether consisting of patterns or of figures, resembles that of the monuments themselves.

One other subject must be noted in this connection,—it does not strictly fall under the heading either of art or

15. Mechanics of architecture, though it is closely connected with branches of both,—the knowledge of mechanics that the Assyrians display. To those who have had any experience in the removal or fixing of Assyrian sculpture, and know the thickness of the bas-reliefs and the weight of even the smallest slab, the energy and skill required by the Assyrians to quarry, transport, and fix them in position is little short of marvellous. Yet all this was accomplished with the aid of only a wedge, a lever, a roller, and a rope. Representations of three of these implements in use are to be seen in the building-slabs of Sennacherib.

Among mechanical contrivances may be mentioned the crane for raising water from the rivers to irrigate the fields, and the pulley employed for lowering or raising a bucket in a well. The ingenuity of the Assyrians is apparent also in their various engines of war and the elaborate siege-train that accompanied their armies. The battering-rams, the scaling-ladders, the shields and pent-houses to protect sappers while undermining a wall—not to mention their chariots, weapons, and defensive armour—all testify to their mechanical skill.

The position of Assyria was favourable for commerce. Occupying part of the most fertile valley of W. Asia,

16. Commerce. she formed the highway between E. and W. Of her two great rivers, the Euphrates approaches within one hundred miles of the Mediterranean coast, yet empties its waters into the Persian Gulf. At the time of the Assyrian empire a highway of commerce must have lain from the Phœnician coast to Damascus and thence along the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. Many important caravan routes

¹ They shine with beautiful prismatic tints. Most glass that has been buried for a considerable period, indeed, whether of Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman manufacture, presents this iridescent appearance. It is a popular error to suppose that it possessed these tints from the beginning and that the art by which the colouring was attained has perished with those who practised it. The ancients must not be allowed to take the credit due to nature. The earth and the atmosphere acting on the surface of the glass have liberated the silicæ, and the process of decomposition is attended with the iridescent appearance.

also lay through Assyria. Nineveh maintained commercial relations with the districts around Lake Urū-miyah, and with Ecbatāna, while to the west he Phœnician traders journeyed by the Sinjar range to Thapsācus on the Euphrates, thence south to Tadmor and through Damascus into Phœnicia: a second western caravan route lay through Harrān into upper Syria and Asia Minor, while Egypt's trade with Assyria as early as the fifteenth century is attested by the Amarna tablets. The prophet Ezekiel has borne witness to the presence of Assyrian merchants at Tyre in his time; yet it was the nations that traded with Assyria rather than Assyria with the nations, for the Assyrians were essentially a people who preferred to acquire their wealth by conquest rather than in the market-place. The internal trade of Assyria is represented by the contract tablets dating from the ninth century to the end of the empire, that have been found at Kuyunjik. These tablets—not nearly so many as those discovered throughout Babylonia (*q.v.*, § 19, beg.)—deal with the sale of slaves, cattle, and produce, the purchase of land, etc., and bear witness to the internal prosperity of Assyria. They are written more carefully than the majority of those of Babylonia; and the Babylonian device of wrapping the tablet in an envelope of clay on which the contract was inscribed in duplicate, with a view to its safer preservation, was not often adopted.

The form of government in Assyria throughout the whole course of her history was that of a military despotism. The king was supreme. He

17. Government. was Ašur's representative on earth and under the special protection of the gods.

Whatever policy he might adopt was Ašur's policy, and it was the duty of every subject of Assyria to carry out his will. The nation therefore existed for the monarchy, not the monarchy for the nation. The kingship rested on the army, on which it relied to quell rebellion and maintain authority as well as to conquer foreign lands. The army was in consequence the greatest power in the state. Its commander-in-chief, the *turtan* or *tartan*, held a position next to that of the king himself, in whose absence he led the troops and directed operations (cp TARTAN). The *šakū* was an important lower officer; the *rab-kišir* was his superior; and the *šud-šakē* and *rab-šakē* were only second to the *turtan* (cp RABSHAKH). The titles of many court officers are known; but it is difficult to ascertain their functions. The more important were eligible for the office of the *limmu*, to which they succeeded in order, each giving his name to the year during which he held office (see § 19 and CHRONOLOGY, § 23). In a military state such as Assyria a system of civil administration, it may be said, had almost disappeared. The governors of the various cities in the realm, whose duty it was to maintain order and send periodical accounts to the king, were not civilians. In fact, every position of importance in the empire was filled from the army. Priests and judges exercised a certain authority; but it was small in comparison with that of similar classes in Babylonia.

18. Excavations. It was Assyria that at first attracted the attention of explorers, though within recent years Babylonia has enjoyed a monopoly of excavation and discovery

In the year 1820 Rich, the resident of the East India Company at Bagdad, visited Mōsul and made a superficial examination of the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yūnus. He obtained some fragments of pottery and a few bricks inscribed in cuneiform characters, and he published an account of what he had seen. It was not until 1842 that attention was again attracted to these mounds. Botta, the French Consul at Mōsul, then began to explore Kuyunjik. His efforts, however, did not meet with much success, and next year he transferred his attention to Khorsabad, 15 m. to the N. of Mōsul. There he came across the remains of a large building that subsequently proved to be the palace of Sargon, king of Assyria (722-705 B.C.). The majority of the sculptures that he and Victor Place excavated on this site are to be found in the Louvre; some, however, were obtained for the British Museum by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

In 1845 Sir Henry Layard explored the mounds at Nimrid

and Kuyunjik, undertaking excavations at these places for the trustees of the British Museum; these diggings were continued by Loftus, Rassam, and others, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was then serving as Consul-General and political agent at Bagdad, and they resulted in the discovery of the principal remains of Assyrian art that have been recovered. At Nimrud the palaces of Āšur-nāṣir-pal (884-860 B.C.), Šalmaneser II. (860-824 B.C.), and Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) have been unearthed (cp CALAH), and at Kuyunjik (cp NINEVEH) the palace of Sennacherib (705-681), and that of Āšur-bāni-pal (669-625). The bas-reliefs, inscriptions, etc., from that palace are preserved in the British Museum. At Kuyunjik (1852-54) the famous library of Assyrian art that have been recovered, part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature is derived, was discovered. At Kal'at Šerkāt and at Sherif Khān excavations were successful; important stone inscriptions and clay cylinders of the early kings were found at Kal'at Šerkāt.

The years 1878-79 were times of remarkable discoveries. During this period the 'finds' at Kuyunjik included the great cylinder of Āšur-bāni-pal (q.v.), the most perfect specimen of its kind extant; at Nimrud a large temple, dating from the time of Āšur-nāṣir-pal was unearthed, while excavation at Tell-Balawat resulted in the recovery of a second temple of Āšur-nāṣir-pal and the bronze coverings of the gate of Šalmaneser II. (cp *supra*). Besides the excavators and explorers of Assyria to whom reference has been made, two others should be mentioned—George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge. George Smith, in the years 1873, 1874, and 1875, and his assistants, explorers in that country, on the last of which he lost his life. The most recent additions to the collection of cuneiform tablets from Kuyunjik were made by Budge in the years 1888 and 1891.

Of the Assyrian antiquities which have been recovered, most of the sculptures of Sargon from Khorsabad are in the Louvre; Berlin possesses a stele of Sargon found at Cyprus (cp SARGON) and a stele of Esarhaddon; a large slab from the palace of Āšur-nāṣir-pal has found their way into the museums at Edinburgh, the Hague, Munich, Zürich, and Constantinople, and others from Kuyunjik into private galleries; almost all else is to be found within the walls of the British Museum.

There are four main sources of information for the settlement of Assyrian chronology—the so-called 'Eponym lists' (see below), the chronological notices scattered throughout

19. Chronology. the historical inscriptions (see § 20, beg.), the genealogies some of the kings give of themselves (see § 20, end), and lastly those two most important documents which have been styled the 'Synchronous History' (§ 21, beg.) and the 'Babylonian Chronicle' (§ 21, end).

The early Babylonians had counted time by great events, such as the taking of a city, or the construction of a canal (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 2, beg.). This primitive system of reckoning, by which a period or date could be but roughly estimated, gave place among the later Babylonians to the fashion of counting time according to the years of the reigning king.

The Assyrians adopted neither of these methods. They invented a system of their own. They named the years after certain officers, each of whom may possibly have been termed a *limu* or *limmu*, though the majority of scholars agree in regarding this term as referring not to the officer himself, but to his period of office. These officers or eponyms were appointed in a general rotation; each in succession held office for a year and gave his name to that year; the office was similar to that of the archonate at Athens or the consulate at Rome. Lists of the *limmu*s have been preserved from the reign of Rammān-nirari II. (911-890 B.C.) down to that of Āšur-bāni-pal (669-625 B.C.). Some of them merely state the name of the eponym; others add short accounts of the principal events during his term of office. Now, it is obvious that the dates of all the years in this known succession will be known if there be any of them that can be determined independently. It fortunately happens that there is such a year. From the list we know that in the eponymy of Pur-Sagali in the month of Sivan (May-June) the sun was eclipsed, and astronomers have calculated that there was a total eclipse at Nineveh on the 15th of June 763 B.C. Hence the year of Pur-Sagali is fixed as 763, and the dates of the eponyms for the whole period covered by the lists are determined (see further CHRONOLOGY, § 24, and cp below, § 32).

For the chronology before this period other sources must be sought. Approximately it can sometimes be

determined by means of data supplied by the inscriptions of the kings in the form of chronological notices or remarks. For example, Sennacherib in his inscription engraved on

20. Earlier period. the rock at Bavian (see *KB 2 116 ff.*), in recounting his conquest of Babylon (689 B.C.), adds that Rammān and Sala, the gods of the city of Ekallātī which Marduk-nādin-aḥē, king of Akkad, in the time of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, had carried away to Babylon, he now recovered and restored to their place after a lapse of 418 years (cp below, § 28). According to Sennacherib's computation, therefore, Tiglath-pileser I. must have been reigning in the year 1107 B.C., and from the inscription of Tiglath-pileser himself on his cylinders (cp below, § 28, beg.) we know that this year is probably not among the first five of his reign (cp below, § 28). Moreover, Tiglath-pileser himself tells us that he rebuilt the temple of Anu and Rammān, which sixty years previously had been pulled down by Āšur-dān because it had fallen into decay in the course of 641 years since its foundation by Samsi-Rammān (cp below, § 25). This notice, therefore, proves that Āšur-dān must have been on the throne about the years 1170 or 1180 B.C., and further approximately fixes the date of Samsi-Rammān as about the year 1820.

The date of one other Assyrian king can be fixed by means of a reference made to him by one of his successors. Sennacherib narrates (cp below, § 27) that a seal of Tukulti-Ninib I. had been brought from Assyria to Babylon, where after 600 years he found it on his conquest of that city. Sennacherib conquered Babylon twice, once in 702 and again in 689; it may be concluded, therefore, that Tukulti-Ninib reigned in any case before 1289 B.C., and possibly before 1302 B.C. We thus have four settled points or pegs on which to hang the early history of Assyria.

Further assistance in the arrangement of the earlier kings is obtained from genealogies. Rammān-nirari I., for example, styles himself the son of Pudi (Pudi-ilu), grandson of Bēl-nirari, great grandson of Āšur-uballit, all of whom, he states, preceded him on the throne of Assyria. Most of the Assyrian kings of whom we possess inscriptions at least state the name of their father, while in one instance we know the relationship between two early kings from a considerably later occupant of the throne, Tiglath-pileser I., informing us that Samsi-Rammān was the son of Išmi-Dagan and that each was an early *patesi* of Assyria. We thus know to a great extent the order in which the kings must be arranged, and in cases where a son succeeds his father we can assign approximately the possible limits of their respective rules.

A further aid is found in the 'Synchronous History' of Assyria and Babylonia. This inscription was an official document drawn up with the aim of giving a brief summary of the relations between Babylonia and Assyria from the earliest times in regard to the boundary line dividing the two countries. The chief tablet on which this record is inscribed is, unfortunately, broken; but much still remains which renders the document one of the most important sources for Babylonian and Assyrian history. From it we ascertain for considerable periods which kings of Babylonia and Assyria were contemporaries.

Similar information for the period from about 775 to 669 B.C. is obtained from the Babylonian Chronicle.

Now, we know the order and the length of the reigns of a great majority of the Babylonian kings from the Babylonian lists of kings that have been discovered, and the dates of some can be fixed, like those of the earlier Assyrian kings, from subsequent chronological notices (cp BABYLONIA, § 38). The dates and order, therefore, of the kings of both Babylonia and Assyria can to some extent be approximately settled independently of one another, and each line of kings can be controlled

from the other by means of the bridges thrown across between the two by the 'Synchronous History' and the 'Babylonian Chronicle.'

A further means of control is supplied by the points of contact that we can trace between Assyria and Egypt. Such are the Egyptian campaigns of Āšūr-bāni-pal recounted on his cylinder inscription and the letter from Āšūr-uballiṭ to Amenophis IV., recently found at Tell el-'Amārna, and now preserved in the Gizeh Museum. These points of contact are not, however, sufficient to warrant a separate classification; and to go to Egyptian chronology to fetch help for that of Assyria would be to embark on an explanation *ignoti per ignotius* (cp EGYPT, § 55 f., and CHRONOLOGY, § 10). Assyrian chronology, therefore, unlike that of early Babylonia, may be regarded as tolerably fixed. The dates of the later Assyrian kings, with the exception of the successors of Āšūr-bāni-pal, can be settled almost to a year, while the dates assigned by various scholars to the earlier Assyrian kings, though differing, do not differ very widely. The data summarised above, which must form the basis of every system of Assyrian chronology, are not elastic beyond a certain point. Thus, whilst no two historians agree precisely as to the dates to be assigned to many of these earlier kings, the maximum of their disagreement is inconsiderable, and the results arrived at by almost any one of them may be considered approximately correct.

With the Semitic races in general and the Babylonians and Assyrians in particular proper names retained their original forms with great persistency. Among these two nations,

in fact, many names consist of short sentences, complete and perfectly grammatical; indeed, were it not for the determinatives placed before them to show that they are names (𐎲 for males, 𐎠 for females) the difficulty of reading Assyrian texts would be considerably increased.

The following are translations of some of the names of Assyrian kings the interpretation of which may be regarded as certain. Where the real Assyrian form of the name differs from the form now in common use it is added in brackets:—

Īsmi-Dagan	'Dagon hath heard.'
Šam-Ši-Rammān	'My sun is Rimmon.'
Āšūr-bēl-niṣū	'Āšur is lord of his people.'
Puzur-Āšur	'Hillion in Āšur.'
Āšūr-nādin-ahē	'Āšur giveth brethren.'
Āšūr-uballiṭ	'Āšur hath quickened to life.'
Bēl-nirari	'Bēl is my helper.'
Rammān-nirari	'Rimmon is my helper.'
Šulmanēser (Šulmanu-ašaridu)	'Sulman is chief.'
Tukulti-Ninib	'My help is Ninib.'
Bēl-kudur-usur	'Bēl, protect the boundary!'
Ninib-paḫ-Ēšara	'Ninib is the son of Ēšara.'
Āšūr-dān	'Āšur is judge.'
Āšūr-rēš-iši	'Āšur, raise the head!'
Tiglath-pileser (Tukulti-pal-Ēšara)	'My help is the son of Ēšara.'
Āšūr-bēl-kala	'Āšur is lord of all.'
Āšūr-nāsir-pal	'Āšur protecteth the son.'
Āšūr-nirari	'Āšur is my helper.'
Sargon (Šarru-kinu)	'The legitimate king.'
Sennacherib (Sin-aḫ-ē-erba)	'Sin (i.e., the Moon-god) hath increased "brethren."
Esarhaddon (Āšur-aḫ-iddina)	'Āšur hath given a brother.'
Āšūr-bāni-pal	'Āšur is the creator of a son.'
Āšūr-etil-ilāni	'Āšur is prince of the gods.'
Sin-šar-iškun	'Sin hath established the king.'

The beginnings of the Assyrian empire are not, like those of Babylonia, lost in remote antiquity. It is far more recent in its origin. The account

23. History. contained in Gen. 10:11 to the effect that the Assyrians went forth from the Babylonians and founded their own cities is supported by all the evidence we can gather from the inscriptions. It is true that no actual account of this emigration has yet been found among the archives of either nation; but every indication of their origin tends to support the biblical account, for the Assyrians in all that they have left behind them

betray their Babylonian origin. Their language and method of writing, their literature, their religion, and their science were taken over from their southern neighbours with but little modification, and their very history is so interwoven with that of Babylonia that it is often difficult to treat the two countries separately.

The period at which the Assyrian offshoot left its parent stem, though not accurately known, can be set within certain limits. It must have

24. Settlement. been at least before 2300 B.C. The Babylonian emigrants, pushing northwards along the course of the Tigris, formed their first important settlement on its W. bank some distance to the N. of its point of junction with the Lower Zab. Here they founded a city, and called it Āšur after the name of their national god,—a city that long continued to be the royal capital of the kingdom.

The oldest Assyrian rulers did not bear the title of king. They bore that of *iškaku*, a term equivalent to

the title *patesi*, assumed by many rulers of the old Babylonian cities in the S. The phrase '*iškaku* of the god Āšur' is not to be taken in the sense of 'priest.' In all probability it implies that the ruler was the representative of his god—an explanation that is quite in accordance with the theocratic feeling of the period.

The earliest *iškakus* at present known to us are Īsmi-Dagan and his son Šam-Ši-Rammān. The latter built a temple to the gods Anu and Rammān, which, Tiglath-pileser I. tells us, fell into decay; 641 years afterwards Āšūr-dān pulled it down, and 60 years later it was rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser himself. This reference enables us to fix the date of Šam-Ši-Rammān at about 1820, and it is usual to assign to Īsmi-Dagan, his father, a date some twenty years earlier, *circa* 1840 B.C. In addition to his buildings at Āšur, Šam-Ši-Rammān restored a temple of Ištar at Nineveh. The names of other *iškakus* are known, although their dates cannot be determined.

Bricks, for example, have been found at Kal'at-Sherkat, the site of the ancient city of Āšur, which bear the name of a second Šam-Ši-Rammān, the son of Īgur-kapkapu, and record that he erected a temple to the national god in that city. Another brick from the same place is inscribed with the name of Irīsum, the son of Hallu, commemorating his dedication of a building to the god Āšur for the preservation of his own life and that of his son.

There are no data for determining the relation of Assyria to Babylonia at this period. Whether the early *iškakus* still owed allegiance to their mother country or had already repudiated her claims of control is a question that cannot be decided with certainty. It is generally supposed, however, that at some period between 1700 and 1600 B.C. Assyria finally attained her independence.

The oldest Assyrian king whose name is known to us is Bēl-kapkapu. Rammān-nirari III., in an obscure

26. First kings. passage in one of his inscriptions, mentions Bēl-kapkapu as one of his earliest predecessors on the throne of Assyria. This passage is, however, the only indication we possess of the time at which he ruled. The first Assyrian king of whom we have more certain information is Āšūr-bēl-niṣū. With this king our knowledge of Assyrian history becomes more connected, and we can trace in greater detail the doings of the various kings and the relations they maintained with Babylonia. The source of information that now becomes available is the 'Synchronous History' (see above, § 21).

From this document we learn that Āšūr-bēl-niṣū was on friendly terms with Kara-indaš, a king of the third Babylonian dynasty, with whom he formed a compact and determined the boundary that should divide their respective kingdoms. These friendly relations were maintained by Puzur-Āšur, king of Assyria, who concluded similar treaties with Burna-Buriāš, king of Babylonia. Puzur-Āšur was probably succeeded by Āšūr-nādin-ahē (*circa* 1420). This king is mentioned in a letter of Āšūr-uballiṭ to Amenophis IV., king of Egypt, in which he refers to Āšūr-nādin-ahē as his father. How long the friendly relations between Assyria and Babylonia continued we

cannot say; but it was impossible that friction should always be avoided. Assyria was proud of her independence, while Babylonia could not but be jealous of her growing strength. This it was not long before their relations became hostile. It is under

circa 1410. Āsur-uballiṭ that we first find the two nations in open conflict. Āsur-uballiṭ, to cement his friendship with Babylonia, had given his daughter Muḫallib-šerīa in marriage to a Babylonian king, and Kara-bardaš, the offspring of this union, in time succeeded his father on the throne. He was slain, however, in a revolt, and Nazi-bugaš, a man of unknown origin, was set up in his stead. To avenge the death of his grandson, Āsur-uballiṭ invaded Babylonia, slew Nazi-bugaš, and set the youngest son of Burna-Buriaš, Kurigalzu II, on the throne. (Such is the account given in the 'Synchronous History' of Āsur-uballiṭ's intervention in the Babylonian affairs. It may be mentioned, however, that a parallel text contains a somewhat different version of the affair, with which the account in the 'Synchronous History' has not yet been satisfactorily reconciled.) Kurigalzu did not long maintain friendship with Assyria. Soon we find him at war with Āsur-uballiṭ's son

circa 1380. and successor, Bēl-nirari. Bēl-nirari, however, defeated him at the city of Saggas, and then plundering his camp added to the Assyrian territory half of the country from the land of Subaru to Babylonia. Bēl-nirari's son Pudi-lu (*circa 1360*) retained the territory his father had acquired, but did not attempt to make further encroachments on the S. He undertook successful expeditions, however, against the tribes on the E. and S.E. of Assyria. We possess an inscription on a brick from his palace at Āsur, and another inscription of his on a six-sided stone (in the British Museum) records that he erected a temple to Šamaš the Sun-god. His son

circa 1345. Ramman-nirari I, after strengthening the Assyrian rule in the territory recently acquired by his father, turned his attention to his S. boundary. He conquered the Babylonian king Nazi-narutaš in Kār-Ištar-Akarsallu, and added considerably to his empire.

Ramman-nirari was succeeded by his son Šalmaneser I. He has left us no account of the expeditions he

circa 1320. undertook; but that he was a great conqueror we gather from a reference in the annals of Āsur-nāsir-pal. This king relates that in his reign the Assyrians whom

27. Šalmaneser I.
etc. Šalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded him, had settled in the city of Halziḫipha revolted under Iḫuli, their governor, and took the royal Assyrian city of Damlamusa. These places lay on the upper course of the Tigris; and it is evident from Āsur-nāsir-pal's account that Šalmaneser had formed a sort of military outpost at this spot which shows that he must have undertaken successful expeditions against the countries to the NW. of Assyria. We may conclude that it was in consequence of this extension of his territory along the Tigris that Šalmaneser transferred his capital from Āsur in the south, which had formed the royal residence of Assyria, to Calah, a city of which he was the founder, as we learn from Āsur-nāsir-pal. This new capital was situated about eighteen miles S. of Nineveh (cp CALAH). Šalmaneser, however, did not neglect the older capital. He enlarged its royal palace and restored the great temples. We know also that he restored the great temple of Ištar at Nineveh.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninib, who, like his father, busied himself in extending the NW. limits of his kingdom. At *circa 1290.* the sources of the Subnat, a river that joins the Tigris some distance above the modern Diār-bekr, he caused an image of himself to be hewn in the rock. He conquered Babylonia, and for seven years governed the country by means of tributary princes. Though we have not recovered any actual inscription of this king, we possess a copy of one made by the orders of Sennacherib, on a clay tablet in the British Museum. The original was inscribed on a seal of lapis-lazuli, and Sennacherib tells us it had been carried from Assyria to Babylon. Six hundred years later, says Sennacherib, on his conquest of that city, he found the seal among the treasures of Babylon and brought it back (cp above, § 20). The inscription itself is short, merely containing the name and titles of Tukulti-Ninib, and calling down the vengeance of Āsur and Ramman on any one who should destroy the record. How or at what period the seal was brought to Babylon cannot be said with certainty; but it is not improbable that it found its way

there during Tukulti-Ninib's occupation of the country. This occupation was not permanent. At the end of seven years the nobles of Babylon revolted, and set Ramman-šum-nāsir, or Ramman-šum-nār (the name may be read in either way), on the throne there as an independent king. Tukulti-Ninib was not a popular ruler, for he was slain in a revolt by his own nobles, who set his son, Āsur-nāsir-pal, upon the throne. We possess an Assyrian copy of a letter written by a Babylonian king named Ramman-šum-nāsir to Āsur-nārara and Nabū-daia, kings of Assyria. If, as has been suggested, the writer of this letter and the king who succeeded Tukulti-Ninib on the throne of Babylon are identical, we obtain the names of two other Assyrian kings of this period.

A few years later, under Bēl-kudur-ūsur (*circa 1210*), we find the Assyrians and Babylonians again in conflict. Bēl-kudur-ūsur, *circa 1205.* the Assyrian king, was slain in the battle; but Ninib-pal-Ešara retreated with the Assyrian army, and when the Babylonians followed up their advantage by an invasion the Assyrians he defeated them and drove them from the country. The Babylonians, however, though repulsed, appear to have regained a considerable part of their former territory from the Assyrians. The next occupant of the throne was

circa 1200. Āsur-īdān, the son of Nib-pal-Ešara. He retrieved the disasters which his father had sustained at the hands of the Babylonians. He invaded Babylonia, capturing Zamama-šum-iddin, captured the cities of Zabab, Iria, and Akarsallu, and returned with rich booty to Assyria. The only other fact that we know of this king was that he pulled down the temple of Ramman and Āsur which had been erected by Šamši-Ramman, but had since fallen into decay. His must have been an energetic reign, to justify the eulogy pronounced on him by his great-grandson Tiglath-pileser I. This monarch describes him as one 'who wielded a shining sceptre, who ruled the men of Bēl, whose deeds and offerings pleased the great gods, and who lived to a good old age.' Āsur-īdān was succeeded by his son

circa 1140. Āsur-rēš-iši, whom Tiglath-pileser calls 'a mighty king who conquered the limits of the land and overthrow all the exalted'; and from a clay bowl of his, bearing an inscription, we learn that the peoples of Lullēni and Kari were among those he overthrew. He was victorious against the Babylonians. The Babylonian king, Nebuchadrezzar I, desiring to extend the northern limits of his country invaded Assyria and besieged a border fortress. Āsur-rēš-iši, however, summoned his chariots of war, and on his advance the Babylonians retreated, leaving their siege-train. Nebuchadrezzar, with fresh chariots and troops, soon returned; but Āsur-rēš-iši, after reinforcing his own army, gave him battle and inflicted on him a crushing defeat. The Babylonian camp was plundered, and forty chariots fell into the hands of the Assyrians.

On the death of Āsur-rēš-iši the throne passed to his *circa 1120.* son Tiglath-pileser I, whose reign marks an epoch in Assyrian history. He is, moreover, the first Assyrian monarch who has left us a detailed

28. Tiglath-pileser I. record of his achievements. The great inscription of this king is contained on four octagonal cylinders of clay which he buried at the four corners of the temple of Ramman at Āsur to serve as a permanent record of his greatness and of the extent of the Assyrian empire during his reign. Each of the four cylinders contains the same inscription. Where one is broken or obscure the text can be made out from the others.¹

In the course of the introduction with which he prefaces the account of his expeditions he gives the following description of himself: 'Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, the king of hosts who has rivalled the king of the four quarters, the king of all rulers, the lord of lords, . . . the king of kings, the excellent priest who, at the command of the Sun-god, was entrusted with the shining sceptre and has ruled all men who are subject to Bēl, the true shepherd whose name has been proclaimed unto the rulers, the exalted governor whose weapons Āsur has commanded and whose name for the rule of the four quarters he has proclaimed for ever, . . . the mighty one, the destroyer who like the blast of a hurricane over the hostile land has proved his power, who by the will of Bēl has no rival and has destroyed the foes of Āsur.' On the conclusion of this preface the inscription goes on to recount the various campaigns in which Tiglath-pileser was engaged during the first five years of his reign. He first advanced against the inhabitants of Mušku (the Meshach of the OT; see TUBAL), who had overrun and conquered the land of Kummān on both sides of the Euphrates to the NW. of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser, therefore, crossed the intervening mountainous region and defeated their

¹ Translation in *KB* I 14-47.

five kings with great slaughter. 'The bodies of their warriors,' he says, 'in the destructive battle did I cast down like a meast. Their blood I caused to flow over the valleys and heights of the mountains. Their heads I cut off, and around their cities I heaped them like . . . Their spoil, their possessions, their property without limit, I brought out. Six thousand men, the remainder of their armies, who before my weapons had fled, clasped my feet (*i.e.*, tendered their submission). I carried them away and reckoned them as the inhabitants of my land.' Tiglath-pileser then attacked the land of Kumuh, burnt the cities, besieged and destroyed the fortress of Šerīe on the Tigris, and captured the king. He defeated the tribes that came to the assistance of Kumuh, and after receiving the submission of the neighbouring city of Uraṛjāna returned to Assyria with great booty, part of which he dedicated to the gods Ašur and Ramman.

This expedition was followed by one against the land of Šubari (or Subarti), in the course of which he defeated four thousand warriors of the Hatti (see HITTITES) and captured one hundred and twenty chariots. Another campaign in the mountainous regions of the N.W. met with similar success, and resulted in the submission of many small states and cities. Tiglath-pileser now devoted his energies to extending his border in another direction. He crossed the Lower Zab and overran the districts of Murattāš and Sarada's to the S. of Assyria. Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to the N., whence he brought back with him the captured images of twenty-five gods, which he set up as trophies in the temples of his own land. Tiglath-pileser next extended his conquests still farther north into the district around the upper course of the Euphrates. The mountains he passed with great difficulty, and crossed the Euphrates itself on rafts which his troops constructed out of the trees that clothed the hill-sides. Here twenty-three kings of the land of Armi, and at the same time the combined forces to give him battle. 'But,' writes Tiglath-pileser, 'with the violence of my mighty weapons I oppressed them, and the destruction of their numerous host I accomplished like the onslaught of the Storm-god. The corpses of their warriors I scattered in the plains and on the mountain-heights.'

After completing the subjugation of the district he restored the kings he had captured to their thrones, and the spoil he had received from them as tribute twelve thousand horses and two thousand oxen. The Assyrian king now turned his troops against the region of the W. Euphrates. He subdued the district around the city of Carchemish, and even extended his conquests beyond the river, which his army crossed on rafts buoyed up by inflated skins. The last campaign of which we have a detailed account is that against the land of Armi to the N. of Assyria, the warriors of which, when at length driven into the chief city of Armi, tendered their submission. Tiglath-pileser then marched through the neighbouring country carrying with him fire and sword, burning the cities he took and digging up their foundations. The royal scribe, speaking in his master's name, concludes his record of these early conquests of Tiglath-pileser with the following summary: 'In all forty-two lands and their kings from beyond the Lower Zab, from the border of the distant mountains as far as the farther side of the Euphrates up to the land of Hatti and as far as the upper sea of the setting sun (*i.e.*, Lake Van), from the beginning of my sovereignty until my fifth year, has my hand conquered. One command have I caused them to hear; their hostages have I taken; tribute and tax have I imposed upon them.'

The cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-pileser does not recount the later expeditions of his reign. From the 'Synchronic History,' however, which deals with his relations with Babylonia, we learn that Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and Marduk-nādin-ahē, king of Babylonia, had 'a second time' set in battle array their chariots of war that were assembled above the Lower Zab in Arzubina. In the second year they fought in Akkad, where Tiglath-pileser 'captured the cities of Dir-Kurtagina, Sippar of the Sun-god, Sippar of Anunita, Babylon, Opis, the great cities together with their fortifications; at the same time he plundered Akarsallu as far as the city of Lubdi, and the land of Šubi (on the Euphrates to the N.W. of Babylon) in its entirety up to the city of Rapiqu he subdued.' The phrase 'a second time' is puzzling, for the 'Synchronic History' does not relate a previous campaign of Tiglath-pileser against Babylonia. Some scholars therefore suggest that it refers merely to the former struggle of Ašur-rēš-iši, Tiglath-pileser's father, with the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar I.; but it must be remembered that Tiglath-pileser did not meet with unvarying success in his relations with Babylonia, for Sennacherib mentions that during his reign Ramman and Sala, the gods of the city of Ekallati, had been carried off by Tiglath-pileser's extensive conquests in Babylonia (see above, § 20). The question whether this conquest of Ekallati was before or after Tiglath-pileser's successful Babylonian campaign is still indeed an open one; but the supposition is plausible that Marduk-nādin-ahē's advance against Assyria was in the first year of hostilities between the two countries, and that his success was merely temporary, being followed 'in the second year' by Tiglath-pileser's extensive conquests in Babylonia as related in the 'Synchronic History.'

Tiglath-pileser was a great hunter. He kept a record of the beasts he slew in the desert. This was inserted in the cylinder-inscription after the account of his campaigns. From it we learn that with the help of the gods Ninib and Nergal

he slew 'four wild oxen, mighty and terrible in the desert of the land of Miāni and in Azaiki, which is in front of the land of Hatti,' ten elephants in the district of Harrān and on the banks of the Khābūr, one hundred and twenty lions on foot, and eight hundred with spears while in his chariot. He caught four elephants alive, and brought them back, together with the hides and tusks of those he had slain, to the city of Ašur. No less energetic was the king in his building operations. The temples of the gods in Ašur that were in ruins he restored; he repaired the palaces throughout the country that his predecessors had allowed to fall into decay; he extended his water-supply by the construction of canals; he accumulated considerable quantities of grain. As a result of his conquests, he kept Assyria supplied with horses, cattle, and sheep, and brought back from his campaigns foreign trees and plants, which became acclimatised.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser was a period of great prosperity for Assyria. He pushed his conquests until the bounds of his empire extended from below the Lower Zab to Lake Van and the district of the Upper Euphrates, and from the mountains to the E. of Assyria to Syria on the W., including the region watered by the Khābūr. He was a good warrior; yet he did not neglect the internal administration of his realm, devoting the spoil of his campaigns to the general improvement of the country. In fact, the summary he gives of his own reign is a just one: 'To the land of Ašur I added land; to its people I added people. The condition of my people I improved; I caused them to dwell in a peaceful habitation.'

The prosperity which Assyria had enjoyed under Tiglath-pileser does not appear to have long survived his death.

At the time of Ašur-bēl-kala, Tiglath-pileser's son, relations between Assyria and Babylonia were of a friendly nature. Ašur-bēl-kala at first made treaties with Marduk-šāpik-zēr-miti, king of Babylon; and later, when Ramman-aplu-ildina, a man of obscure extraction, ascended the throne of Babylonia, he further strengthened the connection between the two countries by contracting an alliance with the daughter of the Babylonian king. Šamši-Ramman, another son of Tiglath-pileser I., also succeeded to the throne, but whether before or after his brother Ašur-bēl-kala cannot be determined. The only inscription of this king that we possess records that he restored the temple of the goddess Istar in Nineveh.

Such are the only facts we know concerning the immediate successors of Tiglath-pileser I., and at this

29. Gap. point a gap of more than one hundred years occurs in our knowledge of the *circa* 1070-950. history of Assyria. We may surmise that the period was one of misfortune for the empire. What little can be gathered from the inscriptions concerning these years speaks of disaster.

Shalmaneser II., in his monolith-inscription,¹ states that he recaptured the cities of Pethor and Mutkinu (beyond the Euphrates), which had been originally taken by Tiglath-pileser I., but had meanwhile been lost by Assyria in the time of a king named Ašur . . . (the latter half of the name being broken). This king may be identified with Ašur-erbi, and in that case he must have met with at least some success in the W., for we know that at a place on the coast of Phoenicia Ašur-erbi cut an image of himself in the rock, near which at a later time Shalmaneser II. caused his own to be set. The names of two other kings are known: Erba-Ramman and Ašur-nādin-ahē, whose reigns must have fallen during this period. They are mentioned in the so-called 'hunting inscription' of Ašur-nāsir-pal as having erected buildings in the city of Ašur, which were restored by Ašur-nāsir-pal.

No direct light is thrown on this dark period by the 'Synchronic History.' As, however, it is written with a strong Assyrian bias, its silence is an additional testimony that during this period Assyria must have suffered misfortunes.

When we once more take up the thread of Assyria's history, our knowledge of the succession of her kings is unbroken down to the time of Ašur-bān-pal.

Tiglath-pileser II. heads this succession of rulers; but of him we know nothing beyond his name, which occurs in an inscription of his grandson Ramman-nirari II.,² who styles him 'king of hosts, king of Assyria.' Tiglath-pileser II. was succeeded by his son Ašur-dān II. Of this king we know that he constructed a canal, which, however, in the course of thirty years fell into disrepair, and was therefore made good

911. by Ašur-nāsir-pal. Ramman-nirari II., who succeeded his father, has left behind him only the short inscription (just

¹ K B 1 193.¹ K B 1 150 ff.² K B 1 48.

mentioned) recording his own name and those of his father and grandfather. He was an energetic ruler, as is evinced by the 'Synchronic History,' which records various successes of his against the Babylonians—first against the Babylonian king, Samsa-mudammik, and later against his successor, Nabu-šum-iškun, who had set himself up upon the throne. From this latter monarch he captured many cities and much spoil. He did not, however, press his victory. He concluded a truce with the Babylonian king, either Nabu-šum-iškun or his successor, and each added the other's daughter to his harem. His 890. son, Tukulti-Ninib, succeeded him, and from an inscription of this monarch at Sebeneh-Su we may infer that he undertook successful expeditions to the N. of Assyria, at least.

Tukulti-Ninib was succeeded by his son **Āšur-nāšir-pal**, 884. one of the greatest monarchs Assyria ever produced. The annals of his reign he inscribed on a slab of stone, which he set up in the temple of the god Ninib at Calah. In this inscription, 81. **Āšur-nāšir-pal**, one of the longest historical inscriptions of Assyria, he gives an account of the various campaigns he undertook.

In the first years of his reign, he tells us, he went against the land of Nimrud, a most fertile tract of country to the N. of Assyria, and subdued the lands and cities in its neighbourhood. The king then proceeded against the district of Kiriri that lay along the W. shores of Lake Urūmīyah. Turning W. from Kiriri, he passed through the lands of Kirūn on the Upper Tigris, and city after city fell into his hands. He returned to Assyria with the booty he had collected, and brought with him Ninu, the son of Buhā, a rebel against the king, to whom he had met with an obstinate resistance. This wretch he flayed alive in Arbela, nailing his skin to the city wall. In the same year he again repaired to the region of the Upper Tigris, against the cities at the foot of the mountains of Nipur and Pašatu. He then passed westward to the land of Kumuh, quelling a revolt in the city of Sūru on the Khabīr, and seizing the rebel leader Ašalabā, who was brought back to Ninewa, where he was flayed. The tribes surrounding the disaffected region tendered their submission. In the next year the first act of the king was to stamp out another rebellion. News was brought to him that the city of Halāzidīyah, which Shalmaneser II. had colonised (see above, § 27, beg.), was in a state of revolution, and had attacked the Assyrian city of Dāmandama. While on his way against the rebels he set up an image of himself, at the source of the river Sūnat, beside images of two of his predecessors, Tiglath-pileser I. and Tukulti-Ninib. He then defeated the rebels at the city of Kinabū, which he captured, and proceeded to punish the revolt with severity, flaying the rebel leader Hulāl. Next he attacked the city of Tēla and burnt it, mutilating the prisoners by cutting off their ears and hands and putting out their eyes. These wretches, while still alive, he piled up in a great heap; he made another heap out of the heads of the slain, while other heads he fastened to trees round the city; the youths and maidens he burnt alive. These details may suffice to show the brutal practices of this great conqueror. **Āšur-nāšir-pal** next proceeded to the city of Tušā, which had been deserted by the Assyrians in consequence of a famine. After restoring and strengthening its walls, he built a palace for himself and brought back to Ninewa the remains of the city. After his return he again undertook a pillaging expedition in the mountainous regions of the north. The next two years were mainly taken up with campaigns in Dagara and Zamua, which were in a state of insurrection, Nār-Rammān, the chief of Dagara, leading the revolt. The war was a protracted one, and three expeditions were required before order was completely restored. These expeditions were followed by others in the region of Kumuh and in the land of Na'iri. From his residence at Tušā, the king then crossed the Tigris and captured Pitura and certain towns round the city of Arbaki. **Āšur-nāšir-pal** records at this point the death of Amme'ala, one of his nobles, who was murdered by his subordinates. The king's anger, however, was appeased by a large tribute, although, according to one account, he flayed **Rammān**, the chief rebel, and nailed his skin to the wall of Ninewa.

One of the most important campaigns in the reign of **Āšur-nāšir-pal** was that against the land of Suhi. Although Šadudu, the ruler of that land, obtained help from Nabū-aplu-iddina, king of Babylonia, his capital Sūru was taken and he himself escaped only by flight. A second campaign led to the subjugation of the whole district and a considerable extension of the Assyrian sphere of influence along the Euphrates. **Āšur-nāšir-pal** next crossed the river and carried his arms into N. Syria. He first made his way to Carchemish and received the submission of Sangara, king of the land of Hatti. Proceeding SW. and exacting tribute from the districts through which he passed, he crossed the Orontes and marched S. into the district of Lebanon. The cities on the coast of the Mediterranean, including Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arvad (Arvad), sent presents. In the N. districts he cut down cedars, which he used on his return in building temples and received the submission of Sangara, king of the land of Hatti. One more expedition **Āšur-nāšir-pal** undertook on the N. of Assyria, traversing the land of Kumuh and again penetrating to the upper reaches of the Tigris.

Āšur-nāšir-pal firmly established the rule of Assyria in the NW. and the N., while he extended his empire eastward and laid the foundations of Assyria's later supremacy in the W. on the coast of the Mediterranean. He was one of Assyria's greatest conquerors; but his rule was one of iron, and his barbarity was exceptional even for his time. He was a great builder. At Nineveh he restored the royal palace and rebuilt the temple of Istar. The city of Calah, which Shalmaneser I. had founded, he rebuilt, peopling it with captives taken on his expeditions. He connected it with the Upper Zāb by means of a canal, and erected two temples and a huge palace, from which his bas-reliefs, now in the British Museum, were obtained (cp above, § 18).

Āšur-nāšir-pal was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser II. who extended the kingdom of his father beyond Lake 860. Van and Lake Urūmīyah. He exercised a protectorate over Babylonia in the S., and his kingdom included Damascus, which he had conquered. During his reign, for the first time in history, Assyria came into direct contact with Israel; he mentions Ahab of Israel as one of the allies of Denhadad of Damascus (cp SHALMANESER II.). His later years were troubled by the revolt of his son **Āšur-dānīn-pal**; but his younger son, Samsī-Rammān, put down the rebellion, and on his father's death succeeded to the throne.

On a monolith of Samsī-Rammān II., now in the British Museum, is an inscription in archaic characters narrating 824. four campaigns of this monarch. He restored order to the kingdom, which had been thrown into confusion by the rebellion of his brother, and, having established his own authority over the territory subjugated by his father, extended it on the E. He routed the Babylonian king, Marduk-balaṣu-ikbi, in spite of the large army the latter had collected, comprising drafts from Elam and Chaldea in addition to his regular troops.

Samsī-Rammān II. was succeeded by his son, Rammān-nirari III.

Two inscriptions on stone slabs from Calah, an inscription on a stone statue of the god Nebo, and an inscription on a tablet from the monument of Nebo-Vinosa, are the only ones, 811. dating from his reign; but these are supplemented by a short notice in the 'Synchronic History,' and a list of 1000 Canon, which adds short notices of the principal events during each year of his reign.

Rammān-nirari III. undertook expeditions in Media, Parsua, and the region of Lake Urūmīyah on the E.; conquered the land of Na'iri on the N.; and subjugated all the coastlands on the W., including Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, and Philistia. Mari', king of Damascus (see BENHADAD, § 3), attempted no defence of his capital. He sent to Rammān-nirari his submission, paying a heavy tribute in silver, gold, copper, and iron, besides quantities of cloth and furniture. A considerable portion of Babylonia also owned the supremacy of Rammān-nirari. In his inscription on the statue of Nebo, he mentions the name of his wife Sammuramat (the Assyrian form of the Greek Semiramis). He was a great monarch. His energetic rule and extensive conquests recall those of Shalmaneser II. his grandfather.

Of the three kings that follow not much is known. 782. Shalmaneser III. succeeded Rammān-nirari, and from the Epitome Canon we gather that he undertook campaigns against Urtaru (Armenia), Itu', Damascus, and Hatarika (Hadrach). He was succeeded by **Āšur-dān III.** This king made foreign ex- 772. peditions. His was a troubled reign. The most important event recorded in his time was the eclipse of the sun in 763 (cp above, § 19, end; AMOS, § 4; ECLIPSE, § 1). The same year saw the outbreak of civil war: the ancient city of **Āšur** had revolted. In 761 the rebellion was joined by the city of Arapha, and in 759 by the city of Gozan. In 758, however, after it had lasted six years, the revolt was brought to an end; Gozan was captured, and order once more restored. The troubles of Assyria during the reign of **Āšur-dān**

¹ KBI 59 ff., RP 2 134 ff.

were aggravated in the years 765 and 759 by visitations of the plague. On his death he was succeeded by Ašurnirari.

754 This king undertook expeditions against Hadrach and Arpad, and later two campaigns against the Zimri, for the greater part of his reign he was inactive. In 746 the city of Calah revolted, and next year a man of

unusual energy usurped the throne, and, assuming the name of Tiglath-pileser, extended Assyrian supremacy farther than it had ever reached. In the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. Assyria came into close contact with the Hebrews, a contact that continued under each of his successors until the reign of Esarhaddon. The events of their reigns and the influence they exerted on the history of Israel and Judah are described in the separate articles on these successive kings.

Tiglath-pileser III. was succeeded in 727 by SHAL-MANESER IV. (*q.v.*), and he in 722 by the usurper SARGON (*q.v.*), to whom succeeded in 705 his son SENNACHERIB (*q.v.*), in 680 his grandson ESARHADDON (*q.v.*), and in 669 his great-grandson AŠUR-BANI-PAL. For the expeditions of the last-named monarch in Egypt, Ham, Arabia, etc. see AŠUR-BANI-PAL. His literary tastes found expression in the collecting of a great library at Nineveh. The Eponym list and his own inscriptions cover only the first part of his reign; his later years are clouded in uncertainty, and the date of his death is a matter of conjecture. The period from his death until the fall of Nineveh is equally obscure. We know the names of two of his sons, Ašur-etil-ilāni and Sin-šar-iškun, who both occupied the throne; but the length of their respective reigns and even the order of their succession are matters of dispute. It used to be assumed that during this period Assyria was entirely stripped of her power and foreign possessions; but this view has now been modified in consequence of recently discovered contract-tablets dated from both northern and southern Babylonian cities according to the regnal years of the last two Assyrian kings. These prove that the Assyrian supremacy in Babylonia continued for some little time at least. Assyria's power, however, was waning. A long career of conquest had been followed by an age of luxury, and her strength was sapped. The Scythian hordes that had swept across W. Asia had further weakened her. Thus, when Nabopolassar, repudiating Assyrian control, allied himself with Cyaxares, king of Media, and their combined forces invaded the country, her resistance met with no success.

34. Decline and fall. Though Nineveh held out for two years, the city was at last captured and destroyed, and Assyria was annexed to the empire of the Medes. The most recent, and at the same time most scientific, work on Assyrian art and architecture is Perrot and Chipiez *Hist. de l'Assyrie* (Paris, 1884). Other works which appeared soon after the discovery of the remains of Assyrian art, and do not attempt a scientific treatment, one of the earliest was Flotta and Flaudin's *Monuments de Ninive*, 5 vols., Paris, 1849-50. The two works of Sir Henry Layard, *Niniveh and its Remains* and *Monuments of Niniveh*, contain a good account of his discoveries. In *Assyrian Discoveries*, Lond. 1875, George Smith has described the results of his own explorations.

For the history of Assyria the principal work is Tiele's *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* Gotha, 1886-88. Reference may also be made to Hommel's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* Berlin, 1885-88, the *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* by Mürdter and Delitzsch, Calw and Stuttgart, 1891, and Winckler's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* Leipzig, 1892. Among English works dealing with the history of Assyria, see George Smith's *Assyria* (SPCK, Oxf. 1875), and Prof. G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. 1. and 2. Lond. 1871. Both these works have been superseded on several points in consequence of later discoveries.

Assyrian history can be rightly understood only if followed in the inscriptions themselves. Translations of most of the historical inscriptions of Assyria are given in Schrader's *KB.* I. and II. Berlin, 1889-93, each of which contains an explanatory map. A series of popular English translations of Egyptian and Assyrian monuments was founded and edited by Dr. S. Birch of the British

Museum and entitled *RP* (12 vols. Lond. 1873-81), of which vols. i. iii. v. vii. ix. and xi. deal with Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. These translations have now, of course, been superseded. In a new series edited by A. H. Sayce (6 vols. Lond. 1888-92) the old methods and plan were not modified. As a collection of all the points in the OT illustrated or explained by the monuments, Schrader's *COT* is still unrivalled.

For works treating of the religion of the Assyrians see BABYLONIA, § 71.

For the student who would gain a more than superficial knowledge of Assyriology it is needless to give a list of works, as this has already been done in Bezdant's *Handb. Ass. Lit.* Leipzig, 1885; the literature since 1886 can be ascertained from the bibliographies appended to the *Z.A.* and to the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, and from the *Or. Bibliographie*. L. W. K.

ASTAD (אֶסְטָא [א]), 1 Esd. 5:13 RV = Ezra 2:12, AZGAD.

ASTAROTH (אֶשְׁתְּרֵת), Dt 14; RV ASHTAROTH.

ASTARTE. See ASHTORETH.

ASTATH (אֶסְתָּא [א]) אֶסְתָּא [א], 1 Esd. 8:36 = Ezra 8:36, AZGAD.

ASTROLOGER (Dan. 1:20 etc., אֶשְׁרָף), RV ENCHANFER; and Is. 47:13 אֶשְׁרָף הַרְבֵּי יָמִים, RV¹⁸⁸⁵ 'divider of the heavens.' See STARS, § 5; also DIVINATION; § 2 § 3; and MAGI, § 3 § 4.

ASTYAGES (Ἀστυαγῆς [BAQ]), according to Theodotus' text of Bel and the Dragon (7. 1), was the predecessor of Cyrus in the kingdom of Persia. See CYRUS.

ASUPPIM and HOUSE OF ASUPPIM (1 Ch. 26:17, אֶשְׁרָפִים; εἰς τὸ ἀσάφειν [A], εἰ. εἰσεφ. [B]; τοῖς ἀσάφειμ [C]; אֶשְׁרָפִים בְּיַד הַרְבֵּי יָמִים, οἰκοῦ ἀσάφειν [A], ο. εἰσεφειν [B], ο. ἀσάφειν [C]; حُجْرَةُ مَغَازِي; RV in each case 'the storehouse.' In Neh. 12:25† AV renders the same word 'the thresholds' [marg. 'treasuries,' 'assemblies']; חֶבְרָא, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ με [different vocalisation]; RV 'the storehouses', a word used by the Chronicler to describe certain storehouses situated at the temple gates (Neh. 12:25), perhaps specially the southern gate (1 Ch. 26:15). See TEMPLE.

ASUR (Ἀσούρ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:33 RV = Ezra 2:51, HARBUR.

AŠUR-BANI-PAL. Though mentioned by name only once or twice in OT (see ASNAPPER), Ašur-bāni-pal is important to OT literature from his deportation of troublesome populations to the region of Samaria (see SAMARIA, SAMARITANS, and cp below, § 12); also from references to his campaigns in Egypt and Arabia in the prophecies (see ISAIAH, ii. § 9, and NAHUM, § 2). He was one of Assyria's greatest kings, and famous not less for his devotion to art and literature than for his extensive conquests. His name, which is best read Ašur-bāni (or bani)-apli, means 'Ašur is the creator of a son.' He was the eldest son of Esarhaddon, and ascended the throne in 668 B.C. His succession had been secured by his having been publicly proclaimed king before his father's death, while his brother, Samaš-sum-ukin, was installed in Babylon as viceroy or tributary prince.

From the moment of his accession he was plunged into a prolonged war in Egypt, for Tarkū (TIRHAKAH),

1. 1st Egyptian king of Ethiopia, in the words of Ašur-bāni-pal, 'forgot the might of campaign. Ašur, Ištar, and the great gods my lords, and trusted in his own strength'; that is, he raised a large army and descended upon Egypt.

The prefects and governors appointed by Esarhaddon fled at Tarkū's approach. He captured Thebes, descended the Nile to Memphis where he fixed his capital, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt. On receiving the news of this disaster, Ašur-bāni-pal determined to recover Egypt. During the passage of his army through Syria and along the coast of the Mediterranean, reinforcements in men and ships, in addition to the customary tribute, were received from twenty-two subject kings of

returning by way of Gambulu, exacted a terrible vengeance from that land.

We now approach the greatest crisis in the history of Ašur-bāni-pal.

On ascending the throne of Assyria he had appointed his younger brother Šamaš-šum-ukin king of Babylon, without renouncing his own suzerainty. Šamaš-šum-ukin, however, was dissatisfied with his dependent position, and resolved to revive, if possible, the relations between Assyria and Babylon. His own resources being insufficient for subjugating Assyria, he began to form a coalition of the neighbouring nations, all glad of an opportunity to strike a blow at their powerful neighbour. The Chaldeans and the Aramean tribes of the coast gave assistance; Ummanigaš, king of Elam, threw over his patron Ašur-bāni-pal, and joined the revolt; Arabia, Ethiopia, and possibly Egypt, sent help. Ašur-bāni-pal did not lose an instant, but set out with the whole of his force to the S.E., where he successfully kept his enemies in check.

Fortune favoured him by neutralising to some extent the assistance which Šamaš-šum-ukin expected to receive from Elam, his most powerful ally. That country was thrown by internal revolution into a state bordering on anarchy, Ummanigaš and the whole of his family having been slain by Tammaritu, who in turn was dethroned by Indabigaš, and only saved his life by flight to Assyria.

Ašur-bāni-pal hastened to attack the allied forces, easily defeated them, and proceeded to besiege the four cities—Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha—in which they had sought shelter after their defeat. The defenders held out stubbornly for some time. When all was over, Šamaš-šum-ukin, to avoid his brother's vengeance, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames.

After stamping out the rest of the rebellion and restoring order throughout Babylonia and Chaldea,

Ašur-bāni-pal directed his forces against Elam, where for the next two or three years he carried on a war with Ummanaldaš II., who had ascended the throne of Elam after slaying Indabigaš, his predecessor. It is true that for a short time during this period Ummanaldaš was driven into the mountains by Ašur-bāni-pal, who set Tammaritu on the throne of Elam in his stead; but, as soon as the Assyrian army had withdrawn, Ummanaldaš came out from his retirement, gathered his forces, and compelled Ašur-bāni-pal again to take the field against him. On the appearance of the Assyrian army Ummanaldaš retired, allowing Ašur-bāni-pal to capture the cities and lay waste the country on his march. At length, however, he hazarded a battle. He met with a signal defeat and was again driven to take refuge in the mountains, while Susa and its accumulated riches fell into the hands of the conquerors.

By the will of Ašur and Ištar, boasts Ašur-bāni-pal, 'into its palaces I entered and sat myself down rejoicing. Then opened I their treasure-houses, within which silver and gold, furniture and goods, were stored, which the former kings of Elam and the kings who had ruled even to these days had collected and placed therein, whereon no other foe besides myself had set his hands; I brought it forth and as spoil I counted it.' He recovered also all the treasures with which Šamaš-šum-ukin and his predecessors had purchased Elamite support. Susa itself was rased to the ground; the royal stores were carried to Assyria; the groves were cut down and burnt, and the temples violated.

After the subjugation of Elam the annals of Ašur-bāni-pal relate a series of conflicts with Arabia (Smith,

9. Arabia. *Hist. of Assur.* 256 ff.). This was the last great war in which this monarch is known to have engaged. At the beginning of his reign he appears to have had friendly relations with the Arabian king Uaite'; but on the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukin the latter joined the coalition against Assyria. Uaite' himself attacked Palestine, overrunning Edom and Moab, and penetrating almost as far N. as Damascus. Here, however, he was defeated by the Assyrians.

Leaving his camp standing, Uaite' fled alone to Nabatea. He

appears, however, to have surrendered to Ašur-bāni-pal, who threw him into chains, and kept him a prisoner in a kennel with his hounds—Adiyā his wife, and the king of Kedar, his ally, sharing the same fate. The other division of the Arabian army, which had joined the forces of Šamaš-šum-ukin, shared his defeat and perished in Babylonia. Abiyate', their leader, surrendered to Ašur-bāni-pal, kissed his foot in token of submission, and was appointed king of Arabia in the place of Uaite'. No sooner, however, had he returned to his country, than he associated himself with the Nabateans in a series of joint attacks on the frontier of Assyria. Ašur-bāni-pal, therefore, crossed the Tigris with his army, and embarked on a difficult march through the Syrian desert. The Assyrians, after some minor conflicts in which they were successful, eventually engaged the main body of the Arabian army in the mountains of Hukkuru, to the S.E. of Damascus. The Arabians were defeated, Abiyate' and Ayamu were taken, and Ašur-bāni-pal set out for Assyria with immense numbers of captives and herds of cattle; on his return camels were distributed throughout Assyria 'like sheep.'

The annals conclude their record of the wars of **10. Closing years.** Ašur-bāni-pal with an account of his triumphal procession through Nineveh in celebration of his victories.

Ummanaldaš, the Elamite, who had shortly before been captured, Tammaritu and Pa'e, two other captive Elamite kings, with Uaite', the king of Arabia, were fastened to the yoke of the chariot in which he rode. He then entered the temple of his gods, offering sacrifices and praising them for the triumphs they had vouchsafed him over his enemies.

Ašur-bāni-pal probably reigned till 625 B.C.; but of his later years the royal records do not speak. It is impossible to assign with certainty a reason for this silence. Possibly the kingdom, which had been shaken to its foundations by the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukin during these years, showed signs of its approaching end. It is certain, at any rate, that the Medes, whom Ašur-bāni-pal had earlier in his reign defeated, again showed signs of activity (see PERSIA); and it is probable that during his reign the wild hordes of the Scythians descended from the N. and the N.E., slaying and plundering and carrying all before them. The question whether the empire of Assyria declined only under Ašur-bāni-pal's successors, or had already become disintegrated before his death, is one that cannot be answered with certainty.

Turning from foreign politics to the internal condition of Assyria during the reign of Ašur-bāni-pal, we find the country, superficially, at least, prosperous.

11. Policy and buildings, etc. Though the constant wars of Ašur-bāni-pal must have been a great drain on the manhood of the nation, his almost unvarying success resulted in a great accumulation of wealth—the spoil of the conquered cities. Not only did his generals carry off the gold and silver, and anything else of value that was portable; not only did they drive to Assyria the flocks and herds of the whole country; the population itself they deported. It was the Assyrian policy (see above, § 1) to weaken the patriotic feeling of the conquered races in this way, and so to lessen the chances of revolt. A secondary object of the conquerors, however, had reference to Assyria herself, for huge bands of captives were brought back in chains to replenish the labouring populace at home. Many of these wretches found their way into the possession of private owners; but the majority of them were retained as slaves by the king himself, who, like his predecessors, sought to gratify his desire for splendour and to perpetuate his name by the erection of huge buildings in the capital. The most important of these buildings of Ašur-bāni-pal was his own palace, which he built to the north of that of his grandfather Sennacherib—the remains exist at the present day in the mound of Kuyunjik opposite the modern town of Mōsul. The walls of its chambers he lined with sculptures in relief, representing his own exploits on the field of battle and in the chase, in which the details are most carefully and elaborately carved, while the designs themselves mark the acme of Assyrian art. Ašur-bāni-pal restored the palace of Sennacherib, strengthened the fortifications of Nineveh, and built

or restored various temples throughout Assyria and Babylonia.

It was the custom of the classical historians to represent Ašur-bāni-pal as of an effeminate and luxurious disposition, spending his life at Nineveh in idleness and dissipation. The Assyrian records have dissipated this illusion. Though it is probable that many of his campaigns were conducted by his generals, the king's personal valour in the field and in the hunt is undoubted. His skill as an administrator is testified by his organisation of the immense territory acquired in his victorious campaigns. His palaces and buildings, even to this day, bear witness to his love for art and architecture. It is for none of these things, however, that his memory is honoured above that of other kings of Assyria. He was the first of his nation to make a systematic and universal study and collection of his country's literature, and it is to the library he collected in his palace that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature and language. L. W. K.

ASYLUM, a sanctuary, within whose precincts those who take refuge may not be harmed without sacrilege.

1. General principle. In early times, holy places, as the homes or haunts of the gods, extended over everything in them the protection of their own inviolability. Wild animals, and sometimes even domestic animals which strayed into them, shared this protection with debtors, fugitive slaves, and criminals, as well as the victims of unjust pursuit or violence. Manslayers sought refuge in them from the sword of the avenging kinsmen, and the right of asylum had an especial importance among those peoples in which the primitive law of blood vengeance was most persistently maintained.¹ The right of asylum was possessed by different sanctuaries in various degrees, depending on prescription, the holiness of the place, and other circumstances; it sometimes extended to an entire city, or even to a mark beyond its walls. Even within the same sanctuary it was, of course, a greater sacrilege to drag the suppliant away from the altar or from the image of the god, or to slay him there, than merely to violate the sacred precincts. In later times the abuse of these privileges led to legal regulation and restriction (cp. *é.g.*, *Tit. Ann.* 36-64 114).

In Israel the oldest law (Ex. 21 12-14) recognises the right of asylum, but denies its protection to the murderer with malice aforethought: 'from beside my altar thou shalt take him to die.'

2. Early practice. Doubtless every altar of Yahwé (Ex. 20 24 f.) was an asylum; but not all were equally venerated, nor would the village high-place protect the suppliant as securely as the more famous sanctuaries. The only historical instances in the OT in which men who fear for their lives take refuge at God's altar are those of Adonijah (1 K. 15-53) and Joab (1 K. 22-34; on the text cp. *Q* and *Klo.*). Adonijah was persuaded to leave the asylum; Joab, by Solomon's orders, was slain at the very altar.

When the drastic reforms of Josiah (621 B.C.) destroyed and desecrated all the old holy places of

3. In Dt. Yahwé in his kingdom except the temple in Jerusalem, one of the necessary measures of the reform laws was to provide a substitute for the asyla thus abolished; since it was obviously impossible that manslayers from the remote parts of the land should escape to Jerusalem. Accordingly, six cities of refuge are appointed—three E. of the Jordan (Dt. 4 41-43),² three W. of it (Dt. 19 2 f.)—with eventual provision for three more, in Philistia, Phoenicia, and Coele-Syria (Dt. 19 8-10). The distinction between manslaughter and murder is clearly defined and illustrated; the case is

¹ So, *e.g.*, in Greece; whilst in Rome, where blood vengeance was early abolished by law, the right of asylum was almost exclusively reserved for slaves.

² These verses are out of place, and probably secondary; see *Die Hebräer*, § 20.

tried at the place where the offence was committed, and if the verdict be murder the elders of the city in whose territory the defendant resides are empowered to take him from the asylum and deliver him to the next kinsman of the murdered man, as the natural executor of the sentence.¹

The post-exilic law also (Nu. 35 9 ff., cp. Josh. 20-2-6) appoints six cities of refuge (עֲרֵי מִקְדָּוֹת), and defines the

4. In P. crimes in substantially the same way; but it differs radically from the Deuteronomic legislation in providing (1) that the manslayer shall be brought from his asylum to be tried before the 'congregation' ('*edah*')—i.e., the religious community of the post-exilic Jerusalem (Nu. 35 12 24 f.)—and (2) that at the death of the high priest the manslayer may without peril return to his home and estates (*vv.* 25 28).² Further, it is explicitly forbidden to compound the crime by taking a bloodwite, or to allow the homicide upon payment of a fine to leave the city of refuge before the death of the high priest.

The cities designated are, E. of the Jordan, Bezer, Ramoth in Gilead, and Golan in Bashan (Dt. 4 41-43

Josh. 20 8); W. of the Jordan, Kedesh in Galilee, Shechem, and Hebron (Josh. 20 7).

5. Cities of refuge. The last three were all venerable sanctuaries,

older, indeed, than the Israelite invasion, and were probably chosen not only on account of their location, but also because they were already asyla of established sanctity. It may be assumed that this was the case also with the cities of refuge E. of the Jordan, of which, with the exception of Ramoth, we know little. Jewish scholars, with some plausibility, maintain that, besides these, all the other Levitical cities, of which there were forty-four, many of them seats of ancient sanctuaries, possessed the right of asylum in a lower degree.³ Whether this system was ever actually introduced in its whole extent is doubtful. Neither in the brief years between Josiah's reform and the fall of the Judean kingdom nor after the restoration did Judah possess more than a small part of the territory contemplated by these laws.

In the Greek period, and later (under Roman rule) many Hellenistic cities in Syria enjoyed the privileges of

6. Parallels. sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne, near Antioch, where the Jewish high priest, Onias, is said to have taken refuge (2 Macc. 4 33 ff., cp. Strabo, xvi. 26), the title *ἀστυ* appears on coins of Caesarea, Pnias, Diocæsarea (Sepphoris) in Galilee, Ptolemais (Acco), Dora (Dor), Scythopolis (Beth-shean), Gadara and Abila in the Decapolis, and others. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 23), this character was conferred on Jerusalem by Demetrius I.; but 1 Macc. 10 31 knows nothing of it. Cp. ASHTORETH, ASHERAH.

There is no recent and adequate work on this subject. See *Das Gesetz des Asylum in Israel*, by A. P. Bissell (Leipzig, 1902) is a laboured attempt to prove that the laws must all have originated in the age of Moses. See also S. Ohlenburg, *Die biblischen Festen im Zusammenhang*, 1895; and *Antiquitates Sæculæ*, art. 'Asylum' in *Paulys-Realencyclopædie der class. Altertumswiss.* On the wide diffusion of the fundamental conception of asylums, and on its possible origin, see J. G. Frazer's article on 'The Origin of Totemism and Exogamy' in *Fort. Rev.*, April 1899. G. F. M.

ASYNCRITUS (ΑΣΥΚΡΙΤΟΣ [Ti.], -ΥΝΚ, [VH]) is one of five who, with 'the brethren that are with them,' are saluted in Rom. 16 14. They seem to have been Christian heads of households, or perhaps class leaders of some sort.

Asyncritus figures in the list of the 'seventy disciples' by the

¹ In all these particulars there is a striking and instructive resemblance to the Athenian code of Draco (624 B.C.).

² In this provision it is evident that the sojourn in the city of refuge is regarded as a species of exile, a punishment which was removed by a general amnesty at the ascension of the new high priest, the real sovereign. Accordingly, in the Mishna, and in Jewish jurisprudence generally, residence in the city of refuge is called *erlah*, 'exile,' cp. *e.g.* *Makoth*, 3.

³ See Maimonides, *Yad Hanakha*, Hilkoth Ruseh, ch. 8.

Pseudo-Dorotheus as bishop of 'Urbania,' and in that of the Pseudo-Hippolytus as bishop of 'Hycuntia' (doubtless the preferable reading). In the great Greek *Menela* he is commemorated along with Herodion and Agabus on 8th April.

ATAD (אָטאַד), Gen. 50:10. See ABEL-MIZRAIM.

ATAR (אַטאַר [A]), 1 Esd. 5:28 RV = Ezra 2:42, ATER, 2.

ATARAH (אַטאַרָה, 'crown'; אַטאַרָה [B], אַטַרָה [A]), second wife of Jorhannem (1 Ch. 2:26). In genealogical phraseology this signifies that the clan occupied a new region (cp Caleb's wife Ephrath; and see AZUBAH, CALEB), and presumably, like Caleb, it moved farther N., in which case we may compare Atarah with ATROTH-BETH-JOAB, mentioned along with Bethlehem, etc., in 1 Ch. 2:54.

ATARGATIS, TEMPLE OF (ΤΟ ΑΤΕΡΓΑΤΙΟΝ [AV]), 2 Macc. 12:20; cp 1 Macc. 5:42 f. In the walled enclosure of this trans-Jordanic temple the Ammonites and Arabians defeated by Judas the Maccabee, after throwing away their arms, took refuge (see ASHTAROTH, § 1). It was in 164 B.C., the year after the re-dedication of the temple at Jerusalem, which had animated the foes of the church-nation to a deadly persecution (1 Macc. 5:2). Judas had already acted with the severity of the old Israelitish law of war, dealing with the trans-Jordanic towns and the heathen part of their peoples as Joshua had dealt with Jericho (1 Macc. 5:28; cp Josh. 6:24, JE), but with the added zeal against idolatry justified by Dt. 7:12. Naturally, this champion of monotheism, like his successor Jonathan at Ashdod (1 Macc. 10:8), had no scruple in violating the temple precincts. The unarmed multitude he slew (2 Macc.), and the temple-buildings, with all the objects polluted by idolatry, he burned (1 Macc.).

Atargátis (אַטאַרְגַּאָטִיס; cp Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* n. 3; also *וּתְרַגַּאָטִיס*; cp ZDMG [52] 6 473 f.), to whom the temple belonged, is in *The Speaker's Commentary* (n. on 1 Macc. 5:26) identified with Astarte. This is a natural error, for Carnaim is no doubt Ashteroth-Karnaim—so called from the addition of the town to the worship of various forms of Ashteroth or Astarte. We know, however, that these deities were different; for at Ascalon there were temples of Astarte and of Atargátis (Derkêto) side by side. All that is true is that the first part of the name Atargátis (i.e., אַטַר), is the Aramaic equivalent of the Phoenician and Heb. אַטַרְתַּיִם without the fem. ending (see PHOENICIA); but the religious significance of this Atar ('Atâr for 'Athtar) is profoundly modified by its union with 'Athe (usually written אַתַּה or אַתַּי), a Palmyrene divinity whose name is well attested, and occurs in many proper names.¹ Atargátis is, in fact, that form of Astar[t]e which has absorbed into itself the characteristics of another deity called 'Athe (cp Ashtar-Kamosh in the inscription of Meshah). Lucian, in his *De Dea Syria*, has left us a minute account of the temple and worship of the Syrian goddess (who was no doubt Atargátis) at Hierapolis (Mabug), which illustrates the Jewish hatred of it.

The connection of this 'omnipotent and all-producing goddess' (Apuleius) with sacred life-giving waters has been studied by Prof. W. R. Smith (*RSZ* 172-175). See also Prof. W. Wright, *TSBA* 6 438 f.; Baethgen, *Beitr.* 68 ff. 256 f.; Baudissin, art. 'Atargatis,' in Herzog-Plitt, *PRE* vol. 1, (who notices the different forms under which the goddess was represented); Fuchsstein, *ZA* 9 420; Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* 'Astarte,' 4 (4). T. K. C.

ATAROTH (אַטַרְוֹת), 'crowns' or 'wreaths,' cp Is. 28:1 Zech. 6:11 14, etc.; אַטַרְוֹת [BAL].

1. 1 Ch. 2:54. See ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.

2. **Ataroth-Addar** (אַטַרְוֹת אַדָּר), Josh. 16:5, אַטַרְוֹת וְאֵדָר [B], ar. k. אַדָּר [A], ar. אַדָּר [L]; 18 vs. AV **Ataroth-Adar**, אַטַרְוֹת אַדָּר [B], ar. אַדָּר [A], ar. אַדָּר [L], called also simply ATAROTH, Josh. 16:2, אַטַרְוֹת [B], where אַ is all that is left of אַדָּר, perhaps the present 'Atârâ on the high road from

¹ The oldest center of the worship of 'Athe is thought by Hommel (*FStBA*, 1897, p. 81) to have been the E. of Asia Minor, whence the cult spread to W. Asia Minor and N. Syria.

Jerusalem to Bethel, 3½ m. S. of Bethel, and 6 E. of the upper Beth-horon (see Guérin, *Judée*, 36 f.; but on the other side Robinson, 2 314). As it is a Benjamite locality, we might plausibly identify ADDAR with the Benjamite clan-name ADDAR, ARD [g.v.].

3. An unknown site (אָטַרְוֹת, Josh. 16:7, אַטַרְוֹת [B]) between Janoah and Naarah, on the north-eastern frontier of the territory of Ephraim.

4. A city of Gad (אָטַרְוֹת, Nu. 32:34, אַטַרְוֹת [A] 34, אַטַרְוֹת [F] 34), mentioned in the inscription of Meshah (L. 11, אָטַרְוֹת, as reconquered by him, along with a 'land of 'Atoth (L. 10) dwelt in from of old by the men of Gad.' The name survives as that of a mountain, and a ruined site 'Atârâs, at the top of the Wady Zerka Ma'in, 10 m. E. of the Dead Sea. (Tristram, *Moab*, 272-276.) The OS (Eus. 214 51, אַטַרְוֹת; Jer. 87 17) wrongly identify with no. 1, presumably confusing Joab with Job, whom tradition associates with Ashtaroth-Karnaim. See ATROTH-SHOPIAN. G. A. S.

ATER (אַטַר), § 66; אַטַר [BA]; 'left-handed' ? cp Judg. 3:15 Heb., and the Lat. name Scævola).

1. The line Ater of Hezekiah (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר; אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [BA]), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 30), EZRA 2:16 (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [B]), Neh. 7:21 (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [B]), 1 Esd. 5:17 (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [A]), אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [B], אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [L], Aterezias, RV ATER of EZEKIAS, ATER HEZEKIAS, AV ATER HEZEKIAH (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר), appears also among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7, Neh. 10:17 [18] (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [B]), אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [A], אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [L]).

2. The line Ater (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [BA]), אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [L]), a family of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [B]), EZRA 2:42 (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [A])=Neh. 7:45 (אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [B])=1 Esd. 5:28, JATAL, RV ATAR (om. B. אָטַרְוֹת אֶתֶר [L]).

ATERGATIS (ΤΟ ΑΤΕΡΓΑΤΙΟΝ [VA]), 2 Macc. 12:26 RV, AV ATARGATIS.

ATETA (אַטַטָּה [A]), 1 Esd. 5:28 RV = Ezra 2:42, HAVITA.

ATHACH (אַתַּח, 'inn' ? [Ges.]; NOO [B], NOMBE [TR], אַתַּח [A], אַתַּח [L]), one of the towns of Judah to which David sent a part of the Analekite spoil (1 S. 30:30f). According to Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde, it is the ETHER (g.v.) of Josh. 15:42 (אַתַּח [B], אַתַּח [A], 1 Ch. 2:26 [B], אַתַּח [A], אַתַּח [L]); those scholars decline to decide which of the variants is correct, though Budde retains אַתַּח in the text of 1 S. The *νοο*, *νομβε*, and *παγεθ* of certain MSS may, however, point to a various reading NOB. Guérin visited a place called *Nâbâ*, near *Kharis*, and W. of the *Kh. Kîlâ* (Keilah), which, he thinks, may be meant by *νομβε* (*Judée*, 334p). That there must have been several places called NOB is generally admitted. Klostermann suggests אַתַּח, ANAB (Josh. 11:21), a place near Hebron (Hebron follows), and the question arises whether NOB itself may not be a shortened form of Anâb (see NOB). In Josh. 11:21 אַתַּח gives אַתַּח אַתַּח = אַתַּח, out of which both אַתַּח TOCHEN [g.v.] and אַתַּח Athach may perhaps have arisen by the loss of one letter and the transposition and slight corruption of other letters. It so happens that there are to-day two 'Anâbs S. of Hebron called the great and little. These may represent the Anaboth or Grape-towns. T. K. C.

ATHALIAH (אַתַּלְיָה, § 39, meaning obscure; cp Gray, *III.V* 297; אַתַּלְיָה [B], אַתַּלְיָה [A], אַתַּלְיָה [S], אַתַּלְיָה אַתַּלְיָה [L]; ATHALIAS), in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [6], § 15 [17] a), Neh. 11:4 = 1 Ch. 9:47, UTHAI (אַתַּלְיָה; אַתַּלְיָה [B]), אַתַּלְיָה [L]), where different links are given between him and Perez.

ATHALIAH (אַתַּלְיָה, אַתַּלְיָה, § 39, 50: 'Yahwé is great'; cp with Che., Ass. *etellu*, 'great, high,' also 'lord,' used of gods and kings [Del. *Ass. HWB*, s.v.], 1. (γῶθολία [BAL], but -θῶλ. [A vid. in 2 K. 11:13]), Daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and wife of Jehoram.

containing the words *ἀσθη ἡ πόλις τοῦ κυρίου* (Ps. 118:20); this might have belonged to the entrance of a synagogue. The Hellenic belief *ἀπὰς θανόντων οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀνάστασις* was not, in Athens, reduced by the powerful solvent of Judaism. Hence, the moment the apostle uttered the words 'raised from the dead' his audience revolted. Elsewhere his difficulties centred round another point—whether Jesus was the Messiah or not. In Athens, where Jewish thought had no hold, the idea of the resurrection of the body was unfamiliar—least so to the Stoics, although it would be an anachronism to quote here the remarkable approach made by such Stoics as Seneca to Christian modes of thought. Little wonder, then, that Paul's work at Athens was a comparative failure, and that he felt it to be so (Acts 17:34 1 Cor. 2:3). His visit to the city was a mistake; and perhaps it was from the first to be so (Acts 17:34 1 Cor. 2:3). His visit to the city was a mistake; and perhaps it was from the first to be so (Acts 17:34 1 Cor. 2:3). In the hurried departure from Berea (Acts 17:10 ff.), there would be little time for making plans or for choosing modes of transport, and the apostle's abode in Athens seems to have been largely, if not entirely, due to the necessity he was under of waiting for his companions (Acts 17:15 f.).

W. J. W.

ATHLAI (אֲתָלַי, אֲתָלַי, §§ 30, 52, ATHALAI, *q. v.*), in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), EZRA 10:25 (אֲתָלַי [B], אֲתָלַי [S], אֲתָלַי [A], אֲתָלַי [L]; אֲתָלַי [I]; אֲתָלַי [J]; אֲתָלַי [K]; אֲתָלַי [L]; אֲתָלַי [M]; אֲתָלַי [N]; אֲתָלַי [O]; אֲתָלַי [P]; אֲתָלַי [Q]; אֲתָלַי [R]; אֲתָלַי [S]; אֲתָלַי [T]; אֲתָלַי [U]; אֲתָלַי [V]; אֲתָלַי [W]; אֲתָלַי [X]; אֲתָלַי [Y]; אֲתָלַי [Z]).

ATIPHA (ΑΤΙΦΑ [B.Λ.]), 1 Esd. 5:32 = Ezra 2:54, ΑΤΙΦΑ.

ATONE, ATONEMENT (כִּפֶּר, אֲשִׁילֶכְעִין; אֲשִׁילֶכְעִין, אֲשִׁילֶכְעִין; אֲשִׁילֶכְעִין, אֲשִׁילֶכְעִין). The expression 'to atone' (כִּפֶּר) generally describes the effect of the sacrifices in removing guilt. The pure religious idea of atonement, however, as W. R. Smith remarks (*OTJC* (1) 439) is to be found in the Prophets (and, surely, in Ps. 51; see *zv. i* [2] 2 [3] 7 [8] 9 [10]; also, with כִּפֶּר in 65:3 78:38 79:6). There it has no relation to sacrificing, and we cannot fail to see the appropriateness of this scholar's explanation of כִּפֶּר *kipper* as meaning primarily 'to wipe out.' This is in accordance with Syriac usage; but the only OT passage in which the sense of 'wipe out' is possible is in Is. 28:18, where the reading is much disputed (Houbigant, Lowth, Du. [but not Di., Che.] read *אֲשִׁילֶכְעִין* instead of *כִּפֶּר*), and where it is at any rate open to us to obtain the sense 'wiped out' indirectly from the common reading ('covered over'; cp Gen. 6:14). The usual view is that a propitiation is expressed by *kipper* metaphorically, as a 'covering' (cp Ar. *kafara*: in i. stem *text*, in ii. *expiravit*), as when Jacob, fearing Esau's anger, says, 'I will cover his face with a present' (cp Gen. 20:16 Job 9:24). The Hebraistic usage of the word is well set forth by Driver, *Deut.* 425, 439. W. R. Smith's note in *OTJC* (1) 438-440 also deserves attention; but *OTJC* (2) 381, etc., should here be compared.

In the NT 'atonement' is given by AV for *καταλλαγή*, Rom. 5:11; but RV, with a proper regard to consistency, substitutes 'reconciliation'; cp 2 Cor. 5:18 f., 'the ministry, the word, of reconciliation.' Elsewhere *καταλλαγή* occurs in Rom. 5:10 f. 11:15; cp Col. 1:21; it is hardly one of S's words, being found only in 2 Macc. 5:20. See further, ATONEMENT, DAY OF, MERCY-SEAT, RANSOM, SACRIFICE; and cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.* (2) 237, 320, 437, etc.; also We. *CH* 335 f.

See also Kittish, *Die christl. Lehre von d. Reuefertigung* u. d. *Verwöhnung*, ii.; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of NT* 1:110-112; 2:200-216; Dale, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*; Wilson, *Hebrew Lectures on the Atonement* (1899). The semi-popular literature is extensive.

ATONEMENT, DAY OF (יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים); later, יוֹם הַכִּפּוּר, in Talmud יוֹם הַכִּפּוּר, 'the great day,' יוֹמֵי הַכִּפּוּר, 'the day,' יוֹמֵי הַכִּפּוּר, 'the great fast'; cp Acts 27:9, Η ΝΗΧΤΕΙΑ—as the only fast enjoined by the law).

The law relating to this day (Lev. 16), which as it now stands connects with the story of Nadab and

1. Analysis Abihu in Lev. 10:1-7, is not in its present form a homogeneous unity.¹ This is evident, not only from the duplicate verses 6 and 11, and from peculiarities of the arrangement, but also from the contents of the law.

The chapter as a whole treats of two quite distinct subjects: viz., (1) the warning of the high priest that he is to enter the Holy of Holies not at pleasure, but only under certain specified precautions; (2) the ordering of a yearly Day of Atonement, for which an exact ritual is prescribed. 1. is contained in vs. 3-4 6:2 13:14, and belongs to 17:2-22, is itself complete. (2) 7:29-34 is a complete direction for the annual observance of a day of fasting and humiliation, on which the sanctuary and people are to be cleansed by 'the priest who shall be anointed' (cp 8:12)—i.e., the high priest of the time; the atonement is supposed by the lawgiver to be carried out in accordance with the ritual (which, originally, immediately preceded it) of Lev. 9, and with the law of the sin-offering laid down in Nu. 15:24. On critical grounds this law also must be held to belong to P.² (3) vs. 5:7-10, 14-28, on the other hand, by which the quite peculiar ritual of the Day of Atonement is prescribed, are the work of a much later hand.

Why and when these various portions of the present law were combined into one are questions that will be discussed elsewhere (see LEVITICUS, § 6 f., and HEXATEUCH); the important fact, gained from critical analysis, is that the Day of Atonement, as far as its ceremonies are described in Lev. 16, is of comparatively recent origin, and the result of a very interesting development.

This conclusion is supported by a variety of considerations. (a) That the pre-exilic worship knew of

2. Stages of development. no such day as is described in Lev. 16 is evident, not only from the absence of all mention of it (an omission which cannot

be accidental, the other high days being referred to), but also from the fact that consciousness of sin and sense of need of a propitiation, which are the necessary conditions of such an institution, first became prominent in the time of Ezekiel (see FEASTS, § 11). (b) The earliest trace of public days of fasting and humiliation in the exilic period appears in Zech. 7:3 8:19; the four yearly fasts there mentioned were commemorative of the national calamities at the fall of Jerusalem, and appear to have been still observed in post-exilic times.

Ezekiel, in this as in other respects the forerunner of the priestly law, had enjoined two atonement-days (the first day of the first month and the first of the seventh, 45:18-20, 3). A young bullock as a sin-offering was to be brought, and with its blood were to be smeared the posts of the house, the four corners of the altar, and the posts of the gate of the inner court—'so shall ye make atonement for the house'; together with this, certain sin-offerings for priest and people are enjoined for the passover-day (Ezek. 45:22).

(c) When we turn to the detailed account of the reading of the law in Neh. 8 f., we find mentioned a joyous celebration on the first day of the seventh month, and a celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles on the fifteenth, without any reference to a Day of Atonement on the tenth.³ On the twenty-fourth day, on the other hand, a general fast with confession of sin was held, by no means in accordance with the ritual of Lev. 16:14-28. This makes it clear that what stood in the Law-book used by Ezra (P₂) was not the Levitical ritual (Lev. 16:14-28), but only a precept of a yearly fast-day with sabbatic rest—in other words, the precept laid down in Lev. 16:29-34.

The change from the tenth to the twenty-fourth at the first celebration is intelligible enough on the assumption that the fast-day was not at first so prominent in the law-book as it afterwards became in Lev. 16:14-28.

Even in the still later list of high days in Lev. 23:27 and Nu. 29:7 we do not find any reference to the specific ritual of Lev. 16:14-28; the tenth day of the

¹ See Benzinger's study, *ZATW* 9:65 f. (189), and cp Stade, *GV* 2:258, and LEVITICUS, § 2.

² The text of Ezek. 45:20 should be emended in accordance with אֲשִׁילֶכְעִין בְּהַרְסֵי בְּהַרְסֵי.

³ Cp. Reuss, *Gesch. der heil. Schr.* (2) 500 f. (Holzinger, *Heb.* 750, note, differs).

ATONEMENT, DAY OF

seventh month is simply marked by fasting, sabbath rest, and the usual sin-offerings. The Day of Atonement described in Lev. 16 must have been the result of a long process of development, and the *pariosope* formed by Lev. 16: 7-10: 14-28 must belong to the very latest portions of P. The precept in Ex. 30: 10 is, of course, a still later addition to the ritual, enjoining that the blood of the sin-offering should also be applied to the altar of incense.

It is a significant fact that, as the later title proves (see above, § 1), the Day of Atonement became the most important in the ecclesiastical year; Jewish feeling in the later age inevitably led to this. Now as to the meaning of the law. The terms of Lev. 16 permit no uncertainty. The law has reference to the thorough purification of the people and sanctuary. The sin-offerings throughout the year have left many unknown or 'secret' sins; and since the people, the land, and, above all, the sanctuary are rendered impure by sin (Lev. 15: 31 Nu. 19: 13-20 Ez. 45: 18 Lev. 16: 10), there was a danger that the sacrificial services might lose their efficacy and even that Yahwé might desert his defiled sanctuary. This was the reason for the institution of the Day of Atonement—that the Israelites might annually make a complete atonement for all sin, and that the sanctuary might be cleansed (Lev. 16: 33). The leading idea of the entire Priestly Law found here its best expression. The Day of Atonement quickened, on the one hand, the people's sense of sin and dread of Yahwé's avenging holiness, and, on the other hand, their assurance of reconciliation and of their renewed holiness. This holiness was guaranteed by their religious system, the efficacy of which, marred by sin, was again restored by this solemnity of expiation. It is the key-stone of the whole system, the last consequence of the principle, 'Ye shall be [ceremonially] holy, for I am holy.'

3. Fundamental principle, etc.

If we turn to the ritual, we can without difficulty discover its fundamental ideas. The high priest, after bathing, puts on plain white linen garments instead of his elaborate vestments, for he is to appear as a humble suppliant before the Holy One whom only the pure may approach. Of course, before he can make atonement for the people he must first do so for himself and for his 'house'—i.e., for the entire priesthood. On entering the Holy of Holies he is to envelop in a cloud of holy incense-smoke the place of God's personal presence, lest he die. The ritual of blood-sprinkling, as far as it is peculiar to this day, is only an elaboration, required by the extreme closeness of the approach to God, of the usual procedure in sacrificial offerings. The conception has been explained by Robertson Smith¹ as an inheritance from primitive ideas about sacrifice. See SACRIFICE, § 22.

The Day of Atonement has been called by Delitzsch the Good Friday of the Law. This can hardly be maintained with regard to its earlier period. Good Friday was not instituted to restore the impaired ceremonial holiness of the community; it had from the first a reference to the individual and to spiritual religion. It was otherwise with the *Yôm Kippûrim*, even if its institutors were not personally opposed to the supplementing and counteracting agency of teachers of a nobler religion. We will not deny that the poetic prayers composed for the 'great day' during the Dispersion touch the Christian deeply from their extraordinary spiritual depth and their sense of individual religion. These prayers, however, are no evidence of the spirit of the original institution. It is not necessary to dwell on the Azazel-ritual. The ritual of the Day of Atonement has grown (this can be shown by literary analysis as well as by archaeological con-

siderations),¹ and the Azazel-ritual is the latest portion of it. We might perhaps suppose that those who continued Ezra's work were not up to his level; but when we look at Lev. 16: 29-30a, which is the earliest part of the law (cp 9: 7 ff.), we still find in it provisions opposed in tendency to the pure religion of the greatest prophets and psalmists. The procedure with the blood may be archaeologically explained so as to minimise the shock which it causes us; it may also be spiritualised, so as to assume a totally new appearance; but it is, as has been stated, out of harmony with that prophetic religion which is restated in Pss. 40: 50-51. It is also in this part of the law that we find an expression which, when correctly explained, condenses the unspiritual elements of the law into a nutshell. It is the expression *Sabbath Sabbathôn*, which may well be more ancient than the day to which it is applied. RV renders Lev. 16: 31 thus: 'It is a sabbath of solemn rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls; it is a statute for ever.' Jastrow (*Amor. Lexicon*, *Thes.* 1: 307 [1908]) has made it probable that *Sabbath* and *Sabbathôn* answer—the latter more exactly² than the former—to the Babylonian ceremonial term *Sabbatum*, which means a day of propitiation with reference to the *dies nefasti* of the kings. If so, the terms *Sabbath* and *Sabbathôn*, which are derived from *שבת*, to rest, imply that by the usages on the day to which these terms are applied, rest is given to an angry God.³ The expression 'to afflict the soul' (*innâ nephesh*), used in the same verse, is not less archaic in spirit, even if much later in use;⁴ it was adopted by late theologians as a synonym of the old word *צום*, 'to fast.' This, too, implies an unspiritual doctrine—viz., that by denying the body certain generally desired goods the mind of a deity can be influenced by his worshippers.

To examine the full force of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, archaeologically viewed, is not our purpose. Our purpose is to emphasise their strictly propitiatory character. That same character belonged, according to the Jewish liturgy, to the ritual of New Year's Day (*Roš haš-Sanah*). It was believed,⁵ through the influence of Babylonian mythology, that the fate of man was decreed on New Year's Day (the festival of Creation), and that on the Day of Atonement the decree was 'sealed.' No wonder that the nine days which intervened between the first day of the seventh month (New Year's Day) and the tenth (the Day of Atonement) were regarded by the Jews as penitential days. Precisely when this view of New Year's Day as the Day of Destiny began to be taken, we know not. Probably it began among the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion. It gives a new force, however, (1) to the collocation of *Yôm Kippûrim* and *Roš haš-Sanah* in the same month, and (2) to the designation of both days (see Lev. 23: 24) as *Sabbathôn*. To what extent, if at all, the ritual of these days is a revival of primitive custom, is obscure. It is quite possible that in primitive times Israelitish ritual, at any rate in certain places, approxi-

1 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

2 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

3 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

4 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

5 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

6 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

7 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

8 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

9 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

10 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

11 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

12 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

13 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

14 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

15 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

16 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

17 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

18 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

19 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

20 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

21 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

22 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

23 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

24 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

25 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

26 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

27 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

28 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

29 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

30 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

31 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

32 *Rel. Sem.* 40 f.

mated rather more to Babylonian than was afterwards the case. One could wish this to be true, for it would then be easier to account for the ceremonies of the *Yôm Kippûrim*, so archaic in spirit, and so contrary to the tendency of Jer. 31 31-34 Ezek. 36 25-27 Mic. 7 19.

At any rate, the propitiation-days of the post-exilic Israelites were nobler than those of the Babylonians, in

as far as they were for the benefit of the whole people, and not merely for that of the rulers. The Babylonian regulations of the 'days of appeasement' (*šabattum* = שַׁבָּט) bear upon the conduct of the king; but, since 'the whole congregation is holy,' those of the *Yôm Kippûrim* necessarily touch the conduct of all faithful Jews and even of 'sojourners' (Lev. 16 29). In this respect the Jewish religion has a much closer affinity with the Zoroastrian than with the Babylonian or the Assyrian. If the provision for giving the uneducated populace a visible sign of the forgiveness of all its sins and the removal of their punishment appears to us barbaric and unspiritual (see AZÄZEL, § 1)—if, too, the populace was only too likely to misinterpret the comprehensive expressions of Lev. 16 16 21 30, and to think that all sins whatever were cancelled by the ritual—we must remember (as regards Azazel) the compromising spirit natural to large educational churches, and (as regards the other point) the difficulty in an Eastern language of guarding against all possible misinterpretations of phrases. A misinterpretation it certainly is when a Mishna treatise declares that—

'The goat which is dismissed atones for all (other) transgressions, as well the light as the grave, the intentional and the unintentional, those foreknown and those not foreknown' (*Shebu'oth* 16).

The analogy of Lev. 4 21 3 etc. Nu. 15 24 distinctly shows that in such propitiatory ordinances it is accidental transgressions (שְׁגָגָה), not deliberate transgressions (בְּדַר, דְּבַר), that are referred to; and in *Yômä* 89 we read, 'He who says, I will sin, the Day atones; to him the Day will bring no atonement.'¹

In NT times the Jews had advanced religiously beyond the contemporaries of Ezra. In the Epistle to the Hebrews and in that of Barnabas

we meet with a Christian gnosis; but there was, no doubt, also an allegorising gnosis that was Jewish. There must have been both poetic symbolisers (cp Ps. 51 7 [9]) and typologists. What Barnabas says (78) about the scarlet cloth tied on the neck of the 'scapegoat' is absurd; but it is an exquisite allegory that the Epistle to the Hebrews suggests in the words (Heb. 10 11 22)—

'Having therefore boldness to use the entrance into the holy place with the blood of Jesus—the entrance which he dedicated for us—a fresh and living way—through the veil, that is to say, his flesh, and having a great priest over the house of God, let us approach,' etc.

Christians are, strictly, no priests (Christ is the 'great priest'); but the rending of the flesh of Christ, which brought him, the perfect one, near to God, enables his followers to make a nearer approach to the divine presence than the greatest priests and prophets of the age before him could make. The entrance of Christ into the heavenly regions through death is likened to the entrance of the high priest once in the year into the Holy of Holies. Of these two entrances the same epistle speaks thus (Heb. 9 12):

'Nor yet through blood of goats and bulls,² but through his own blood, he entered once for all into the holy place.'

The Jewish high priest entered the holiest through the blood of goats and bulls. The goat was the offering for the people; the bullock for the high priest himself (Lev. 16 11 15). Christ entered through his own blood. The high priest went in once in the

year; Christ once for all, as the representative of his people, that they might ever after have free access to God. 'Once for all' (ἐφάραξ) is to be explained by 9 25, 'the high priest enters the holy place every year with blood not his own' (ἐν αἵματι ἑαυτοῦ).

The point is not how many times in the day the high priest entered the holiest, but that he entered on one day in the year. Of course, he went in more than once on the 'great day'; the Mishna says four times—(1) with the incense; (2) with the blood of the bullock; (3) with that of the goat; (4) after the evening burnt-offering, to bring away the censer and the incense-plate. Lev. 16 13-15 also implies more than one entrance.

There is a reference to the ritual in Heb. 13 11, where the death of Jesus outside the gate is compared with the burning of the remnants of the sin-offering without the camp. This, however, as Davidson has shown,¹ disjoins the ritual, and is really a mere isolated analogy.

The treatise *Yômä* (cp also Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 3 and Ep. Barn. ch. 7) throws much fresh light on the details of the ritual; we must not, however, suppose

7. Details in that it is in all respects literally accurate.

In the Cambridge MS (Palestinian recension) it is called *Masseketh Kippurim*, which is its true title, as the commentary of Maimonides on the Mishna also proves. J. Derenbourg has attempted a restoration of the oldest recension (see below, § 8).

The minute directions for the purification of the high priest need not detain us. Three confessions of sin (*vidduy*) form the most beautiful part of the ritual; they are preserved in *Yômä* 38 4 2 and 6 2, and have passed with slight changes into the Jewish liturgy. In each of these confessions the sacred Tetragrammaton (יהוה) occurs; altogether it was pronounced ten times, and as often as the high priest came to the name those who stood near fell on their faces, while the multitude responded: 'Blessed be the Name, the Name of the glory of his kingdom, for ever and ever.' The first part of the service (including the blood-sprinkling) was gone through close to the Most Holy Place. The rest was performed close to the worshippers, in the eastern part of the court of the priests, north of the altar, where stood two goats and an urn with two lots. The high priest drew the lots, and it was held to be a good omen if his right hand drew forth the lot 'for Yahwè.' To the horn of the 'goat for Azazel' a 'tongue' of scarlet cloth was tied.

The high priest then went to the bullock, over which he had already confessed the sins of himself and his house, and now confessed those also of 'the seed of Aaron, thy holy tribe.' Hearing the censer and the incense, he was seen to disappear within the sanctuary. There he stood alone; he rested his censer on a stone called שִׁטְרִי² which stood in the place of the ark. Outside the Holy of Holies he uttered a prayer; it had to be a short one, lest the people should become anxious.³ Again the rite of blood-sprinkling is performed in the Holiest, and then the 'goat for Yahwè' is sacrificed. A third time the high priest enters the Holiest, and again there is blood-sprinkling in all parts of the sanctuary. Forty-three such sprinklings have purified the sanctuary. But the people at large have to receive the visible sign of forgiveness. The 'goat for Azazel' now becomes prominent. A *vidduy* or confession is uttered over the animal's head, which is now to be led to the precipice marked out for the destruction of the goat. Men of rank from Jerusalem accompany it; cries and curses hasten its progress (see AZÄZEL, § 4). Meantime the high priest puts on his 'golden vestments';⁴ then he puts them off again, and a fourth time (see above) enters the Holiest.

The evening of the 'great day' closed with a banquet for the high priest and his friends, and with dancing in the vineyards for the maidens of Jerusalem. Probably this dance was primitive; it attached itself to the Day of Atonement, as a natural mode of relief to tired human nature (*Taanith* 48). See, further, DANCING, § 8; CANTICLES, § 8.

The treatise *Yômä* (*Mishna*) by Surenhusius; *Yômä* alone ed. Strack; cp Wünsche, *Der bab. Talm.* 1 240 ff.; J. Derenbourg, 'Essai de restitution de l'anc. rédaction de Masseketh Kippourim,' *REJ* no. 11 41-80 (80); Maimonides, *Michoboth yôm hakippurim*, in Delitzsch, *Hebrews* 2 464 ff.; Kuenen, *Hex.* 86, 312; Oort, *TKT* 10 142-165 (76); Benzinger, *ZATW* 6 68-88 (39); articles by Delitzsch in *HWB*, and in *ZATW* 1 173-183 (80), reviewed by Kuenen, *TKT* II 207-212 (83); Spencer, *De*

¹ See his instructive essay, *Hebrews* (82), 196-202.

² Commonly explained 'foundation,' and illustrated by Job 38 6.

³ Such a 'short prayer' is given in Jer. *Yômä*, 96 (Del. *Gench. u. d. Poesie*, 187-183).

⁴ Cp Eclus. 50 9 11, and the verses from the Abodah in Del. *Jüd. Poesie*, 21 f.

Jeg. rit. iii. Diss. viii.; D. Hoffmann in *Berliner's Magazin* (76), 1 ff.; Adler, *J. J. W.* 3:1 ff. (83); Steins, *GT* 2:182, 250 ff.; Schätzl, *GT* 1:187 ff., 2:206 ff.; Ebersheim, *The Temple* (74), 262-288; Driver, 'Atonement, Day of, in Hastings, *DB* 1:199-201, and 'Leviticus' in *SBOT* (Eng.); Di. on Lev., and Nowack's and Benzinger's Archaeologies.

§§ 1-3 l. 6.; §§ 4-8 T. K. C.

ATROTH (Nu. 32:35 AV). See ATROTH-SHOPHAN.

ATROTH-BETH JOAB (אֲתָרוֹת בֵּית יוֹאָב—i. e., 'crowns of the house of Joab'): ΑΤΑΡΘΟΘ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΙΩΑΒ [B] & Ο ΙΩΑΒΑΒ [A]; ΑΤΑΡΘΟ ΒΗΘΙΩΑΒ [L. 1], an unknown locality, mentioned in 1 Ch. 2:54 along with Bethlehem and Netophah, in a Calebite connection; its people were sons of Salma b. Hur b. Caleb (see JABEZ). Salma was the 'father' of Beth-lehem, the burial-place of Joab's father ZERUIAH [q. v.]. Meyer (*Ent.* 147) suggests a connection with the valley of CHARASHIM.

ATROTH-SHOPHAN, AV ATROTH, SHOPHAN (אֲתָרוֹת שׁוֹפְחָן; צוֹפָר [BA], -AN [F], צוֹפָר [L.]). Eus. 214:54), a town of Gad (Nu. 32:35); perhaps one of the two localities in Moab still called 'Attarus'. See ATAROTH, 4.

ATA (אָטָא, perhaps abbrev. of ATHAIAS).

1. Son of the Egyptian JARH, by the daughter of Shechem the Jerahmeelite; his son was NATHAN; 1 Ch. 2:27. (עֲתָא [B], עֲתָא [L], עֲתָא [A]). See JARH, JEROME.

2. One of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12:11. (עֲתָא [B], עֲתָא [L]). See DAVID, § 11, a, iii.

3. Son of Rehoboam; 2 Ch. 11:20 (עֲתָא [B]).

ATTALIA (ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙΑ [-IA TI. WH]). A town on the coast of Pamphylia, founded by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus, for the Syrian and Egyptian trade, which it shared with Perga. There has been some discussion about the site, as Strabo (p. 667), enumerating from west to east, mentions Olbia, the river Catarhactes, and then Attalia; from which it would seem that Attalia must be the modern *Laura*. Ptolemy, however, is more exact: he puts it west of the Catarhactes. Thus, it is equivalent to the modern *Adalia*, which is still a port with considerable trade. The town has a picturesque appearance, being perched on the long line of cliffs created by the calcareous deposits of the Catarhactes, which pours over them in torrents to the sea. The remains are almost entirely Roman. The apostle Paul passed through the town on his return from his 'first missionary tour' in the interior (Acts 14:25). It is still a bishopric. [See PERGA, and Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 420.] W. J. W.

ATTALUS (ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ [ANV]). Three kings of Pergamus bore this name; but we are here concerned with the last two—Attalus II., Philadelphus, 159-138 B. C., and his nephew Attalus III., Philometor, 138-133 B. C. The Pergamene kings were all allies of Rome, and the last made the Roman people his heir (see ASIA). In 1 Macc. 15:22 we read that 'Lucius, consul of the Romans,' wrote letters in favour of the Jews to Ptolemy, Attalus, Ariarathes, and others. Attalus II. is probably meant; but, as the date of the letters falls in 139-138 B. C., it is possible that they were sent to his successor. Attalus III. was the son of Eumenes by Stratonice, the daughter of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was a close ally of the Romans, sharing the fate of Publius Licinius Crassus in the war with the Pergamene pretender Aristonicus, 130 B. C. Josephus (*Ant. xiv.* 10:22) quotes a Pergamene decree in favour of the Jews about the time of Hyrcanus.

W. J. W.

ATTHARATES (ΑΤΤΑΡΑΘ [B], ΑΤΘΑΡΑΘ [A], ΑΘΑΡΑΘΑΘ [L. 1]), 1 Esd. 9:49 = Neh. 8:9, TIRSHATHA.

ATTHARIAS (ΑΤΘΑΡΙΑΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:40, RV = Ezra 2:65, TIRSHATHA.

ATTIRE. For Ezek. 23:15 (אֲתִירָה, *ʾāḥīrām*) see TURBAN; for Jer. 2:32 (אֲתִירָה, *ʾāḥīrām*) see GIRDLE; for Prov. 7:10 (אֲתִירָה, *ʾāḥīrām*) see DRESS, § 1 (4).

1 After **AT** we may assume a separate place-name Ataroth; see ATARAH.

ATTUS (ΑΤΤΟΥΣ [AL]), 1 Esd. 8:29, RV = Ezra 8:2, HATTUSS, 1.

AUGIA (ΑΥΓΙ[Ε]ΙΑ [BAL.]), 1 Esd. 5:3. Not in Ezra 2:61 = Neh. 7:63. See BARZILLAI, 3.

AUGURY ('one who practises augury,' RV Lev. 19:26 Dt. 18:10-14 2 K. 21:6; AV 'observer of times,' אֲבִירָה). See DIVINATION, § 2 (2).

AUGUSTUS (ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ [TI. WH]), an honorific title bestowed upon Octavian (27 B. C.), and from him handed on to his successors. It is applied to him, along with the title of CÆSAR (q. v.), in Lk. 2:1; EV. For his reign, in as far as it concerns Jewish history, see HERODIAN FAMILY, 1, and ISRAEL; and for the difficulties raised by Lk. 2:1 with regard to the census, see CHRONOLOGY, § 5:7.

In Acts 25:21-25 the AV 'Augustus' for *σεβαστός* should rather be, as in RV, simply 'the emperor,' or, as in RV^{mc}, 'the Augustus.' The reference is to Nero (see CÆSAR). For 'Augustus's band,' or rather (as in RV) 'the Augustan band' (Acts 27:1 *σπερμαὶ Σεβαστῆς*), see ARMY, § 10.

AURANUS (ΑΥΡΑΝΟΥ [VA]; cp AVARAN), leader of the Assassins in Jerusalem in the time of Lysimachus (2 Macc. 4:40).

AUTEAS (ΑΥΤΑΙΔΑΣ [BA]). 1 Esd. 9:49 = Neh. 8:7, HODIAH, 2.

AUTHORITIES (ΕΞΟΥΧΙΑΙ). 1 Pet. 3:20. See ANGELS, §§ 1, 9.

AVA (אָוָא), 2 K. 17:24 AV; RV AVVA.

AVARAN (ΑΥΑΡΑΝ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 2:5. See ELEAZAR, 7; MACCABEES, 1, § 37; CPÆURANUS.

AVEN (אָוֵן; אֵוֵן [BAQI]) in Hos. 10:8 Am. 1:5, but *ἡλίους ποταμούς* [BVA] in Ezek. 30:12. 1. In Ezek. 30:12 the reference is doubtless to the Egyptian Heliopolis (see ON).

2. In Hos. 10:8 (EV 'the high places of Aven') Targ. Jon. has *בֵּיתֵאָר*, Bethel, which explanation is given by all ancient and most modern interpreters; but, in consideration of the well-attested use of אָוֵן (*aven*) in the sense of 'false worship,' 'idolatry' (see, e.g., Hos. 12:12 [11]), it is a question (1) whether we should not render with G. A. Smith, 'Destroyed are the high places of idolatry, the sin of Israel,' and (2) whether, when we have regard to the parallel passage Am. 7:9, and to the probably not infrequent occurrence of glosses in the MT of the prophetic writings (see, e.g., Mic. 1:5b), the words *הֵמָּה אֵוֵן* should not be either omitted or printed in a different type as an editorial insertion. The passage, as Wellhausen remarks, gains greatly by this omission. Vg.'s reading, *excelsus idoli*, favours the view here taken of אָוֵן. Ibn Ezra paraphrases *בְּבֵית אֵוֵן* 'the high places of the Baals.'

3. In Am. 1:5 Maundrell (1697), Grove, W. A. Wright, and G. A. Smith (with Hitzig) are inclined, in company with **AV**, to identify the 'plain (or broad valley) of Aven' (BIKATH-AVEN; so AV^{mc}) with the great plain between Lebanon and Antilibanus (the so-called *Beká*), in which the famous temple of the Syrian Heliopolis (Baalbec) was situated. The vocalisation אָוֵן will then imply a play on the name—not On, but Aven. This, however, is a far-fetched supposition. On (= Egyptian *Anu*) represents the secular, not the religious, name of the Egyptian Heliopolis (see BETH-SHEMESH, 4). It is very doubtful, moreover, whether the second Heliopolis (Baalbec) was an Aramean city in the time of Amos, and it is a plausible view of Wellhausen that אָוֵן, 'false worship,' has been substituted for the name of some god. Cp Winckler, *AT Unters.* 183, n.

AVENGER (אָוֵן), Nu. 35:12. See GOEL.

AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES. See AVVIM.

AVITH (אִיִּית, in 1 Ch. Kt. עִיִּית; Γεθθαδ[α]M [BADEL]), the city of Hadad I., king of Edom, Gen. 36:35 1 Ch. 1:46 [Γεθθαδ[α]M [A], εγθθ [L]]. G's reading of the Hebrew must have been אִיִּית, Gittaim, which is clearly correct. The city of the next king had a name of similar meaning (Masrekah). See GITTAIM. T. K. C.

AVVA, AV AVA (אֲוָוָא or אֲוָוָה; Vg. *Avvah*); 2 K. 17:24 (אֲוָוָה [BA], אֲוָוָה [L]). RV; also **Ivvhav**, AV IVVAH, אֲוָוָה (omitted or only represented in corrupt form in G; Vg. *Avva*); 2 K. 18:34 אֲוָוָה [A]; not in G¹. 19:13 (אֲוָוָה [B], אֲוָוָה [A], om. L) = Is. 37:33 (אֲוָוָה [B], אֲוָוָה [A], om. L) = Is. 37:33 (אֲוָוָה [B], אֲוָוָה [A], om. L). In the latter group of passages the punctuation implies an exegetical mistake (see commentators on Is.); the name throughout should be Avva or Avvah, and it used to be thought that the city referred to the same as that from which the king of Assyria brought colonists to the 'cities of Samaria' (2 K. 17:24). It is clear, however (Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 101 f.), that 2 K. 17:24 31 have been interpolated by some one who supposed SEPHARVAIM [q.v.] in 2 K. 18:34 19:13 to be the Babylonian city of that name. It is only in the speeches of Sennacherib's envoys that Avva has a right of existence; 'Avva or 'Avvah, however, is surely a corruption of 'Azzah (אֲזָח), 'Gaza.' Tiglath-pileser, when he conquered Gaza in 734 B.C., appears to have introduced the cultus of Ašur (Wi. *GBA* 228, 333). 'Where,' then, 'are the gods of Sepharvaim and of Gaza?' (So Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899.) T. K. C.

AVVIM (אֲוִיִּים, so RV; AV AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES [Avvites, RV]). 1. According to Dt. 2:23, the Avvim inhabited the Philistine coast 'as far as Gaza' before they were 'destroyed' by the Caphtorim—i.e., the Philistines. The same late writer, in whom the antiquary's interest is prominent,¹ states that the Avvim dwelt in villages or settlements (עֲרָבִים; see HAZOR); G and Vg., however, read אֲוִיִּים, 'the Hivites' (αἱ εἰσθαῖ [BAFL]; *Hevati*). In Josh. 13:2-6 (an editorial insertion which expands the simple statement of JE in v. 1) we find the Avvim again introduced, and described (if RV is right) as belonging to the S. of Philistia; probably, however, 'on the south' belongs to the whole region defined in vv. 2-3. Here G and Vg. once more read 'the Hivites.' Sir G. Grove (in Smith's *DB*) suggests that the Avvim may be identical with the Hivites (cp G Vg. above); but the latter name is uniformly found in the singular (הִיִּת). The word might, to a Hebrew ear, mean, yet probably does not mean, 'ruins' (cp IIM). Not improbably it is a mutilated form of עֲרָבִים, 'Arabians' (Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899). The Avvim (so-called) were Bedawin who had begun to adopt a settled life.

2. אֲוִיִּים, with def. art., 'the ruins' (אֲוִיִּים [B], אֲוִיִּים [AL], Vg. *Avva*), an unidentified place in Benjamin (Josh. 18:23). It is mentioned in immediate connection with Bethel and Parah, and on this account has been conjectured by Knobel to be the same as Ai.

3. In Josh. 15:20 G¹ reads 'Avvim' for 'Iim.' See IIM (1).
4. The people of AVVA (q.v.). 2 K. 17:31. G again of אֲוָוָה [BAL] (there is a second rendering, אֲוָוָה in L); Vg. *Hevati*. T. K. C.

AWL (אֲוִלָּה, lit. 'borer'; ὀπθῆσιον [BAFL]). An instrument for boring, mentioned in the description of the 'law of slavery' (Ex. 21:6 Dt. 15:17). It probably resembled the Egyptian boring instruments depicted in Kitto (s.v.), or those more recently discovered by Bliss at Tell el Hesi (see *A Mound of Many Cities*, 81). Such instruments were used by workers in leather (see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 450 f.). Cp SLAVERY.

AWNING (אֲוִנָּה), cp Gen. 8:13, Ezek. 27:7 RV, correcting the punctuation (אֲוִנָּה), AV 'that which covered thee'. Cp DRESS, § I (4).

¹ Cp Kue. *Hex.* 117-119; Mey. *G.d* 1:217 (§ 179).

AXE. From the rude stone chisels and hatchets ('celts') of palaeolithic man, bronze and iron axe, hatchet, tomahawk, and adze were gradually developed. Various early forms of these implements (needed alike in war and in peace) are found in our museums of Egyptian and Babylonian antiquities; the monuments also give ample evidence of their existence. See HANDICRAFTS and WEAPONS.

Of the OT words for 'axe,' three at least may be nearly synonymous:

1. אֲזָח, *gazzan* (*gazzaris*); Dt. 19:5 (*ἀξίον*); 20:9 (*ἀξίον*); 1 K. 6:7 (*ἀξίον*); Is. 10:15 (*ἀξίον*), everywhere an implement for felling trees or hewing large timber for building. The word is used thrice in the Siloam inscription (*ll.* 2, 4), in the sense of a quarryman's or miner's pick. On 2 S. 12:31 2 K. 6:5, cp IRON, § 2.

2. אֲזָח, *gazzan*, *gazzaris* (Judg. 9:48 Ps. 74:5 1 S. 13:20 Jer. 46:22), perhaps specially used for felling trees; if so, it would have a heavier head than the *gazzan*.

3. אֲזָח, *gazzan*, *gazzaris*, Ps. 74:6; in Tg. Jer. 46:22 for Heb. אֲזָח. RV gives 'hatchet,' apparently to suggest a diminutive axe. G, Sym., Pesh., however, read, אֲזָח אֲזָח 'its carved work,' but אֲזָח אֲזָח 'its gates.' The rather improbable word אֲזָח אֲזָח should perhaps be אֲזָח אֲזָח (Che. *Pz.* 2), and in the light of the Tg. we should emend אֲזָח אֲזָח to אֲזָח אֲזָח 'two-edged' (Herz, Che. 2), 'with two-edged axe.' Somewhat different from these, and probably adze-shaped, is:

4. אֲזָח, *gazzan*, *gazzaris* (HNAQ, reading אֲזָח אֲזָח, *gazzan* in Jer. 10:3 Is. 44:12 (*gazzan*, *lim*, AV 'tongs') and by emendation of the text in Is. 10:33 (Duhm) and Zech. 11:3 (1) (see FOREST). Kimhi understands something lighter than the *gazzan*, or axe. In Jer. 10:3 *ma'asid* is a tool suitable for fashioning or carving wood.

Two other words are doubtful.

5. אֲזָח in Ezek. 26:9, EV 'axe,' an insecure rendering. The text is possibly corrupt (see Co., *ταῖς μαχαίραις* [BAQ], *τοῖς οὐραῖς* [1906] f.).

6. אֲזָח, 2 S. 12:31 (*ὑποστῆσις* [A]) = 1 Ch. 20:3, אֲזָח, which Berth. and Kittel conform to Sam. The text, however, perhaps needs more extensive emendation. Che. reads אֲזָח אֲזָח a marginal correction of the אֲזָח (cp אֲזָח) which found its way into the text (*Exp. Times*, Nov. 1898, p. 365). See SAW.

Of the NT names the *ἀξίον* of Mt. 8:10 Lk. 3:9 is the woodman's axe; but Rev. 20:4 (*παλαιστήριον*; cp G 1 K. 5:18) refers to the axe of the headman (*στέλεον*).

Axes were among the emblems of high rank in Egypt and at Mycenae (see the axe figured in Erman, *Egypt*, 73; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 252). In the OT it is rather the mace that is the favourite emblem of sovereign power (see ROD). There is, however, a sarcastic passage in Bar. 6:15 which suggests that the axe could be an emblem of divinity; and we may perhaps illustrate it by Frazer's learned note on Paus. x. 141. The double-headed axe is characteristic of so-called Hittite sculptures. The Labrandean Zeus of Caria also is represented on coins as carrying a double-headed axe (*Iabrus*=axe in Lydian; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 45). There appears on the coins of Tenedos a similar axe, which, being generally accompanied by a cluster of grapes, may be a symbol of the worship of Dionysus. Cp also Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Agrippos*, 1:257.² Of course, the bow and the sword, not the axe, are the emblems of Yahwé, though in Ezek. 9:2 the supernatural agents of Yahwé carry mauls (or like weapons). See BATTLE-AXE.

AYEPHIM (אֵיִפִּים), the rendering of RV¹⁹⁰⁶ in 2 S. 16:14, where the text has, 'and the king and all the people that were with him came weary.' So G, ἐκλελυμένοι [BL], ὁ ἐκλελυμένος [A]. The name of

¹ Cp 1 K. 19:17 as it stands does not make sense. For proposed emendations see Che. (*SBOT*), Isaiab, Heb., Duhm, Di-Ki.

² With a terrible crash' (בְּהִרְעָרְעָה) is only a conjectural rendering of MT.

³ Perhaps, however, the axe was depicted as a survival of the time, before the introduction of coined money, when it may have been the unit of barter (Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, etc., 317 f.). Perhaps too the 'tongue' (אֵפִים) of gold in Josh. 7:1 was in the shape of an axe; see *Exp. Times*, Nov. 1897, p. 61.

some place seems to be required by the context. If *Ayyahim* be indeed a place-name, the locality it indicates remains unidentified. On the other hand, it may be a corruption, or the place-name may have dropped out. Cp *W. e. in loc.*; Ⓢ adds *παρά τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν*.

G. A. S.

AYYAH (אִיָּיָהּ [Ba. Gl.]), 1 Ch. 7:28† RV⁹⁸ = AV GAZA [7:2, 2]. See AL. 1.

AZAEI (αζαηαι [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:14 = Ezra 10:15, ASAPH, 4.

AZAEIUS (αζαηαιος [B]), 1 Esd. 9:34 = Ezra 10:41, RV AZAREEL, 5.

AZAL, or rather RV AZEL (אֲזַל; אֲזַל [BNI]), אֲזַל [AQ], the point to which the cleft of the mountain is to reach when Yahwé descends upon the Mt. of Olives in battle (Zech. 14:5). This place, presumably situated near Jerusalem, is often identified with the equally obscure BETHEZEL. Kohler, Wright, and others (after Vg. Symm.), with less probability, take אֲזַל to be an adverbial expression, 'very near, hard by' (cp Osh. § 1677; but see also König, § 330 f. [7]). Clermont Ganneau thinks of the Wady Yásil, a little valley on the right of the 'Ain el-Löz, in the Wady en-Nâr (*PEFQU.*, 1871, p. 101).

AZALIAH (אֲזַלְיָהּ, εὐσεβίου [AL]), father of Shaphan the secretary, 2 K. 22: 6; εὐσεβίου [B] = 2 Ch. 24: 6; εὐσεβία [BA].

AZANIAH (אֲזַנְיָהּ, § 32, 'Yahwé weighs,' cp Jaazaniah; אֲזַנְיָהּ [BA], אֲזַנְיָהּ [B], אֲזַנְיָהּ [L], אֲזַנְיָהּ [I.]), a Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 19: 1 = I.

AZAPHEION (αζαφειων [B]), 1 Esd. 5:33 AV = Ezra 2:55 RV, HANNOPIERTH [7:2, 2].

AZARA, RV ASARA (αζαρα [BA]), a family of NETHINIM mentioned after Phinees (= P^hhaseah) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 61, 1 Esd. 5:33†, Unmentioned in ¶ Ezra 2:40 Neh. 7:51).

AZARAEI (αζαρηαι [BA]), Neh. 12:36 AV, RV AZAREEL, 4.

AZARIAS, 1. AV SARAIAS, 1 Esd. 8:1 (αζαρηαιος [B], αζαρηαιος [AL]) = Ezra 7:1, SERAIAH, 7.

2. AV AZARIAS (2 Esd. 1:1); see AZARIAH, 3.

AZAREEL, or rather, as in RV, **Azarel** (אֲזַרְעֵל, § 28; 'God helps'; εζρηηλ [AL], cp AZRIEL).

1. One of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12:6; αζαρηηλ [B], εζρηηλ [A]; εζρηηλ [L], See DAVID, § 11, a. iii).

2. ONE OF THE SONS OF HEMAI (see LEVI), 1 Ch. 25:18 (αζαρηηλ [B]; αζαρηηλ [L]; cp UZZIEL).

3. A Debraie 'prince' under David (1 Ch. 27:22; αζαρηηλ [B], αζαρηηλ [L]). See DAVID, § 41, e. i.

4. A priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [4], § 15 [1 a]), Neh. 11:23 (αζαρηηλ [B]); in the profession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA, ii. § 13 [2], Neh. 12:36, AV AZARAEI, αζαρηηλ [B*], αζαρηηλ [B*] ρ SHUPSETI.).

5. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10:41 (αζαρηηλ [B], αζαρηηλ [B]) = 1 Esd. 9:34 (SERAI, RV EZRAI, εζρηηηλ [BA], εζρηηηλ [L]), apparently repeated as AZARAEI (αζαρηηλ [A], αζαρηηλ [B], om. L).

AZARIAH (אֲזַרְיָהּ, §§ 28 84 [or אֲזַרְיָהּ]; in nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20; cp Baer on 1 Ch. 2:38, 'Yahwé helps'; cp ELEAZAR, AZRIEL; αζαρηαιος [BA]).

1. b. Zadok; priest, temp. Solomon, 1 K. 4: 4 (αζαρηαιος [B]). See BEN-HUR.

2. Chief priest, temp. Azariah (2 Ch. 26:17-20).

3. Chief priest, temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:10-13).

In 1 Ch. 6:9-14 (5:35-39) the name of Azariah is borne by the twelfth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar (1 Ch. 9:11 13 αζαρηαιος [B]); of the fourteenth it is said that he 'executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem' (1 Ch. 6:10 f. [5:36 f.]). Omissions and transpositions allowed for, the three Azariahs in this series may be held to be identical with nos. 1, 2, and 3 above; at

the same time, it is difficult to suppose that the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 6:11 f. (5:37 f.) should be distinguished from the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 9:11 and Ezra 7:1 (ζαρηου [B]); if we identify these, Azariah (3) was a contemporary of Josiah, not of Hezekiah. This name appears also as Azarias, Azaraias, Aziei, Ezarias, and Ezias.

4. Expositor of law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 f., cp L § 8; il. § 16 [L], § 15 [L.]). Neh. 8:7 (om. BZA) = 1 Esd. 9:46 (AZARAIAS) and signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 19:11 (αζαρηαιος [B] = AZA); ζαρηαιος [B*]. See also Neh. 2:23 (αζαρηαιος [B]), 24 (αζαρηαιος [B]), οίκου αζ. [L.]). He is apparently the Hilkiah of Neh. 12:11.

5. A Kothathite Levite (1 Ch. 6:36 [31], αζαρηαιος [B]), cp 1 Ch. 26:12, 22, 23, 24. In 1 Ch. 6:36 [31] his place is taken by I. AZARAI.

6. b. Nathan, supervisor of Solomon's twelve prefects (1 K. 4:5). Probably he had to see that the contributions of the different departments were punctually furnished. His father was most likely the well-known prophet who in 2 S. 12:1 is called simply Nathan (so Ew., Wel., Klo.). Others (e.g., Hübner) make Azariah Solomon's nephew; cp 2 S. 14 (8) οπιεζαρηαιος [B*]. See, however, ZADOK.

7. A son of King Jehoshaphat, twice enumerated (as Azariah and Azariahu) in 2 Ch. 21: 2, but omitted in B [B].

8. A son of Jehoram, king of Judah in 2 Ch. 22:6 (αζαρηαιος [B]); but it is clear from 2 K. 8:29, as well as from 2 Ch. 22:1, that AZAHIAH [2] is meant. In 2 Ch. 21:17 he is called JEHOAHIAH (7:7, 3).

9. King of Judah; otherwise known as UZZIAH (7:7, 1).

10. One of the 'three children,' companions of Daniel; otherwise called ABEDNEGO (7:7.) (Dan. 1:6 7 11 19 Song of Three Children, v. 66 [B], Theod. Dan. 3:88), AZARIAS, 7).

11. A Judahite, son of Ethnan, 1 Ch. 2: 2† (αζαρηαιος [B]; αζαρηαιος [A]).

12. A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 2:38 f. (αζαρηαιος [B]).

13. b. Obed, a prophet of Judah, whose prophecy to King Aza is recorded in 2 Ch. 15:1-8. The prophecy is attributed to Obed in v. 8.

14. Son of Jeroham; one of the captains who were associated with Jehoiahad in deposing Athaliah (2 Ch. 23:1).

15. Son of Obed; another of the captains associated with Jehoiahad (2 Ch. 23:1; cp 1 Ch. 2:38 f.).

16. Son of Hoshai; an opponent of Jeremiah, Jer. 43:2 (αζαρηαιος [B*]). Cp HANNOPIERTH, 2.

17. Leader (see EZRA, ii. § 82) in the great post-exilic list (7a, ii. 9), Neh. 7: 4 (αζαρηαιος [B]), -pre [A]) = Ezra 2:2, SERAIAH; see EZRA (αζαρηαιος [B*], αζαρηαιος [A*], L).

18. In procession at dedication of wall (see EZRA, i. § 13 g), Neh. 12:33, ζαρηαιος [B] (see Baer), cp (4).

19. An Ephraimite, temp. Ahaz, who took part in restoring the captives of Judah, 2 Ch. 28:12 (αζαρηαιος [B]).

20. b. JERAHMEEL, a Merarite Levite, 2 Ch. 23:12 (ζαρηαιος [BA]).

AZARIAS (αζαρηαιος [BA]), the Greek form of AZARIAH.

1. 1 Esd. 9:21 = Ezra 10:21, UZZIAH, 3.

2. In list of Ezra's supporters (1 Esd. 9:43), wanting in B [B]. 84; see *Be. ad loc.*

3. 1 Esd. 9:48 = Neh. 8:7, AZARIAH (4).

4. RV AZARIAS (2 Esd. 1:1), b. Helkias; see AZARIAH (3).

5. The name assumed by the angel RAPHAEL (7:7) when accompanying Tobias (Tobit 1:5 2:6 3:1 8:9).

6. A captain in the army of Judas the Maccabee, 1 Macc. 5:18 56:60 (in 7: 56 ζαρηαιος [AR]).

7. Song of Three Children, 65 (B Theod. Dan. 3:88); see AZARIAH (10).

AZARU (αζαρου [B]), 1 Esd. 5:15 RV; AV AZURAN.

AZAZ (אֲזַז, οζοζ [BA]); but L gives ιαζαζ = i.e., Joazaz; cp Azaziah, a Reubenite name (1 Ch. 8:3†).

AZAZEL (אֲזַזְעֵל).¹ Of the two goats set apart for the great Day of Atonement (see ATONEMENT, DAY 1. LITURGICAL), one was chosen by lot for a sin-offering (Lev. 16:8-10). After the sin-offering had been made in behalf of the people, the high priest was to lay both hands upon the head of the goat for 'Azâ'zel, and confess over it all the sins of the Israelites (cp the confession of sin in Mishna, *Yômâ* 6z), laying them on its head and sending it out into the wilderness to Azâzel (v. 21 f.). The meaning of this act, which is further described in the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan, is clear. The goat symbolically bears away the sins of the people. Something analogous is found in Lev. 14:4 f., where, for the purification of the leper, one bird is to be killed, and the other, charged with the disease, is to be let loose

¹ AV renders 'scapegoat.' For the renderings in B, see col. 395, note 7.

into the open field. Cp also *Lech. 5 ff.*, where sin is carried away bodily into the land of Shinar.¹

The meaning of Azazel is much disputed; it is, of course, a subject closely connected with the inquiry into the origin of the custom. It is at least

2. Who was certain that, as Azazel receives one goat while Yahweh receives the other, both must be personal beings.

The theory of the Jewish interpreters (Tg. ps.-Jon., Rashi, Kimbi; cp Ibn Ezra's references to current views), that Azazel is a place in the wilderness, is inadmissible; and equally so are the views of Aq., Symm., Jer., AV, that it means the goat itself (ἡ ἀθωμένη ἀνομιὰ καὶ ἡ ἀνομιὰ, cp *ibid.* 1205, 'scape-goat'), and of Merx in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 1 256, and others, that it is an abstract term = 'complete removal or dismissal' (from אָזַז), a view probably taken by Q.²

It seems most natural to connect the belief in question with the demonology and angelology which developed so largely in the post-exilic age (*Enoch* 67:8-9:104). One group of interpreters, on this view, take Azazel as a prominent member of the class of se'irim, or demons of the field and the desert, to whom sacrifices were offered in post-exilic times (Lev. 17:7; see SATYR, § 2),—to whom possibly all the sins of the people with their evil effects were symbolically sent every year (so, with various modifications, Ew., Di., Dr. [*Expos.*], Now., Benz.). We need not, however (with the first three scholars), regard the conception as a primitive one, or as having been taken over by the religion of Yahweh from an earlier stage; and least of all is there any imitation of the symbolic vengeance taken by the Egyptians on Set-Typhon³ (see Brugsch, *Relig. u. Mythol. d. alt. Äg.* 710). On the other hand, Cheyne ('The Date and Origin of the Ritual of 'Azazel' in *ZATW* 15 153-156 [95]) considers it to have been one of the objects of the ritual 'to do away with the cultus of se'irim by substituting a personal angel for the crowd of impersonal and dangerous se'irim.'⁴ His arguments for this very attractive view are (a) the form of the name (deliberately altered from אָזַז, 'God strengthens'; cp וְיָזַק, 1 Ch. 15:21), which seems to be akin to that of the other names of angels; and (b) more especially the passages of the Book of Enoch referring to Azazel as a leader of the evil angels (Gen. 6:24). 'Azazel is therefore of literary not of popular origin; he is due to the same school of speculative students of Scripture to which we owe the other names of angels, good and evil, in the later literature.' In any case, we must admit that the old interpreters who identified Azazel with Satan⁵ had some plausibility on their side (Orig., *Cels.* 6:305; Iren. *Her.* 1:12, followed by Spencer, Hengstenberg, Kalisch, and Volck). We may at least venture to say with Reuss⁶ that 'the conception of Azazel lies on the way which led later to that of the devil.' For Azazel is certainly described as in some sense a being hostile to God.

L. B.

It is strange that so many modern critics should have failed to comprehend the ritual of the scapegoat, and

3. Recent criticism. have rejected with much positiveness the name only natural explanation of the name Azazel, so that it has become a kind of dogma that אָזַז is not from אָזַז, but either a weakened form of אָזַז, meaning 'averruncus,' or 'porro abiens,' or 'amotio' (Ol., Merx, Stade, Kautzsch-Ges., Volck),⁷ or else a broken plural of difficult interpretation

¹ For extra-biblical parallels, see below, § 3; also Ew. *Ant.* 258; WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 422 [and for an Assyriological explanation of the reference to the wilderness, see RITUAL, § 10].

² Cp, however, below, note 7.

³ This view has left a trace in Smith, *DB* 1 207, but has received no sanction from Di. or Dr., whose names are mentioned. Against it see Diestel, *Zf. hist. Theol.* (66), pp. 159 ff.

⁴ Prof. G. F. Moore suggests a reference to Nachmanides on Lev. 16:8.

⁵ The Rabbinic identification of Satan with Samael as 'chief of the Satans' (*Midr. R.* on Dt. 11:3) may here be chronicled.

⁶ *Ueber die Schichten des A.P.*, 301.

⁷ Some critics refer to it as having initiated the theory of an abstract formation. Certainly in Lev. 16:10, ὁ ἄθεός renders

ἀθεός ἐστὶν τὴν ἀνομιάν; and in 26, ἐὶς ἀθεόν. What the

(perhaps some particular class of unfriendly demons; see Steiner in Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* 5 599, and Bochart)¹ The truth is that the old derivation of Azazel from אָזַז, 'to be strong' (see Tg. ps.-Jon., Saadia), needed to assume a new form in order to commend itself.

The explanation of the name as אָזַז אָזַז (which was retracted by Diestel's author) implies an un-Hebraic mode of formation, says Di., and the names of angels compounded with אָזַז belong to the later Jewish theology. The former objection is not absolutely decisive; the name Abirel in *Jubilees* seems to be אָזַז אָזַז (see ABRECH). Still, there is no necessity to follow Diestel; the later Jews could form names correctly, and the explanation offered above, which, with the connected theory, may claim to be virtually a new one, is not open to Di.'s objection. Di.'s second objection points the way to the true reason why modern scholars have often given such far-fetched and improbable (however learnedly justified) etymologies. They felt that a name formed on the analogy of Michael and Gabriel must be late; but their theory compelled them to suppose that Azazel was early, and that the name Azazel in *Enoch* (like Belial and Beelzebub, Delitzsch ventures to add) was simply borrowed from the OT.² Thus the light thrown on the name by the Book of Enoch was missed. Nor was sufficient use made of the Mishna treatise called *ḥōmā*, with its strange but not imaginary details, although the description comes from a time not very far removed from that of the later portions of the priestly code. Nor did critics give heed enough to the facts of comparative folklore, which illustrate certain details in the *ḥōmā*.

The more we study the Priestly Code, the more we are struck by the combination of firmness and laxity which its compilers display. They are firmness itself as regards the essential principles of the law,³ but very compliant to minor popular superstitions. Nothing, therefore, can be more probable than that the legal authorities to whom the later portions of Lev. 16 are due gave their sanction to a custom which it had perhaps been found impossible to root out, on condition of its being regulated and modified by themselves. Assuming this to have been the case, we can explain the name Azazel, and even account for the spelling, which has struck many scholars as inconsistent with the etymology אָזַז אָזַז. From the point of view here adopted—viz., that the priestly code is not Mosaic, but a combination of diverse elements due to many different persons in the exile and the post-exilic periods, and framed in a statesmanlike, compromising spirit—there can be no doubt that the view here mentioned is correct. There is no uncertainty as to the meaning of the name Azazel, and very little as to the origin and significance of the rite.

To supplement the account of the present writer's theory given above, it may be said that, like Diestel 4. Jewish superstitions. formerly, he opposes the widely received view that Azazel was a

κακοδαίμων to whom the sin of the people and the resulting calamities were sent, and that the belief goes back to pre-exilic times.

The first part of this view was that of Beninger (*Arch.* 478) in 1891; it is, however, scarcely tenable. The sultan of the *ḥōmā*, to whom the se'irim propitiated by the Jews in post-exilic times correspond (see SATYR, § 2), has no personal name; and his subjects are impersonal. If Azazel were a demon we should hear of him in other parts of Leviticus. Nor is it likely that even a later legislator would have adopted Azazel as an evil demon.

translator means by this, however, is ἀποεργάτωτος (so Theodoret, *Quaest.* 22 in Lev.). In short, he agrees with Aq., Symm., Jer. in deriving the name from אָזַז and אָזַז. This gives the right interpretation of ἀνομιάναιος (BAFL), which answers to Azazel in v. 104. *Averruncus*, in this view of the facts, is not the equivalent of *se'irim*'s term, as Ew. (*Ant.* 362) supposes.

¹ Del. is not happy in his explanation, 'Defier of God.' He traces the name to Arabic mythology: 'azz is used of a horse which successfully resists its rider (*ZKW* 1 18a [80]); but König is no more successful—'fortis decedens' is his rendering (*Lepros.* 2 a, 477).

² So Driver (*Expositor*, 1885, b. p. 215). In Hastings' *DB* (art. 'Azazel') no very definite conclusion is reached; but reference is duly made to the too generally neglected analogies of other popular religions.

³ Kalisch rightly says that 'although Azazel and his goat are a stain on the Levitical legislation, they do not taint the main principle of Judaism—God's absolute sovereignty' (*Leviticus*, 2 204).

Azazel¹ to the Jewish theologians (including the authors of the scapegoat ritual) was a fallen angel, evil in doubt, yet not altogether unfriendly to man, for he was the true Tubal-cain, one of the 'sons of Enoch' mentioned in Gen 6:1-2² (see *Enoch* 66 f. 83 and especially 104-8 131). He was said to have been bound hand and foot, and placed in 'an opening in the desert which is in Dudäel'; rough and jagged rocks have been laid upon him. Now, Dudäel is not 'God's caldron' (Di.), but (Geiger, Charles) a fantastic modification of Hadulo in Beth Hadulo, where was the crag (צַר) down which, according to *Yämä* (64; cp Tg. ps.-Jon. Lev. 16 22), the 'goat for Azazel' was pushed, which crag Schick³ identifies with mod. *Bet-hudäun*, on the edge of a chalk cliff, overhanging a rocky chasm, at the right distance from Jerusalem. The coincidence seems too striking to permit a doubt as to the true character of Azazel.

It was this personal angel (the later Jews gave a quasi-personality to the angels) that the author of the scapegoat-ritual substituted for the crowd of *se'irim* (or earth-demons) to whom the people sacrificed; just as the scapegoat was the substitute for the sacrificial victims.⁴ The need must have been great indeed. In the marriage songs of the Canticles we twice find (it is probable) the strange appeal, 'I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the fairy-hosts and by the tree-spirits.'⁵ In such a poem the name of Yahweh could not be lightly used: all the world, however, knew of the supernatural beings who haunted thickets and sometimes inhabited trees, and like the *jinn* to-day, were sometimes friendly to man, sometimes unfriendly.⁶ The substitution appears to have produced an effect: at least, the Chronicler, in the third century, represents the custom of sacrificing to the *se'irim* as pre-exilic (2 Ch. 11 15). Certainly, too, we may infer from the details respecting the *שַׂעִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* ('the dismissed goat') in *Yämä* that the popularity of the institution was great. The cries, 'Take (them) away and get out,'⁷ reported by the Gemara on *Yämä* 64, show how intensely the lower classes (Babylonians they are disparagingly called) believed in the removal of their sins by the goat. See also Ep. Barn. 7; Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 37; *adv. Jud.* 14; Just. *c. Tryph.* 40. That the 'goat for Azazel' was really pushed over the precipice (*Yämä*, 6), we have no reason to doubt. It is instructive to notice, however, that the scribe who inserted the directions in Lev. 16 could not bring himself to put down all that actually happened. What we read is that Aaron was to confess all the sins of the Israelites (there is great emphasis on 'all') over the goat, and to send him away in the charge of a certain man into a solitary land (צִדְוֹן וְאֶרֶץ נִזְרָה v. 21 f.). This is explained in Tg. ps.-Jon., 'and shall send him away by a man prepared from the preceding year, to take him into a rocky desert which is Beth-hadürē' (see above). In compensation for this, it is Leviticus that gives us one detail not preserved in *Yämä*. In v. 10 it is said that the goat for Azazel is to be presented alive before Yahweh, that atoning rites may be performed over him (כִּפְּרִי לַיהוָה); which recalls the direction about the 'living bird' (see § 1) that forms a parallel to the scapegoat in the law of cleansing the leper (Lev. 14 6 f.).

¹ Another form of the name may have been Uzziel (cp Tg. ps.-Jon. on Gen. 64 with *Enoch* 6). The form *Azazel* also is found.
² It is not worth while to examine the Jewish interpretations of this strange passage (see *Enoch*, Tg. ps.-Jon., Jude).
³ *J. J. W.*, *Rel. Sem.* 3, 214 f. (1891).
⁴ See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 3, 418, 420, 466.

⁵ Cant. 27 9-5, אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי, אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי. The change in the pointing is very slight; אֵלֵי should be אֵלֵי. The usual explanation is very fanciful (see Budde). The sacred trees (especially the locust- or ash-tree) have still remained in Palestine as being possessed.
⁶ See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 3, 120-121; Budde's passage, *PEP*, *St. J.*, July '93, p. 204 ff. Some of the *jinn* are believed to be dangerous to newly married people. Don't play with love, says the passage (Cant. 27),—for fear of the *jinn*.

⁷ בְּלֹא מִלֵּךְ וְלֹא מִלֵּךְ.
 בְּלֹא מִלֵּךְ וְלֹא מִלֵּךְ.

To resume and to supplement: the usages described in *Yämä* are a combination of a primitive sacrifice to the demons of untiled or (especially) mountainous country with a superstitious custom still widely prevalent, according to which evils of all kinds were sought to be got rid of by the device of lading them on some animal, which was thereupon driven away from the community like the scapegoat (see Lyall, *Fortnightly Review*, 1872, p. 131; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2 ed., ch. vi, § 1, 111 ff.; *House of the Ancestors*, 1917, 221 ff.). Such a custom, as Frazer points out, tend to become periodic, like the rite of the scapegoat. See, further, ATONEMENT, DAVAO.

Diessel, 'Set-Typhon, Asasel, und Satan' in *Zt. f. hist. Theol.* 1896, p. 104 ff.; *Christ. Zt.* 1901, p. 111 ff.; *Evangel.* 1906, p. 111 ff.; *Evangel.* 1906, p. 111 ff.; *Evangel.* 1906, p. 111 ff.

Literature. *Enoch*, 66 f. 83-84; *Enoch*, 274 f. 15-17; *J. J. W.*, *Rel. Sem.* 3, 214 ff.; *Enoch*, 274 f. 15-17; and by Volkelt in *Hebr. P. P.* 1, 27-28; *Enoch* 10, and Kalden on *Enoch*, and Nitzsch, *Hebr. P. P.* 1, 27-28.

§ 1 f. 1-10; § 2 f. 1-10.

AZAZIAH (אַזַּזְיָהוּ) § 29, 'Yahweh is strong,' or 'strengthens': אַזַּזְיָהוּ [AZAZIAH].

1. A Levite (transmission, temp. David, 10 140), 1 Ch. 15 11.

2. An Ephraimite, temp. David, 1 Ch. 15 12.

3. A Levite, temp. Hezekiah, in Ch. 12 22 Ozaiah [AZ].

AZBAZARETH (אַבְבַּצָרֶת [A]), 1 Esd. 5 66 AV, RV^{ms}. אַבְבַּצָרֶת.

AZBUK (אַזְבוּק; אַזְבֹּק [B]) א [B], אַזְבוּק [A], אַזְבוּק [L], אַזְבוּק [L], אַזְבוּק [L], אַזְבוּק [L] (Neh. 3 16 f.). Possibly of non-Judean origin; cp *My. Ent.* 147 167.

AZEKAH (אַזְקָה; אַזְחָה [BNAQL]), a town in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 35; 15 36 [B]), not far from the supposed scene of David's combat with Goliath (1 S. 17 1). This was in the valley of the Elah (1 S. 17 1), on the upper course of the Sukerim near Socoh (Shuweikah), which is about 12 m. S. from Ajalon and 2 m. S. from Jarmuth. Azekah is mentioned as one of the points to which the pursuit of the five kings by the Israelites extended after the battle of Beth-horon (Josh. 7 10). It was fortified by Jeroboam 2 (2 Ch. 11 9). Azekah [L], besieged by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 34 7), and re-inhabited by Jews in post-exilic times (Neh. 11 30). Perhaps an echo of the name survives in *Hir ez-Zäg*, N. of Socoh (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 90, n. 92; and see, on the other hand, Seybold, *MDPI*, 1896, p. 26).

AZEL (אַזֵּל), Zech. 14; RV—AZAZIL, *q. v.*

AZEL (אַזֵּל, § 50; abbrev. from AZALIAH, *q. v.*; אַזֵּל [A], אַזֵּל [A], a descendant of Saul, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q. v.*, ii. § 7), 1 Ch. 8 37 f. (אַזֵּל [A], אַזֵּל [A], אַזֵּל [A], אַזֵּל [A], אַזֵּל [A]).

AZEM (אַזֵּם), Josh. 15 29 AV, RV EZEM.

AZEPHURITH, RV ΑΡΣΗΦΟΥΡΙΘ (ΑΡΣΗΦΟΥΡΙΘ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 66 EZRA 2 18, JORAH.

AZETAS (ΑΖΗΤΑΣ [A], om. L), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 c) in 1 Esd. 5 15, but not in || Ezra 2 16 = Neh. 7 21; perhaps the name owes its presence to some mistake (Mey. *Ent.* 155 n.).

AZGAD (אַזְגָּד; § 43—i. e., 'strong is Gad' [cp Azbaal, *CIS* 1 118, and see GAD], or, 'fat is hard' (?); אַזְגָּד [AL]). The B'ne Azgad, in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 12 (reckoned at 1222; אַזְגָּד [B], אַזְגָּד [A], אַזְגָּד [L], Neh. 7 17 (reckoned at 2322; אַזְגָּד [B], אַזְגָּד [A], אַזְגָּד [N]) = 1 Esd. 5 13, AV SADAS, RV ASTAD [אַרְסָא [B, where the number of the family is given as 1322], אַרְסָא [A]), A band of 110 males of them came up with Ezra, Ezra 8 18 (see EZRA, ii. § 5 21 § 3) (אַזְגָּד [B]) = 1 Esd. 8 38, EV ASTATH, RV^{ms}. Azgad (אַרְסָא [B]), and they were represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 15 [16] (אַרְסָא [B], אַרְסָא [N]).

AZIA (αζαιου [B]). 1. Esd. 5:31 = AV Ezra 2:49, UZZA, 2.

AZIEI (אזיעי [Esd. 1:2]) in the genealogy of Ezra, see AZARIAH, 3.

AZIEL (אזיאל [1 Ch. 15:26]). See JAAZIEL.

AZIZA (אזיזא [1 Ch. 15:26]). 'strong'; אַזיזא [A], -א [BN], אַזיזא [A], in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10:27 = 1. Esd. 9:28, ΣΑΒΡΕΙΣ, RV ZABRUIS (Σαβραϊας [B], Σαβραϊας [A], אַזיזא [L]).

AZMAVETH (אזמבית), perhaps 'Death is strong' [cp Cant. 8:6], a possible name for a hero [see AHIMOTH, and cp Gray, HFN 2:31]; acc. to Kittel the ending should be -*moth* or -*math* [SBOT 1 Ch. 1:26]; om. BA. AZMOTH (אזמות), אצמ. [L]. A Benjamite place near Gebla (Neh. 12:26), usually identified with *et-Hizmah*, a village 4 m. NE. of Jerusalem, between Jeba' and 'ANATA [LDDP 2:143; PEF. Mem. 30].

The b'ne Azmaveth occur in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9). EZRA 2:24 (אזמבית [B]). . . אַזמבית [L] = Neh. 7:28 (אזמבית [B]). א. ב'ת. [A], בית אצמבית [L]. BETHAZMAVETH (בית אזמבית) [1 Ch. 15:26] = AZMOTH, which is preferable to AV BETHSAMOS (Βαθσαμων [B], Βαθσαμων [A]).

AZMAVETH (אזמבית), see above; אצמ. [B], אצמ. [A].

1. One of David's thirty mighty men, 2 S. 23:31 (אצמב [B*], אצמ. [B]). . . אצמב [A], אצמב [L] = 1 Ch. 11:13 (אצמב [B]), a native of BATHRIM (בית רימ) [1 Ch. 1:24] אצמב [A], being both miswritten for בית רימ [We. Dr.]. Azmaveth, the 'father' of JEZIEL and PELET, 2 (1 Ch. 12:1; אצמב [B]). two of David's warriors, may, however, be the place-name; cp above. See HAVTH, § 11 (C) ii.

2. b. Jehoadab or Jarah; a descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [B]), 1 Ch. 8:30 (אצמב [B]). 3:42 (אצמב [B]).

3. b. Adiel, one of David's overseers (1 Ch. 27:25). See HAVTH, § 11 (C) i.

AZMON (אצמון), an unidentified site, marking the western portion of the southern frontier of Judah before the point where 'it went out at the brook of Egypt' (Josh. 15:4 Nu. 34:4). א has Αζωμων [BAL]. Σαζμων [BA], Ασελμωνα [AFL]; Targ. has אצמ, on which last precarious reading Trumbull bases his identification of Azmon with 'Ain el-Kasème in the W. Kasème. With Azmon cp Ezem (אצמ).

AZNOTH-TABOR (אצנת תבור) — 'ears, or outliars, of Tabor'—§ 99; cp UZZEN-SHEERAH), a landmark of Naphtali, doubtless near Mt. Tabor, Josh. 19:34 (אצנת תבור [B]). AZANATHO. [A]. According to *Onom.*, אצנת (OS² 224, 88) lay near Diocæsarea or Sepphoris; cp CHISLOTH-TABOR, and see TABOR.

AZOR (אזור [Ti. WH]), Mt. I 13; see GENEALOGIES, ii. § 2.

AZOTUS (αζωτος [ANV]). Jos. Ant. xii. 11:2, εζακ [ed. Niese], αζακ αζαρα, the 'mount' to which Bacchides pursued the Jews in the battle (Apr. 161 B.C.) in which Judas the Maccabæe lost his life (1 Macc. 9:15), is unknown. Michaelis has very plausibly conjectured that the expression may be due to a mistranslation of the Heb. אַשְׁדוֹת־פִּישְׁגַּח (cp ASHDOTH-PISGAH), meaning the slopes where the hill country of Judah descends into the Shephelah. Ewald (*Gesch.*² 4:422, n. 2) compares Atârâ W. of Bir ez-Zêt, a small hill.

2. The Azotus (αζωτος [Ti. WH]) of Acts 8:40 1 Macc. 4:15 5:98 10:77 f. 84 11:4 14:34 16:10 Judith 2:28 is ASHDOD [g. v.]. Some (including Buhl, p. 188) also identify with Ashdod the Azotus of 1 Macc. 9:15.

AZRIEL (אזריאל), perhaps 'help of God,' § 29).

1. On the vocalisation and א's readings cp HAZARMAVETH. 2. אַזְרִיִּאל is an Aram. pronunciation (cp אַזְרִיִּאל), and it is noteworthy that here, contrarily to its usual practice, א prefers the Hebrew vocalisation (cp Kittel, SBOT ad loc.).

1. One of the chiefs of Manasseh-beyond-Jordan, 1 Ch. 5:24f (אזריאל [B], אַזְרִיִּאל [A], אַזְרִיִּאל [L]). 2. A Naphtalite, 1 Ch. 27:10 (אזריאל [B]); but some Hebrew MSS have UZZIEL, a reading supported by אַזְרִיִּאל. 3. Father of Seraiah [2], Jer. 36:26f (אזריאל [B]), אַזְרִיִּאל [A], אַזְרִיִּאל [L]).

AZRIKAM (אזריקם), ΕΖΡΙΚΑΜ [A].

1. Levite, in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA, ii. § 8 [L]), Neh. 11:15 (אזריקם [B], ΕΖΡΙΚΑΜ [A], ΕΖΡΙΚΑΜ [L]). 2. A descendant of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. 3:23 (אזריקם [B], ΕΖΡΙΚΑΜ [A], אַזְרִיִּקָם [L]).

3. Descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [B]), 1 Ch. 8:30 (אזריקם [B]), ΕΖΡΙΚΑΜ [A]) = 1 Ch. 9:44 (אזריקם [B]).

4. 'Ruler of the house' under Ahaz, 2 Ch. 28:7 (אזריקם [B], ΕΖΡΙΚΑΜ [A]).

AZUBAH (אזובה), 'forsaken'; ΑΖΟΥΒΑ [BAL].

1. Wife of CALEB [g. v.] in 1 Ch. 2:18 f. ΑΖΟΥΒΑ [B], A in v. 19], Αζουβָא [L]. The names in this passage are as peculiar as the constructions. Kittel (SBOT) renders an emended text thus: 'And Caleb b. Hezron took Azubah (deserted one) to wife, and begat Jerioth (tent-curtains); and these are her sons, Jeshur (uprightness), Shobab (backsliding), and Ardoun.' As to the names of these sons, Jeshur may be read Joashar (Yahwè is right), and Sholab Jashub (one who turns to God), and Ardoun Ornan (אֶרְדוֹן). But אַזְרִיִּאל can hardly be thus used of God (in spite of Dt. 32:4 Ps. 119:137), and Ornan, or (1 Ch. 3:21 Mt) Arnan, has a suspicious aspect. Hence Klostermann (*Gesch.* 115) takes v. 18 to be a record of a shortlived colony of Calebites, founded on the spot where there had been a pastoral settlement. He renders 'Caleb b. Hezron made the deserted one—the woman of tent-curtains—to bear children, namely, Upright, and Backslider, and Destruction' (reading אֶרְדוֹן אֶשְׁתִּי אַזְרִיִּאל). The colonists began well, but 'left the paths of uprightness' (Pr. 2:13), and were given up to 'destruction' (= Sheol, Pr. 15:11). Wellhausen also (*De Gen.* 33 f.) notices the symbolic character of the names; אַזְרִיִּאל, according to him, = אֶשְׁתִּי, Jeshurun; אֶרְדוֹן (so he reads) is a tent-dwelling woman; אֶשְׁתִּי, the desert region inhabited at first by the Calibites.

2. Mother of Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22:42 (אזובה [B]) = 2 Ch. 20:31. T. K. C.

AZUR (אזר), Jer. 28; Ezek. 11; AV; RV better AZZUR [g. v., 1 f.].

AZURAN, RV AZARU, RV^{ms} Azuru (ΑΖΑΡΟΥ [B], -αζουρ [A], om. L), family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 c), in 1 Esd. 5:15, but not in Ezra 2:48 = Neh. 7:21; probably identical with AZZUR, 2 (Neh. 10:17 [18]). Note in each case the occurrence of the preceding names, Adin, Ater, and Herekiah.

AZZAH, AV GAZA (אזרה), ΓΑΖΑ [B], ΓΑΖΗC [A], ΑΔΙΑ [L]), 1 Ch. 7:28 RV. Many Hebrew MSS here read אַזְרָה (Ayyah; cp אַזְרָה), a reading recommended by the context. The place was apparently N. of Shechem. See GAZA.

AZZAN (אזן), 'gifted with strength'; אַזְנֵן [BAFL]), father of PALTIEL, 2 (Nu. 34:26f.).

AZZUR (אזר), אַזְרִיִּאל [2], 'helped [by God]'; see NAMES, § 56, and cp Azuri of ASHDOD.

1. Father of Hananiah, the prophet, of Gibeon, Jer. 28 [B ch. 35] 1 (אזר [BMSQ]). AV AZUR. 2. Father of JAAZANIAH (4), Ezek. 11:1 (אזר [B], אַזְרָה [A], אַזְרָה [L], אַזְרָה [QMB], אַזְרָה [TL]). AV AZUR. 3. One of the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10:17 (אזר [B], אַזְרָה [MAL]); AV AZURAN; perhaps also a Gibeonite?

B

BAAL¹ (בַּעַל; ♂ often הַבַּעַל, indicating that the reader is to substitute ΔΙΟΥΣΥΝΗ; the substitute has found its way into the text in 1 K. 18 19 26, as the corresponding בַּעַל local numina. has in the Heb. text of Jer. 32 and elsewhere; see Di. *MIBA* Phil.-hist. Kl. 1881) is a word common to all the Semitic languages, which primarily signifies *owner, proprietor, possessor*. It is used, for example, of the owner of a house, a field, cattle, and the like; the freeholders of a city are its *bē'ālim*. In a secondary sense *bā'al* means *husband*; but it is not used of the relation of a master to his slave or of a superior to his inferior; nor is it synonymous with the Heb. and Phœn. *ādīn*, Syr. *mār*, Arab. *rabb*, in the general sense of *lord, master*. When a divine being (*el*) is called *bā'al* it is not as the lord of the worshipper, but as the proprietor and inhabitant of some place or district, or the possessor of some distinctive character or attribute, and therefore a complement is always required. Each of the multitude of local Baals is distinguished by the name of his own place. There was a Baal of Tyre, a Baal of Sidon, a Baal of Harran, a Baal of Tarsus; a Baal of the Lebanon, and a Baal of Mt. Hermon; a Baalat of Byblos,—and so on.² We know that in some cases the Baal of a place had a proper name: the Baal of Tyre was Melkart; in Southern Arabia Dhū Samāwī was the Baal of Bākir, 'Athtar of Gumdān, and so on. In other cases the local Baal was distinguished in some other way. The god of Shechem was Baal-berith (perhaps as presiding over an alliance; but see BAAL-BERITH); Baalzebub (to whom was ascribed control of flies; cp BAALZEBUB) had a celebrated oracle at Ekron; a βαλμαρκως, κόρανος κώμων (Baal-markod), is known from inscriptions found near Beirūt; a בַּעַל סַפְרָא (*sanator*?) in Cyprus, and so on. In Baal-gad and Baal-zephon the second element seems to be the name of a god (see FORTUNE, BAAL-ZEPHON). On Baal-hammon and Baal-shamem see below, § 3f. There is nothing in these peculiar forms to shake the general conclusion that Baal is primarily the title of a god as inhabitant or as owner of a place.

There were thus innumerable Baals—as many as there were towns (Jer. 23 11 13), sanctuaries, natural objects, or qualities which had a religious significance for the worshippers. Accordingly, we frequently find in the OT the plural, Baalim, the Baals, which we must interpret not, as many still do,³ of the multitude of idols, or of local differentiations of one god, but of originally distinct local numina. The Baals of different places were doubtless of diverse character; but in general they were regarded as the authors of the fertility of the soil and the increase of the flocks (Hos. 2 5 12), and were worshipped by agricultural festivals and offerings of the bounty of nature (Hos. 2 8 13). An interesting survival of this conception is the Talmudic phrase, field of the baal, place of the baal, and the Arab *bā'l*, for land fertilised, not by rain, but by subterranean waters (cp *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 97 ff.). Proper names of persons such as Hannibal (Favour of Baal), Hasdrubal (Help of Baal), Baal-yatan (Baal has given), Shama'-ba'al (Baal hears), compared with similar Yahwē names, Hananiah, Azariah, Jonathan, Shemaiah, show that Phœnician peoples acknowledged in the gift

of children the goodness of Baal, as Israelite parents that of Yahwē.

That Baal was primarily a sun-god was for a long time almost a dogma among scholars,¹ and is still often repeated. This doctrine is connected with theories of the origin of religion which are now almost universally abandoned.

The worship of the heavenly bodies is not the beginning of religion. Moreover, there was not, as this theory assumes, one god Baal, worshipped under different forms and names by the Semitic peoples, but a multitude of local Baals, each the inhabitant of his own place, the protector and benefactor of those who worshipped him there. Even in the astro-theology of the Babylonians the star of Bēl was not the sun; it was the planet Jupiter. There is no intimation in the OT that any of the Canaanite Baals were sun-gods, or that the worship of the sun (Shemesh), of which we have ample evidence, both early and late, was connected with that of the Baals; in 2 K. 23 5 cp 11 the cults are treated as distinct.

The *hammānim* (חַמְמַיִם), included in the inventory of places of idolatrous worship with *massēbas* and *ashīras* (Ez. 6 4 6 and elsewhere), have indeed, since

3. Baal-hammon. Rashi, been connected with the late biblical *hammon*. and Mishnic *hammā* (חַמָּה), 'sun,' and explained as *sun images* (RV), sun pillars;² and it has further been conjectured that the *hammānim* belonged specifically to the cultus of Baal-hammon, whose name occurs innumerable times in Punic inscriptions,³ and is commonly explained 'the glowing Baal'—i.e., the Sun.⁴ This translation, however, can hardly be right; the article would be expected: according to all analogy, *hammōn* should be a genitive. 'The deity which dwells in the sun-pillars' would be formally possible; but with the direct connection of Baal-hammon with the sun, one of the chief arguments for interpreting *hammānim* to mean 'sun-pillars' falls to the ground. In this state of the case we cannot be sure that Baal-hammon was a solar deity; and if fresh evidence should prove that he was, it would be unwarrantable to infer that the Baals universally bore the same character.

Another Baal, whose cultus was more widely diffused than that of Baal-hammon—in later times he rose

4. Baal-shamem. above all the local Baals, and perhaps in many places supplanted them—was Baal-shamem, whose name we must interpret, not 'Lord of Heaven,' but 'The god who dwells in the heaven,' to whom the heavens belong.⁵ Philo of Byblos identifies Baal-shamem (κύριος οὐρανοῦ) with the Sun ('Ἥλιος; see *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* 3 565 f.); Macrobius says that the god of Heliopolis was at once Jupiter and Sol (*Sat.* 1 23); a Palmyrene bilingual (Vog., no. 16) seems to give Ἥλιος for בַּעַלְשַׁמַּיִם, but the reading is not quite certain. The Greeks and the Hellenised Syrians identify Baal-shamem with Zeus (e.g., Ζεὺς μέγιστος κεραυνίος), which is better in accord with the obvious significance of the name.⁶

When the Israelites invaded Western Palestine and

¹ See, for example, Creuzer, *Symb. u. Myth.*⁽²⁾ 2413; Mövers, *Phoen.* 1 499 ff.

² It is singular that this interpretation did not suggest itself to any of the ancient translators. See further, MASSEBA, § 6.

³ In Phœnician; also E. J. HANUMON.

⁴ In a Palmyrene inscription a *hammānim* is dedicated to the sun; De Vogüé, no. 123 a.

⁵ The name is equivalent to Dhū Samāwī in Southern Arabia.

⁶ Baal-shamem in Dem. 12 21 (perverted by Jewish wit to Shēbās, Sēmōm, 'the appalling abomination') was probably a Roman Jupiter (see ABOMINATION, II.).

¹ See *Phœnic. Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 92 ff.

² Cp in the OT Baal-hazor, Baal-meon, Baal-peor, Baal-tamar, and the like.

³ For example, Baetigen.

passed over from a nomadic to an agricultural life, they learned from the older inhabitants not only how to plough and sow and reap, but also the religious rites which were a part of Canaanite agriculture—the worship of the Baals who gave the increase of the land, the festivals of the husbandman's year. At first, probably, this worship of the Baals of the land went side by side with that of Yahwé, the God of their nomadic fathers. When Israel came into full possession of Canaan, however, Yahwé himself became the Baal of the land. Names like Jerubaal (Gideon), Eshbaal (son of Saul), Baal-jada (son of David), prove that Israelites in whom the national spirit was strongest had no scruple in calling Yahwé their Baal. The worship on the high places was worship of Yahwé in worship; its rites were those of the old Baal cult. The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea, denounced this religion as pure heathenism. In whose name it is practised is to them immaterial: it is not the name but the character of God that makes the difference between the religion of Israel and that of the heathen.

In the preceding century Elijah had roused the spirit of national Yahwism in revolt against the introduction of the worship of the Tyrian Baal (Melkart) by Ahab, and Jehu had stamped out with sanguinary thoroughness the foreign religion; but this conflict was of a character wholly different from that in which the prophets of the eighth century engaged with the Canaanite Baal-religion practised in Yahwé's name. In the seventh century, with the introduction of Assyrian cults, there was a marked recrudescence of the kindred Old Israelite and Canaanite religions, which provoked the violent measures of Josiah, but was only temporarily checked by them, as we see from Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

With the cultus of the Baals in Canaan we are acquainted chiefly through the descriptions which the prophets give of the Baalised—*sit venia verbo*—worship of Yahwé. The places of worship were on the hill-tops, under the evergreen trees; they were marked by *ashéras*, *massébas*, *hamminim*. Images were not always, perhaps seldom, present: an image required a shrine or temple. At the altars on the high places, offerings of the fruits of the land and the increase of the flocks were made; beside them fornication was licensed—nay, consecrated. The Baals had their priests (CHEMARIM, *q.v.*) and prophets. At the great contest on Carmel they leap upon the altar, and cry, and gash themselves with knives 'after their manner.' We may supplement these scanty notices by descriptions of Phœnician worship, especially of the Tyrian Baal, Melkart, and of the Punic 'Kronos,' in Greek authors. See, further, HIGH PLACES, IDOLATRY, and, with reference to human sacrifices, MOLECH.

Sohlen, *Die Phœnizier*, 1617; Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, i.; Münter, *Religion der Phœnizier*; Oort, *Worship of Baalim in 23 Jewish*, translated by Coleman, 1885.

Literature. Baudissin, art. 'Baal', *PRE*(3); Pietschmann, *Phœnizier*, 1010, 180 ff.; Baethgen, *Beitr. z. semit. Religionsgesch.*; F. Meyer, art. 'Baal' in Roscher, *Lexikon der Griech. u. Röm. Myth.*, 2867 ff. W. R. S.—G. F. M.

BAAL (בַּעַל, 'Lord'; עַבְדֵי בַּעַל, 1 Ch. 8:35).
 1. In a genealogy of REUBEN; 1 Ch. 5:1 (אֹהֶל [B], בַּאֵל [A], בַּאֵלָא [L]).

2. In a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8:30 (בַּאֵל־נָאֻמִּים, *i.e.* בַּאֵלָא קַי? [B], בַּאֵל [קַי וְנָרָה] [A], בַּאֵל [קַי וְנָרָה] [L]).—9:6 (בַּאֵל [BA], בַּאֵל [L]). It is more probable that MT, followed by some ancestor of 9:7, dropped *Nr* (נָרָה) in 1 Ch. 8 than that it has been added elsewhere (so *SBOT*). The conjecture (We. *TBS* 31 n.) that Baal and Nadab are to be read together as a compound name is thus unsupported; it is also unnecessary, since Melech

1 Punic temple inscriptions defining the dues of the priests for various kinds of sacrifice (so-called Tariffs of Marseilles and Carthage) show that both the animals offered and the classes of sacrifice were closely similar to those of the Hebrew laws.

(הָבֵל) likewise occurs (1 Ch. 8:35 etc.) alone as a proper name. See NAMES, § 42.

BAAL (בַּעַל), 1 Ch. 4:33f. See BAALATH-BEER.

BAALAH (בַּעֲלָה, § 96). 1. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

2. A city in the Negeb of Judah, Josh. 15:29 (בַּאֵלָא [B], באַלא [AL]). In Josh. 19:3 the name is written בַּאֵלָאִי (הָבֵלָה; בַּאֵלָא [B], בַּעֲלָבָלָא [A], בַּאֵלָא [L]), and the place is assigned to Simeon. In 1 Ch. 4:29 it appears as בִּיהַחֵה (הָבֵלָה; אֶבְלָאָא [B], בַּאֵלָא [A], בַּאֵלָאֵד [L]). The reading is uncertain and the site unknown.

3. Mt. Baalah, a landmark on the boundary of Judah between Shikkeron and Jabneel, Josh. 15:11 (δρυα ἐπὶ Λύβָא [B], δρυα γῆς βַּאֵלָא [A*], ο. γ. γαββαλα [A124], ο. τῆς βַּאֵלָאω [L]). The site is unknown, unless with Clermont-Ganneau (*Rev. Crit.*, 97, p. 902) we should read נָרָה for נָרָה, and identify the 'river of the Baal' with the Nahr Rúbín (see JABNEEL, 1). More than one river in Palestine, doubtless, was dedicated to Baal.

BAALATH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

BAALATH-BEER (בַּעֲלָת בַּיֵּר, Josh. 19:8 באַרעק [B*], БААЛЕК [B34]). БААΛΟΘΕΡΗΡΡΑΜΩΘ [A], БААЛЕК ВΗΡΡΑΘΜΩΘ [L] or Baal (1 Ch. 4:33), also called RAMAH of the South (רַמַּת [B], Josh. 19:8) or RAMOTH of the South (1 S. 30:27 ראַמָא [BL], -θ [A] βρότου; perhaps the same as the Bealoth (בַּעֲלֹת) בַּמַּיִן [B], באַלֹּת [AL]) of Josh. 15:24 (and 1 K. 4:16; see ALOTH), an unidentified site in the Negeb—probably its most southern part—of Judah. The name implies that it had a well and was a seat of Baal-worship.

BAAL-BERITH (בַּרִית בַּעַל *i.e.*, 'the [protecting] Baal of the covenant'), a form of the Canaanitish Baal worshipped at Shechem (Judg. 9:4), called El-berith (אֵל בַּרִית, 'God of the covenant') in Judg. 9:46 RV.

It has in Judg. 9:4 באַל־בַּרִית [B], באַל־בַּרִיתִים [A], באַל־בַּרִיתִים [B34]; in 1 K. 4:16 באַלֹּת בַּרִית [B], באַלֹּתִים [A], אֵל־בַּרִית [L]; in 8:33 באַל־בַּרִית [A], באַל־בַּרִיתִים [L], באַל־בַּרִיתִים [B].

The covenant intended was probably that between Shechem and some neighbouring Canaanitish towns, which were originally independent, but were at length brought under Israelitish supremacy (Ew., Kue., We.). Of the rival views—viz., (a) that the covenant was between Baal and his worshippers (Baethgen, Sayce in Smith's *DB*(3)), and (b) that it was between the Canaanitish and the Israelitish inhabitants of Shechem (Be., Ki.)—the former gives an undue extension to a specially Israelitish idea, and the latter misconceives the relation of the Israelites within Shechem to the Canaanites. Gen. 14:13 cannot possibly establish the former (Baethgen), nor can the name of Gaal's father, or the speech of GAAL (*q.v.*) in Judg. 9:28, be used to support the theory of an influential Israelitish element in the population of Shechem. Any Israelites who might be dwelling in Shechem would be simply ַרָבִי or protected strangers, and not parties to a covenant. The title of Baal-berith had a treasury from which the citizens made a contribution to Abimelech (Judg. 9:4). It was there that Gaal first came forward as a leader of the rebellion (9:7), and within its precinct the inhabitants of the tower of Shechem (the 'acropolis,' We.) found a temporary refuge from Abimelech at the close of the revolt (9:46). The deuteronomic editor mistakenly accuses the Israelites of apostatising to Baal-berith after Gideon's death (Judg. 8:33; see Moore's note). T. K. C.

BAALE JUDAH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

1 Or may not Baal-berith, El-berith, simply mean 'God of the community' (עַבְדֵי הַקְּהִלָּה, § 9)? The original story probably gave the name of the god of Shechem (Prof. N. Schmidt).

BAAL-GAD (בַּעַל גַּד) *‘Lord of Good Fortune’*; cp Gudubal-Gad Baal [Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschr.* 27]; ΒΑΛΓΑΔ [FL], and through corruption ΒΑΛ(Δ)ΓΑΔ(Δ) [BA].¹ ‘in the valley of Lebanon, under Mt. Hermon,’ is thrice mentioned in Joshua (11 17 12 7; 13 Γαλιλαία [B], γαλιλαία [A], βαλεγκαδ [L.] as marking the northern limit of Joshua’s conquests. Though Sayce and others identify it with Baalbek because it is described as in the בְּקֵיף of Lebanon, it is much more probably the BAAL-HERMON of 1 Ch. 5 23 (cp also the ‘mount Baal-hermon’ of Judg. 3 3), now known as *Lidnā*; see CASAREA, § 7 f., and DAN, 1.

BAAL-HAMON (בַּעַל הַחֲמוֹן) Βεεθολαμμων [B], Βεελα. [N], Βεελ. [A], a place where, according to a marriage song of no historical authority (Cant. 8 11), Solomon had a vineyard which he entrusted to keepers. Some (e.g., Del., Oettli) have identified it with the Balamo(n) of Judith 8 3, which seems to have been not far from Dathan. It is obvious, however, that some well-known place is meant, and the references to N. Israelitish scenery elsewhere in the Song of Songs give some weight to Gratz’s conjecture that for ‘Baal-hamon’ we should read ‘Baal-hermon’ (Judg. 3 3 1 Ch. 5 23). If Socin (*Baed.* 331) is right, Baal-hermon and Baal-gad are the same, and it is to be sought at the mod. Hāsbeiyā (see, however, CASAREA PHILIPPI): on the luxuriant terraces on both sides of the valley vines and other fruit-trees are still cultivated. Most probably, however, ‘in Baal-hamon’ is due to a corrupt repetition of ‘to Solomon.’ Bickell is right in omitting it.

T. K. C.

BAAL-HANAN (בַּעַל חֲנָנִי) § 42. Baal has been gracious; cp Johanan, Ph. הַנְּבִיל, and the well-known ‘Hannibal,’ also Ass. *Baalhanunu*, *COT.* 189).

1. Ben Achbor; one of the kings of Edom, according to Gen. 36 37. βαλενανος [A], βαλενανου [P], βαλενανου [E], βαλενανου [L], βαλενανου [C], βαλενανου [B], βαλενανου [A], βαλενανου [L]. Strangely enough, the name of his city or district is not given. Moreover, the scribe’s error עֲבָרִים ‘Hebrews’ for עֲבָרִים ‘mice’ in 1 S. 14 11 (see Bu. *SBOT*) suggests that בֶּן עֲבָרִי (ben Achbor) in v. 38 f. may be a variant to בֶּן עֲבָרִי in v. 32. Now, as Hadad II., an important king, (probably) the founder of a dynasty, has no father’s name given, it seems likely that Baal-hanan is the lost father’s name; and thus the text should run, ‘And Saul died, and Hadad, ben Baal-hanan, reigned in his stead’ (so Marq. *Fund.* 10 f.; see, however, BELA [ii.]). See EDOM, § 4, HADAD.

2. A Gederite; according to the Chronicler, superintendent of olives and sycamores in the Shephelah of Judah in the time of David; 1 Ch. 27 28 (βαλανας [B], βαλανα [A], βαλασαν [L]). See DAVID, § 11 c.

BAAL-HAZOR (בַּעַל הַצֹּר) §§ 93, 96. 2 S. 13 23. See HAZOR, 2.

BAAL-HERMON (בַּעַל הַרְמוֹן) § 93. ΒΑΛΗΙΜ [B*], ΒΑΛΛΗΙΜ [B⁰], ΒΑΛΛ ΕΡΜΩΝ [AL], 1 Ch. 5 23; see BAAL-GAD, BAAL-HAMON, and, especially, CASAREA PHILIPPI.

BAALI (בַּעֲלִי), Hos. 2 16 EV; mg. rightly ‘my lord’ AV, RV ‘my master.’ See HOSEA, § 6.

BAALIM (בַּעֲלִים), Judg. 2 11. See BAAL, § 1.

BAALIS (בַּעֲלִיס) ΒεΑ[ε]ι[σ]α [B⁰BAQ], ΒΕΝΕCΑ [N*] ΒΑΔΛΙC [Q⁰MG], cp Sw. *ad loc.*; Jos. *Ant.* x. 9 3. § 164. ΒΑΔΛΙΜΟC—i.e. Βε[ε]λ[ι]μ as some Heb. MSS read, king of the Ammonites, the prime mover in the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 40 [47] 14; cp 41 10). The name is interesting as an etymological problem. Some render ‘Son of exultation,’ on the precarious supposition that in this name and a few others ב stands for בן (see

¹ Through confusion of λ, α, and δ in the uncial writing.

BIDKAR); while Baethgen (*Beitr. zur Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 16) compares the Phœnician 𐤁𐤏𐤃 (CIS 1, no. 308; 𐤁𐤏𐤃, *ib.* no. 50) and renders ‘husband of Isis’—a still more precarious derivation. See AMMON, § 8. W. R. S.

BAAL-MEON (בַּעַל מְעוֹן) §§ 93, 96. Nu. 32 1 20ek. 25 9 1 Ch. 5 8, otherwise Beth-baal-meon (Josh. 13 17), Beth-meon [Jer. 48 2], or Beon [Jud. 11 22 1].

Its readings are, in Nu. 32 Βελαμων [BA], in Lev. 25 9, Βελαμων [B*], Βελαμων [B⁰BAQ]; 1 Ch. 5 8 Βελαμων [B], Βελαμων [A], Βελαμων [L], Βελαμων [C], Βελαμων [B], Βελαμων [A], Βελαμων [L], in Jer. 48 2 Βελαμων [BQ], Βελαμων [B], Βελαμων [N*], in Nu. 32 Βελαμων [B⁰BAQ], Βελαμων [A].

The place is assigned in Numbers, Joshua, and Chronicles to the Keubenites. It is twice mentioned, once as Beth-baal-meon and once as Baal-meon, in the inscription of Meshah (*Il.* 9 30), from which we learn that it was Moabite before the time of Omri and became so again under Meshah. It was Moabite also in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 48 23), and in that of Ezekiel, who names it with Beth-jeshimoto and Kiriathaim as ‘the glory of the country’ (Ezek. 25 9). It is represented by the modern Mā’in, in the W. Zerka Mā’in on the Moabite plateau, 2861 ft. above sea-level, 5 m. SW. from Madaba. There are extensive ruins (*Baed.* 177).

It may probably be identified with the Maccabean BEAN [g.v.]. The *Onomastica* (OS² 32 4 101 32) quote the Reubenite city under the forms βααν, Bean, πολις τοῦ Ἀσφαριου.

BAAL-PEOR (בַּעַל פְּעוֹר) Βεελφεωρ Βεβαφειρ, or, rather, the Baal of Peor (so RV²² Nu. 25 3; see BAAL, § 1), the Moabite god to whose cult Israel yielded itself while in Shittim (Nu. *Lc.* JE, Dt. 4 3 Ps. 106 29, thrice in later writings abbreviated to PEOR [g.v., 2]. The name occurs in Hos. 9 10 as a *place-name*—an abbreviation, it would seem, for Beth-Baal-Peor (see BETH-PEOR). The nature of the worship of this god is unknown, although it is not improbable that it was a local cult of Chemosh (Gray, *IMPV.* 131). For the old speculations, based mostly upon precarious etymologies, see Selden, *De Dis Syris*. See, further, PEOR, and cp Baal-peor, *Strabon.* 2. 10 2 1. *Itin.* 14 f. 261, and *Dt. Num. ad loc.*, Dr. 1 *cut. ad loc.*

BAAL-PERAZIM (בַּעַל פְּרָצִים) § 89, a place mentioned in connection with a battle between David and the Philistines in the valley of REPHAIM (g.v.), hard by Jerusalem, 2 S. 5 23 (ἐπάνω [or, ἐπίνω] διακοσιῶν [BA]). 1 Ch. 11 11 ἐπὶ φαλαγγαστικῆ . . . διακοσῆ φαστικῆ [B], φαλασσῶ φαστικῆ . . . διακοσῆ φαστικῆ [N], Βαλφασαστικῆ . . . διακοσῆ φαστικῆ [A]; Βαλφασαστικῆ bis [L]. According to the narrator, the name was so called because David had said, ‘Yahvé has broken through my foes before me as at a breaking through of water,’ Baal-perazim (i.e., ‘Lord of acts of breaking through’) being regarded as a title of the God of Israel. The same event seems to be referred to in 1 S. 28 21, where the place is called Mt. Perazim (ὄρος ἀσβεῶν [BNAQ], ὄρος ἡμῶν διακοσίων [A], in 1 Ch. 11 11 ὄρος ἡμῶν τῶν διακοσίων [Sym. Theod. in Q⁰MG]). This form of the name suggests the most complete explanation of David’s question, ‘Shall I go up against the Philistines?’ (v. 19). He asks whether he shall come upon the Philistines from the chain of hills which bounds the valley of Rephaim on the east (in v. 20 read, ‘And David came from Baal-perazim,’ with G and K). he starts, be it remembered, from Jerusalem (see DAVID, § 7). On the next occasion he did not ‘go up’ (on the hills), but came upon his foes from the rear (v. 19). In spite of this narrative, which is written from the later Israelitish point of view, the name Baal-perazim must have existed long before David. It is analogous to RIMMON-PEREZ, which means ‘Rimmon (Rammán) of Perez,’ and belonged properly to some point in the chain of hills referred to, which was specially known

¹ ἐπάνω cannot=ἐπί, being preceded in v. 20 21 by ἐκ τῶν.

by Canaanitish Baal-worshippers. David, however, beyond doubt took Baal as synonymous with Yahwè; the name gave him a happy omen, and received a fresh significance from his victory. Whether 'Perazim' was originally a name descriptive of the physical appearance of the hills E. of the valley of Rephaim, or whether it had some accidental origin, cannot be determined.

T. K. C.

BAALSAMUS (Βαλασάμος [BA]), 1 *Esd.* 9:43 RV = *Neb.* 8:4, MAASEIAH, 15.

BAAL-SHALISHA, RV *Baal-Shalishah*, (בַּעַל שְׁלִישָׁה בַּעַל שְׁלִישָׁה, Βαιθασαλιστα [B*^s.^vid. (ras σα Λ³)], ΒΗΘΣΑΛΙΣΤΑ [L]), in Ephraim, evidently near GILGAL (2 K. 4:42), doubtless identical with the *Bethsalisa* and Βαιθσαλισα of Jer. and Eus. (*OS* 107:11 239:92). 15 R. m. N. of Diospolis (Lydda). These conditions seem to be met by *Kh. Sirisidā*, which is exactly 13 Eng. m., or about 14½ R. m. from Lydda (*PEF/P*, '76, p. 68). Four miles further on is the village Kh. Kefr. Thilth, with which Baal-shalisha is now identified by Conder (*PEF/P* 2:285). In illustration of 2 K. 1:c. the Talmud (*Sanh.* 12 a) states that nowhere did the fruits of the earth ripen so quickly as at Baal-shalisha. See SHALISHA, LAND OF, and cp ZELZAH.

BAAL-TAMAR (בַּעַל תְּמָר) —i.e., 'Baal of the Palm,' §§ 96 103. Βααλ Θαμαρ [BAL], an unidentified locality in the neighbourhood of Gibeah, where the Israelites put themselves in array against the Benjamites (*Judg.* 20:33). Some think of 'the Palm of Deborah' (*Judg.* 4:5), which, however, was too remote (Moore). Eus. (*OS* 238 75) speaks of a Beth-thamar near Gibeah.

BAALZEBUB (בַּעַל זְבוּב); EN TH A v. 2, BA *REV.* 6:6; ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ. L. v. 1 f. ΒΑΑΛ ΜΥΙΑΝ

1. Not Fly-god. [BA], taking ΖΟΥΒ or ΜΥΙΑ as the name of the god; so *Jos. Ant.* ix. 21), a god of Ekron, whose oracle was consulted by Ahaziah king of Israel in his last illness (2 K. 12 f. 6:16 f.). The name is commonly explained 'lord of flies.' True, there is no Semitic analogy for this; but Pausanias (viii. 267; cp J. G. Frazer's note on v. 14) tells us of a *Zēds ἀπύμυτος* who drove away dangerous swarms of flies from Olympia, and Clement of Alexandria attests the cultus of the same god in Elis (*Protrep.* 2:38) and we may, if we will, interpret the title 'a god who sends as well as removes a plague of flies' (so Baudissin), which lifts the god up a little. Let us, however, look further.

Bezold (*Catalogue*, K. 3500) thought that in an Assyrian inscription of the 12th cent. B.C. he had met

2. Not god of Zebub. with Baal-zabubi as the name of one of the gods of the Ebrî nârî (on which see EBER, § 1), in which case Baal-zebub was a widely known divine name, adopted for the god of Ekron. The restoration of the final syllable *-bi*, however, is admittedly quite uncertain, and the reading Baal-sapuna (see BAAL-ZEPHON, 1) seems much more probable.¹ Winckler, therefore, suggests that Zebub might be some very ancient name of a locality in Ekron² (no longer to be explained etymologically), on the analogy of Baal-Sidon, Baal-Hermon, Baal-Lebanon. No such locality, however, is known, and Ekron, not any locality in Ekron, was the territory of the Baal. It is, therefore, more probable that Baal-

3. Real name Baal-zēbūl. zebub, 'lord of flies' (which occurs only in a 'very late' narrative, one which has a pronounced didactic tendency),³ is a contemptuous unepiaphonic Jewish modification of the true name, which was probably Baal-zebul, 'lord of the

high house' (cp 1 K. 8:13, and Schrader's note in *COT*). This is a title such as any god with a fine temple might bear, and was probably not confined to the god of Ekron (in the Panamum inscription of Zenjirî, *I.* 22, the god Rakibêl bears the title בַּעַל בֵּית, 'lord of the house'). The second part of it strongly reminds us of E-saglia, the 'high house' of the god Marduk (see BABYLON, § 5). 'High house' (zēbūl) would at the same time refer to the dwelling-place of the gods on the *הר המנוחה* or 'mountain of assembly' in the far north¹ (see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF). There is some reason to think that the Phœnicians knew of such a dwelling-place. The conception is implied in the divine name Baal-Saphon, 'Lord of the north' (see BAAL-ZEPHON), and in the Elegy on the king of Tyre (Ez. 28:12 f.); and the Semitized Philistines also probably knew of it. At any rate, the late Hebrew narrator—or, if we will, an early scribe—may have resented the application of such a title as 'Lord of the high house' (which suggested to him either Solomon's temple [בַּיִת הַזֶּה] 1 K. 8:13) or the heavenly dwelling of Yahwè [בְּעֵינַי, Dt. 26:15 Ps. 68:6]) to the Ekronite god, and changed it to 'Lord of flies,' Baal-zebub. See BEEZEBUB. This explanation throws light on three proper names,—JEZEBEL, ZEBUL, and ZEBULON—also on Is. 63:15, 'from thy zēbūl (high house) of holiness and glory.' The same term zēbūl could be applied to the mansion of the moon in the sky (*Hab.* 3:11, We.). T. K. C.

BAAL-ZEPHON (בַּעַל צְפוֹן), or, no doubt more accurately, Baal-Zaphon (בַּעַל צְפוֹן), 2.

1. The name of a Phœnician god, formed like Baal-Gad, Baal-Hermon, and meaning 'Baal of the north.' Though not mentioned in OT, it is important as enabling us to account for certain ancient Israelitish proper names (ZAPHON, ZEPHON, ZEPHONITES, ZIPHION), and also for the enigmatical reference to a mountain abode of the Elōhim, situated 'in the recesses of the north' (*Is.* 14:13; see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF). The latter conception was evidently believed by Ezekiel (28:13 f.) to be familiar to the Phœnicians, and is clearly connected with the divine name in question, which describes and designates 'the Baal whose throne is on the sacred mountain of the gods in the north' (*Baethg. Beitr.* 23, 261). The Assyrian inscriptions contain several references to this god. A text of Esar-haddon speaks of Baal-sapunu as one of the 'gods of Ebrî-nârî' (see EBER, 1), and more than one mountain-district may have borne the name of Baal-Zaphon.² The chief seat of the god, however, must have been in the centre of Mount Lebanon. Elsewhere (*COPPER*, § 3) other texts are referred to in which Baal-sapuna is described as rich in copper, which appears to have been the case with Lebanon. Altogether we cannot be wrong in identifying Baal-Zaphon with Baal-Lebanon, 'the Baal of Lebanon.' The relation of this national deity of the Phœnicians to the Baal-Zaphon of Goshen requires separate consideration (see 2). On the question whether Baal-Zaphon was known under another of his names in Philistia, and even perhaps among the Israelites, see BEEZEBUL, § 2. T. K. C.

2. בעלצפון: so most MSS, but many MSS³ בעלזפון; Vg. *Beelzephon* (-sejon in *Jer. OS*; Targ. יִצְחָקִי, cp Syr. Bē'el-Sēphān; Arab. Walton, 'Safūn, the idol,' *safūn al-tāghūt*), a place near the point where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, and opposite their encampment (*Ex.* 14:29 Nu. 33:7). The name is usually understood to point to a national Phœnician god of the

¹ This is akin to the theory of Movers, who makes Baal-zēbūl ('Lord of the heavenly dwelling') originally a name of Saturn, a theory which lacks evidence.
² Tiglath-pileser III. (*K B ii.* 26 f.) speaks first of the mountains of Lebanon and then of the land of Baalî-sapuna as far as the mountains of Ammana.
³ *E. G.*, AF 710, perhaps L. This form also seems to be Hexaplaric (see the Bohêric version; the older Sâhidic text has *mp* for *φ*).

¹ *Wi. Gf.* 1 223, 225; Hommel, *AHT* 196, 255. Halévy has made a similar mistake (see next note).
² Halévy (*Rev. sem.* 123) thought that he had proved this; but in *Ann. Rab.* 174, 16, to which he refers for an Ekronite Zabulu, the right reading is *Sapuna*.
³ Kuenen, *Oud.* 1 409 (f. 25, n. 5).

same name; but the Egyptians who mention a goddess Ba'al(1)-sapuna as worshipped at Memphis¹ connect this cultus, very significantly, with that of *Sapdu* (a), a local god of Western Goshen (see GOSHEN, § 2). This divinity was, therefore, evidently not a Phœnician deity; her domain, at any rate, was either in or near the region of Goshen. Consequently, the Baal whom this local Ba'al or Beltis implies was not also the Phœnician Baal-Zephon, though whether he had an independent origin or not, cannot as yet be determined. Like most of the local names of Goshen, Baal-Zephon (or rather—see (1)—Baal-Zaphon) is clearly Semitic.²

The honour accorded by the Egyptians to the consort of 'Baal-Zephon' no doubt proves the importance of that town of Goshen. It is difficult, however, at present, to determine the situation of the place (see EXODUS, i. § 6). The expression 'before Baal-Zephon, over against it' (obscured in Nu. 33.7 f.) need not signify 'eastward of,' which in ordinary Hebrew would be the most natural meaning; it seems rather to indicate here some point not yet touched on the N.E. (or S. 7).

Such identifications as that with Heroopolis (Forster), 'Ajrud (Nubeh), etc. had to be given up even before the situation of Goshen and Heroopolis was determined by Naville's excavations. For the value of more modern theories (Brugsch, = Mount Casius; Ebers, on the 'Atika mountain, SW. of Suez; Naville, on Lake Thirsai, near Suez en-Nedek), see EXODUS, i. § 7 f. 1, T. K. C. = 2, W. M. M.

BAANA (בַּאנָא), probably = BAANAH [below]; בַּאנָא [BNA].

1. b. Ahilud (or perhaps better Ahimelech; see AHILUD, 2; AHIMELECH, 1), Solomon's prefect in the valley of Jezreel; 1 K. 4.12 (בַּאנָא [B], אַחִימֶלֶךְ [L]).

2. b. Hushai, prefect in Asher; 1 K. 4.16 (בַּאנָא [L], בַּאנָה [L]). His father, Hushai, is no doubt the well-known courier of David (2 S. 15.32). Cp AHILUD, 2.

3. Uribe of ZADOK [L. 7]; Neh. 3.4 (om. A.; Baana [L]).

4. 1 Esd. 5.8; Neh. 7.7; BAANAH, 3.

BAANAH (בַּעֲנָה); cp Nabataean בַּעֲנָה [CNS 2.299]; BAANA [BNA].

1. b. Rimmon, a Beerothite, one of the murderers of Ishbaal, 2 S. 4.2 f. (Baana [L.], and in B. Baana [77.5], Baana [78.1]; Jos. Baana, Baana [L]). See RIMMON, 1, 2 S. 29.1.

2. Father of one of David's heroes, 2 S. 23.29 (Βαναμειν? [B], Baana [L]). 1 Ch. 11.20 (Βαναμειν [B], Baana [L]).

3. A leader (see EZRA, ii. § 8 c) in the great post-exilic list (ib. ii. § 6). EZRA 2.2 (Baana [B], Baana [L]). Neh. 7.7 = 1 Esd. 5.8, BAANA [L].

4. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10.27 [28] (om. L.).

BAANI (בַּאנִי [ε] [BA]). 1 Esd. 9.34 = EZRA 10.34, BANI, 2.

BAANIAS (ΒΑΝΝΙΑΙΟΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9.26, AV = EZRA 10.25, BENAIAM, 7.

BAARA (בַּעֲרָה), a 'wife' of SHAHARAIM (q.v.), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8.8 (Βααρά [B], Βααρά [A], Βααρά [L]).

BAASEIAH (בַּעֲשִׂיָּה), no doubt a textual error for בַּעֲשִׂיָּה, see MAASEIAH), a Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 6.40 [25] (Μαααί [B], Βαααία [A], Βααία [L]).

BAASHA (בַּעֲשָׂה or בַּעֲשָׂה), § 51 (cp Bā. on 2 Ch. 16.1). BAACA [BAL]; Jos. Ant. vii. 12.3, ΒΑΑΧΗC; BAASA. Ba'sa occurs on the monolith inscription of

¹ Sall. 4.1, rev.; cp WMM, *Is. u. Eur.* 375. The reading *Ba'aly* (so Goodwin, Brugsch, etc.) is incorrect.

² What Baal-Zaphon (at any rate the Baal-Zaphon of Goshen) signifies is disputed. 'Watch-tower' (עֲשָׂה) it certainly does not mean. Gesenius (after Forster) compared the Gk. Τυφών (originally a wind god), who was identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Set, Σεθ (EGYPT, § 14), on the basis of the later confusion with the giant Τυφώνεύς. Quite inadmissibly. Nor can the equation be supported by the unfortunate assertion that 'Tep' was a name of 'Set' (cp Renouf, *Hibb. Lects.* for 1879, p. 114). A much more reasonable explanation is 'master of the north. *Le.*, 'north point'; Baal-Zephon was indeed near the north end of the Gulf. Others (e.g., Ebers) explain Zaphon as 'the north wind,' this wind being important for the sailors on the Red Sea, who would make their orisons at the sanctuary of BAAL-ZAPHON. Cp the name Baal-sapuna on Hamathite territory (Tig.-pil. 111), Hommel, *AHT*, 255, WMM, *Is. u. Eur.* 375. See also ZAPHON.

Shalmaneser II. as the name of an Ammonite king [*Isrl. Par.* 294, *Schr. A. 17* = 196, *Mon. Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1273].¹ b. Ahijah, an Issacharite, became king of Israel in succession to Nadab, whom he conspired against and slew at the Philistine town of Gibbethon, afterwards killing all the rest of Jeroboam's family (1 K. 15.27 f.). The fact that the Philistines were able to resume war against Israel leads to the supposition that there had been a military revolution in which Baasha, one of Nadab's generals, was the leader (cp *Ki. Hist.* 2.254). His reign was marked by his energetic operations against ASA² (q.v.). By building Ramah (1 K. 15.17) Baasha had endeavoured to shut off Jerusalem from intercourse with the outer world, and ASA was saved only by the purchased aid of Benhadad (q.v., § 2), who invaded Israel 'unto Naphtali' (1 K. 15.20, cp 6). We know but little of his 'acts' or of his 'might' (חַיִּל, 1 K. 16.5). He was one of the few kings who died a natural death. He was buried at Tirzah, which was still the royal residence (1 K. 15.21.33), having been made such by Jeroboam (see TIRZAH), Baasha was the head of the second dynasty, which was extirpated at a later time by Zimri, 'in accordance with the word of Yahuweh which he spake against Baasha by Jehu the prophet' (see JEHU, 2, b. Hanani). The fate of the house of Baasha b. Ahijah, as also that of Jeroboam b. Nebat, is referred to by later writers; cp 1 K. 21.22 2 K. 19.6. See ISRAEL, § 26, CHRONOLOGY, § 8, and, for his date (about 900 B.C.), CHRONOLOGY, § 32.

BABEL,³ TOWER OF (Gen. 11.1-9). The story of the tower (בֵּילְתַר), when its lacunae have been filled up, is to this effect. All mankind had still

1. **OT story.** one language, and kept together. On one of their nomadic journeys they found a spot which suggested the adoption of a settled life; it was the plain of Shinar. Having no building material, they devised the plan of baking clay into bricks, and using bitumen for cement. They were the first city-builders. Their design, however, was to build, not only a city, but also a stupendously high tower which should be at once a monument of their strength and a centre or rallying-point that would prevent their ever being dispersed. Uneasy at their newly awakened activity, Yahuweh 'came down' to take a nearer view of the buildings, and then returned (to his lofty mountain abode, Ezek. 28.14) to take counsel with the sons of Elohim. This, he said, is but the beginning of human ambition; nothing will soon be too hard for man to do. Come, let us go down (together), and bring their speech into confusion. Hence arose the present variety of languages and the dispersion of mankind, and hence the name of the well-known city called Babylon.

This naive narrative, which is Yahwistic, probably comes from the same writer as the story of Paradise.⁴

2. **General character.** Both narratives bear the same childlike curiosity about causes, the same strongly anthropomorphic and in some sense polytheistic conception of the divine nature (cp v. 6 f. with

¹ We (*Heb.* 3. 6) suggests that אַשְׁמֶנֶת may be a contraction for אֶשְׁמֶנֶת. Similar contractions are seen in the Phoen. בַּעֲשָׂה and Aram. (from the Hauran) בַּעֲשָׂה. Sa is possibly a divine name and seems to recur in the names Alislah, Ammi-sha (or Amasa), etc.; see JERUSALEM. It may also be the same as the god y mentioned in a S. Arab. inscription (*Erf.* T. 10.329). Its identification with a Pahn. deity אַשְׁ is open to question.

² Cp the tradition referred to in Jer. 41.9 (S. omits the name).

³ On the name (בֵּילְתַר), see BABYLON, § 7, and below, col. 411, n. 4 & 6.

⁴ According to the non-critical view, the survivors of the Deluge made their way from the mountain on which the ark had rested to the land of Shinar (so Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 155). The Deluge-story, however, makes Shem, Ham, and Japheth themselves the progenitors of the different sections of mankind, and has thus no need of the Tower-story. Even if such a narrative had been introduced into the Deluge-story, how could 'Shem, Ham, and Japheth' be called 'all the earth' (11.1)? See *We. CH.* 13; but cp Stade, *ZATW* 14. 276 f. [94].

BABEL, TOWER OF

822); both, therefore, have in all ages given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. Philo (*De Confusione Linguarum*) thought that, to avoid 'the most surpassing impiety,' the anti-monothelism must be interpreted allegorically. If we are not prepared to follow him in this, we must once more apply the mythological key (see *ANNALES ÉPIQ.*, § 4).

It is perhaps the second *extant* chapter in the mythic chronicle of the first family that we have before us: the passage which originally linked the story of the Tower to that of Paradise has been lost (see NEPHILIM). It is clear, however, that the first men had not gone far from Paradise: they are still on their journeys 'in the east' when this ambitious project occurs to them (see GEOGRAPHY, § 13).

The narrative may be regarded in two aspects. While explaining how the city of Babylon, with its

3. Origin of diverse tongues. gigantic terrace-temples, came to be built (see § 4), it accounts for the division of men into different nations, separated in abode and speech. Not to be able to understand one's neighbour seemed to the primitive men a curse (cp *GEN. 11: 1-9*). It is not improbable that there was an ancient N. Semitic myth which explained how this curse arose. It is said that there are many such myths elsewhere,¹ and some of them (e.g., that reported by Livingstone from Lake Ngami, and that mentioned in the Bengal Census Report for 1872—to mention only two of the best attested) have a certain similarity to the Hebrew story. It is credible, therefore, that the N. Semites ascribed the curse of many languages to the attempt to erect a tower by which men might climb up 'above the stars of God' and 'sit on the mountain of assembly' and 'make themselves like the Most High' (*Is. 14: 13 f.*).

The old myth, like that which seems to underlie the story of SODOM (*J. v.*), said nothing as to where the town to which the tower belonged lay.

4. Origin of Babylon. When, however, through some devastating storm, one of the chief temple-towers of Babylon (see BABYLONIA, § 27) fell in remote days into disrepair, wandering Aramaean tribes may have marked it, and, connecting it with the 'babel' of foreign tongues in Babylon, may have localised the myth at the ruined temple-tower.² *Babel*, they would have exclaimed:³ it was here that God confounded men's speech, and the proofs of it are the ruined tower and the name of Babel.

It is remarkable that the polytheistic element in the old myth should have been so imperfectly removed.

5. Character of myth. Even the writer who adopted and retold the story was still far off from the later transcendental monotheism. The changes which he introduced consisted in omissions rather than in insertions. Yahvé still has to come down to inquire; he still has to communicate the result to the inferior divine beings, and bring them with him to execute judgment; but, though he needs society, as ruler Yahvé stands alone: there is no triad of great gods, as in Babylon. It is also worth mentioning that the narrator's idea of civilisation is essentially a worthy one. No city can be built, according to these early men, without a religious sanction. Enos, as another myth appears to have said, is at once the beginner of forms of worship

and the father of Cain the city-builder (see CAIN, § 1).

On the other hand, the idea that God grudges man the strength which comes from union, and fears human ambition, is obviously one of the 'beggarly elements' of ethnic religion from which Jewish religion had yet to disengage itself.

We have seen that there was not improbably an old N. Semitic myth of the interrupted building of a tower to account for the dispersion of the nations. Should such a myth one day

6. OT form not Babylonian. be discovered in Babylonia,⁴ it will certainly disappoint many persons by not mentioning the 'confusion of languages,' nor giving Babylon as the scene of the events, (1) because the Ass. *bullulu* means 'fundere,' not 'confundere,' and (2) because the city of Babylon was regarded as of divine origin, and its name *Bibili* was explained as *Bab-ili*, 'the gate of God,' or 'of the gods' (cp BABYLON, § 1). The latter reason is decisive also against the theory⁵ that the Sibilynian story of the Tower of Babel and the cognate one of Abydnus⁶ rest on Babylonian authority. That two of the reports of the story give the polytheistic of *theoi* proves nothing, for the plural was sufficiently suggested by the Hebrew narrative (*vs. 7*). The non-biblical features of their version, though in one point (the object ascribed to the builders) probably an accurate reconstruction of the earliest myth, are of no authority, being clearly derived from the imaginative Jewish Haggada,⁷ which is responsible also for the part assigned by later writers to Nimrod (*Jos. Ant. i. 42*; cp Dante, *Inf. 31: 76-81*).

Where was the tower referred to in the Hebrew narrative? Few scholars have declared this problem insoluble; but almost all have

7. Site of tower. missed what seems the most natural answer.

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Borsippa, however, is not the place we should naturally go to for the tower. Babylon, and Babylon alone (which was always distinguished from Borsippa) must cover the site. The late Jewish tradition is of no value whatever: it grew up, probably, during the Exile, when Nebuchadrezzar's restoration of the 'temple of the

¹ See *EBD*, art. BABEL, TOWER OF (Sayce), and cp Loken, *The Foundation-myths*, 21-22.

² In a Babylonian hymn we find the god Bel identified with 'the great mountain whose top reaches to heaven' (Jensen, *Königst.* 113).

³ In the original myth there was no hyperbole. In the localised myth, however, the description 'whose top reacheth unto heaven' seems parallel to a phrase in *Dt. 1: 28*, and to similar descriptions of Egyptian obelisks (see Brugsch, *Égypte under the Pharaohs*, 310) and Assyrian and Babylonian temple-towers (so Tiglath-pileser; 'its temple-towers I raised to heaven,' *Del. Ass. HWB* 162; and Hammurabi, 'the temple whose top is high as heaven he built,' *KB* iii. a, 129).

⁴ A popular etymology would connect *Babel* with Aram. *babel* much more easily than with Heb. *bālal* (see Olshausen, *Lehrb.* § 189 a), as Bu. supposed in 1883 (*Uresch.* 387). Onkelos on *Gen. 11: 9* gives בבל for the בבל of MT.

and the father of Cain the city-builder (see CAIN, § 1). On the other hand, the idea that God grudges man the strength which comes from union, and fears human ambition, is obviously one of the 'beggarly elements' of ethnic religion from which Jewish religion had yet to disengage itself.

We have seen that there was not improbably an old N. Semitic myth of the interrupted building of a tower to account for the dispersion of the nations. Should such a myth one day

6. OT form not Babylonian. be discovered in Babylonia,¹ it will certainly disappoint many persons by not mentioning the 'confusion of languages,' nor giving Babylon as the scene of the events, (1) because the Ass. *bullulu* means 'fundere,' not 'confundere,' and (2) because the city of Babylon was regarded as of divine origin, and its name *Bibili* was explained as *Bab-ili*, 'the gate of God,' or 'of the gods' (cp BABYLON, § 1). The latter reason is decisive also against the theory² that the Sibilynian story of the Tower of Babel and the cognate one of Abydnus³ rest on Babylonian authority. That two of the reports of the story give the polytheistic of *theoi* proves nothing, for the plural was sufficiently suggested by the Hebrew narrative (*vs. 7*). The non-biblical features of their version, though in one point (the object ascribed to the builders) probably an accurate reconstruction of the earliest myth, are of no authority, being clearly derived from the imaginative Jewish Haggada,⁴ which is responsible also for the part assigned by later writers to Nimrod (*Jos. Ant. i. 42*; cp Dante, *Inf. 31: 76-81*).

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¹ The story as it stands is not, as Stade (*ZATW*, 1895, p. 127) and Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 149) (not, of course, on the ground of the supposed discovery in *1883*), *RP* 129 ff.; cp Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 406) have held, Babylonian.

² Gruppe, *Die israelit. Culte u. Mythen*, 62; *ZATW* 9: 154 [89]; *Sta. ZATW* 15: 157, 161 [95].

³ *Uresch.* *Sibyll.* 3: 37 ff.; *Jos. Ant. i. 42*; Syncellus, *Chron. ed. Dindorf*, 81; *Eus. Chron.*, ed. Schoen., 1: 2; cp Blüchli, *Die Quellen des Nt. Josephus*, 54 f. [78]; Frenschmidt, *Hellenist. Studien* 1: 25.

⁴ See *Jubilées* 10: 19-26 (Charles, *JQR* 6: 208 f.).

⁵ The Arabic *ijur* comes through Aram. from Ass. *ajurru*, 'kiln-bricks' (often); both words are used collectively.

⁶ For Sir H. Rawlinson's view, which differs from the views mentioned above, see G. Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, edited by Sayce, 17.

⁷ *KB* 3: 52-5; cp *CO* 1: 109 f.

seven lights of heaven and earth' was recent. In the *sikkurat* of the great temple E-sagila (see BABYLON, §§ 4, 5), represented, according to Hommel, by Tell 'Amrân, we have the true tower of Babel. Nebuchadrezzar himself speaks of this tower in the Borsippa inscription. 'E-temen-an-ki, he says, 'the *sikkurat* of Babylon, I restored and finished.' An account of this building has been given from a Babylonian tablet by the late George Smith. He tells us that 'the whole height of this tower above its foundation was 15 *gar*, or 300 feet, exactly equal to the breadth of the base; and, as the foundation was most probably raised above the level of the ground, it would give a height of over 300 feet above the plain for this grandest of Babylonian temples.¹ What vicissitudes this *sikkurat*, or its predecessor, passed through in early times, who shall say?

T. K. C.

BABI (BAB) [A], 1 Esd. 8: 17 = Ezra 8: 17, BABAL, I.

BABYLON. The word בָּבֶל (BĀBYLŌN). Babel, designating the city which, in course of time, became the capital of the country known as Babylonia, is the Hebrew form of the native Bāb-ili ('gate of God,' or 'Gate of the gods'). The Accadian or Sumerian name, Ka-dingira, is a translation of the Semitic Babylonian. Of the other names of the city, Tim-ir, 'Seat of life,' and E or E-ki (translated 'house' or 'hollow') are among the best known. The existence of these various names is probably due to the incorporation, as the city grew, of outlying villages and districts. Among the places which seem to have been regarded, in later times, as a part of the city, may be mentioned Su-anna (a name sometimes apparently interchanged with that of Babylon itself); Te, which, though it had, like Babylon, a *piḫatu*, or district of its own, is nevertheless described as being 'within Babylon'; and Sappatum and Litamu, apparently names of plantations ultimately included in the city.

The date of the foundation of Babylon is still uncertain. Its association in Gen. 10:10 with Erech, Akkad, and Calneh implies that according to Hebrew tradition it was at least as old as those cities, and confirmation of this is to be found in the bilingual Creation-story (see CREATION, § 16 *it*), where it is mentioned as coeval with Erech and Nippur, two primeval cities, the latter of which has been proved by the excavations to date back to prehistoric times.

No detailed history of the rise of the city has yet come to light. Agum or Agu-kak-rime (about 1550 B.C.)

2. History. speaks of the glorious shrines of Marduk and Zirpanitum, in the temple E-sagila, which he restored with great splendour. About 892 B.C., Tukulti-Ninip, king of Assyria, took the city, slaying the inhabitants, and carrying a vast amount of spoil (including the property and dues of the great temple E-sagila) back with him to Assyria. Sennacherib, however, went farther than his predecessor. He says that, after having spoiled the city at least once, he devoted it to utter destruction. The temples, palaces, and city-walls were overthrown. The debris having been cast into the canal Arahtu, that waterway was still further dammed up, and a flood in consequence ravaged the country. Esarhaddon, when he came to the throne, began the rebuilding of the city, restoring the temples with much splendour; and the work of beautifying them was continued by Samsā-šum-ukin and Ašur-bāni-pal, his sons, the former as king of Babylon, and the latter as his suzerain. Later, Nabopolassar continued the work; but it was left for his son Nebuchadrezzar to bring the city to the very height of its glory. Later still, Cyrus held his court at Babylon (Su-anna), where vassal kings brought him tribute and paid him homage. The siege of the place and the destruction of its walls by

Darius Hystaspis were the beginning of its decay. Xerxes is said (Herod. 1:83) to have plundered the temple of Bēlus of the golden statue that Darius had not dared to remove, and Arrian (3:36) states that he destroyed the temple itself on his return from Greece. He relates also that Alexander wished to restore this celebrated fane,² but renounced the idea, as it would have taken ten thousand men more than two months to remove the rubbish alone. Be this as it may, Antiochus Soter, in an inscription found at Birs-Nimrūd, mentions having restored the temple E-sagila (the temple of Bēlus), showing that some attempt was made, notwithstanding Alexander's abandonment of the task in despair, to bring order into the chaotic mass of ruin to which it had apparently been reduced. The people of the great city had, in all probability, by this time almost entirely migrated to Seleucia, on the Tigris; but the temple services were continued as late as the third decade B.C., and probably even into the Christian era. The temple was still standing in 127 B.C. (reign of the Kharcenian king Hystaspines), and had a congregation, who worshipped the god Marduk in combination with Anu, this twofold godhead being, apparently, called Anna-Bēl. A small tablet, dated '219th year, Arsaces, king of kings,' records the borrowing by two priests of E-sa-bad (the temple of the goddess Gula at Babylon) of a certain sum of silver from the treasury of the temple of Bēl. This date, which is regarded as Arsacidean, shows that certain temples, including the tower of Bēlus, remained, with their priesthood and services, as late as the year 29 B.C. (*Bab. Or. Record*, 4 133).

Rather more than 50 miles south of Bagdād, on the east bank of the Euphrates, lie the ruins still identified

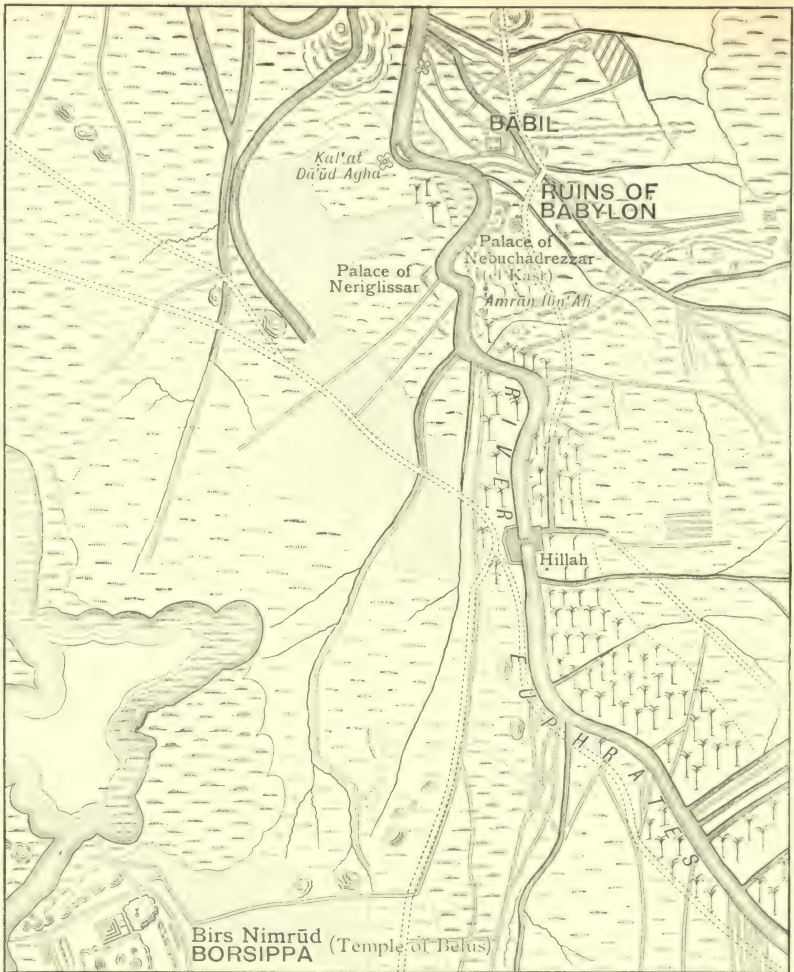
3. Ruins. by tradition as those of Babylon. These remains consist of a series of extensive, irregularly-shaped mounds covering, from north to south, a distance of about 5 miles. Bābil, the northmost ruin, has, according to Ainsworth, a square superficies of 120,000 ft., and a height of 64 ft. The next in order is the Mujlilbeh, of about the same superficies and a height of 28 ft. After this come two mounds close together, the Kasr or 'palace,' and that called 'Amrān-ibn-'Alī to the south of it. These two together have a superficies of 104,000 ft., and a height of 67 ft., or with the *bris*, or stone monument, 115 ft. Most of these two mounds is 'enclosed within an irregular triangle formed by two lines of ramparts and the river, the area being about 8 miles' (Loftus). Other remains, including two parallel lines of rampart, are scattered about, and there are the remains of an embankment on the river side. On the W. bank are the ruins of a palace said to be that of Neriglissar.

According to Herodotus (1:178-187), the city formed a vast square, 480 stades (55½ miles) in circumference. Around the city was a large ditch of running water, and beyond that a great rampart 200 cubits high and 50 broad,

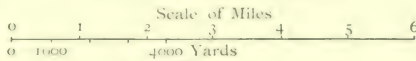
4. Greek descriptions. there being on it room enough for a four-horse chariot to pass, and even to turn, in addition to space sufficient for 'chambers facing each other.' The top, therefore, would seem to have resembled a kind of street. The wall was pierced by a hundred gateways closed with brazen gates. On reaching the Euphrates, which (Herodotus says) divided the city, it was met by walls which lined the banks of the stream. The streets were arranged at right angles. Where those which ran down to the Euphrates met the river-wall, there were gateways allowing access to the river. On each bank of the Euphrates

¹ A confirmation of this occurs in the tablet *Bu. 93 5-12*, 61a, which is dated in 6th year of Aššurbanipal (Assurbanipal), and refers to the mass of silver as tribute paid *from across the river* at E-sagila (so to be read, according to the Aramaic docket), 'for the clearing away of the dust (rubbish) of E-sagila (E-sagila)' (Oppert in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et belles Lettres*, 1898, pp. 414-5).

² See Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.*, App. ii.; but cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 492 ff.



Scale: 1 inch = 4000 yards.



- | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Present River Beds..... | | Date Palms..... | |
| Dry Beds..... | | Uncultivated and Desert..... | |
| Ancient Lateral Irrigants, now dry..... | | Cultivated, Gardens etc..... | |
| Prominent Mounds and Ruins..... | | Swamps, Marshes, and Rice Grounds..... | |

Walker & Mansel sc.

THE SITE OF BABYLON

Compiled mainly from surveys by Jones, Selby, Bewsher, and Collingwood, 1845-65, with corrections to 1885 (published by the India Office). Small additions, etc., from Kiepert's 'Ruinenfelder der Umgegend von Babylon' in *Ztschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erskundn. zu Berlin*.

were certain fortified buildings, the royal palace being on one side, and the temple of Bélus on the other. The latter was a tower in stages, with an exterior winding ascent leading from stage to stage, and about half-way up a resting-place for the visitor. The top was surmounted by a spacious chapel, containing a richly covered bed and a golden table. None passed the night there, according to the priests, except a woman of the country whom the god had specially chosen. Lower down was another chapel containing a seated statue of Zeus (Bél-Marduk) and a large table, both of solid gold. Outside were two altars, one of them of gold; and it was here that the golden statue that was carried away by Xerxes formerly stood. Herodotus speaks also of the large reservoir, constructed, he says, by Queen Nitôeris, and of the embankments and the bridge that she made, the last being a series of piers of stone built in the river, connected by wooden drawbridges which were withdrawn at night. Nitôeris caused to be erected over the most frequented gate of the city, the tomb which she afterwards occupied; but this, he says, was removed by Darius, who thought that it was a pity that the gate should remain unused, and coveted the treasure that she was supposed to have placed there, which he failed to find. The houses of the city, according to Herodotus, were three and four stories high. He does not mention the hanging gardens.

Ctésias (ap. Diod. Siculus, 2, 7, 2) makes the circuit of the city only 360 stades (41 m. 600 yds.). It lay on both sides of the Euphrates, which was crossed by a bridge at its narrowest point. The bridge was similar to that described by Herodotus, and measured 5 stades (3032 ft.) in length and 30 ft. in breadth. At each end was a royal palace, that on the E. being the more splendid. There was a part called the twofold royal city, which was surrounded by three walls, the outmost having a circuit of 7 m. The height of the middle wall, which was circular, was 300 ft.; that of its towers, 420 ft. The inmost wall, however, was even higher. The walls of the second enclosure and those of the third were faced with coloured bricks, enamelled with various designs. Among them were representations of Semiramis and Ninus slaying the leopard and the lion. The two palaces were joined by a tunnel under the river as well as by a bridge. Diodorus mentions the square lake, and describes the temple of Bélus, which, he says, had a statue of Zeus (Bél-Marduk) 40 ft. high, and statues of Hera and Rhea (probably Ziranpanium [see SUCCÔTHI-BENOTH] and the goddess Damkina). He describes the famous hanging gardens, which were square, and measured 400 ft. each way, rising in terraces, and provided with earth enough to accommodate trees of great size. (For other Greek accounts, see (1) Arrian, *Anab.* 7, 251, and Plut. *Alex.* 74; (2) Diod. Sic. 2, 7-10, Curt. Ruf. 5, 1, 24-35; (3) Strab. 16, 15; (4) Diod. Sic. 2, 7, 251, and Plut. *Demetr.* 7; (5) Philistr. *Vit. Apoll.* 125; to which may be added (6) *Prosp.* in Jos. *Ant.* x. 11, C. *Ap.* 119 f., and Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9, 97 & a.)

The best native account of the glories of Babylon is probably that of the well-known king Nebuchadrezzar (*Kîb Nûk* = *Nûk*) = ruler to whom the city owed much—who, indeed, may be said to have practically rebuilt it. The most important edifice to him was the temple of Bélus (Ē-sagila, later called Ē-saggil or Ē-sangil), and with this he begins, speaking first of the shrine of Marduk, the wall of which he covered with massive gold, lapis-lazuli, and white limestone. He refers to the two gates of the temple, and the place of the assembly, where the oracles were declared, and gives details of the work done upon them. It was apparently a part of this temple that he calls Ē-temen-ana-ki, 'the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth,' and describes as the 'tower of Babylon' (*sikkurat Babilî*), stating that he 'raised its head' in burnt brick and lapis-lazuli

(cp BABEL, TOWER OF, § 7). After referring to various other shrines and temples, he speaks of Imgur-Bél and Nimitti-Bél, the two great ramparts of the city, built, or rather, rebuilt, by his father Nabopolassar, who, however, had not been able to finish them. Nebuchadrezzar goes on to describe what he and his father had done on these defences—the digging and bricking of the moat, the bricking of the banks of the Euphrates, the improvement of the roadway called *Aa-ibur-Sabû*, the elevation of which Nebuchadrezzar raised 'from the shining gate to (the roadway called) *Istar-saikipat-têbi-Sa*,' and so on. In consequence of the raising of this street, the great city gates of the walls Imgur-Bél and Nimitti-Bél had to be made higher. They were at the same time decorated with lapis-lazuli and figures of bulls and serpents, provided with doors of cedar covered with bronze. Then, to strengthen the city still further, Nebuchadrezzar built, 4000 cubits beyond Imgur-Bél, another wall (with doors of cedar covered with bronze), surrounded with a ditch. To make the approach of an enemy to the city still more difficult, he surrounded the district with 'great waters' like unto the sea. After this he turned his attention to the royal palace, a structure which reached from the great wall Imgur-Bél to the canal of the rising sun, called Libilhegalla, and from the bank of the Euphrates to the street *Aa-ibur-Sabû*. It had been constructed, he says, by his father Nabopolassar; but its foundations had been weakened by a flood and by the raising of the street. This edifice Nebuchadrezzar placed in good repair, and adorned with gold, silver, precious stones, and every token of magnificence, after rearing it high 'as the wooded hills.' Other constructions that he made were a wall 490 cubits long (apparently intended to serve as an additional defence to a part of the outer wall) called Nimitti-Bél, and, between the two walls, a structure of brick, surmounted with a great edifice, destined for his royal seat. This palace, which joined that of his father, was erected in fifteen days. After adorning it with gold, silver, costly woods, and lapis lazuli, he built two great walls around it, one of them being constructed of stone.

There is a substantial agreement between this description and the description of the Greek writers. Ē-sagila, 'the high-headed temple,' is the temple of Bélus; the palace constructed in fifteen days is that referred to by Josephus as having been built in the same short period (*Ant.* x. 11). Nebuchadrezzar does not refer to the reservoir mentioned by the Greeks; but we may recognise it in the 'great waters, like the mass of the seas,' which he carried round the district, and designed for the same purpose—namely, defence against hostile attack. The walls, Nimitti-Bél and Imgur-Bél, are the outer and inner walls respectively, and the latter may be that which, according to Herodotus (above, § 4), ran along the banks of the river. The hanging gardens are not referred to by Nebuchadrezzar, and it is therefore very doubtful, notwithstanding the statement of Ctésias, whether this king built them. Such erections were not uncommon in Assyria, and it is even possible that they were due to the initiative of a king of that country. In the palace of *Asûr-hâni-pal* at Kunyujik, which was discovered and excavated by Rassam, was a room the bas-reliefs of which were devoted to scenes illustrating that king's Babylonian war, one of which shows a garden laid out on a slope, and continued above on a structure of vaulted brickwork, an arrangement fairly in accord with the description of the Babylonian hanging gardens given by Diodorus and Pliny; and it is noteworthy that the latter attributes them to a Syrian (Assyrian) king who reigned at Babylon, and built them to gratify a wife whom he loved greatly. This bas-relief was regarded by Sir Henry Rawlinson and George Smith as representing the hanging gardens at Babylon, and a neighbouring sculpture, which shows a series of fortified walls,

three or more, as well as a palace, probably represents the walls of the city as they were in the time of Ašur-bāni-pal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukin, with whom he waged war. The palace has columns supported on the backs of lions.

A few additional details concerning the city are given by some of the many contract-tablets found on the spot. The city gates, some of the canals, and the streets and roadways seem to have been named after the gods. We read of the gates of Zagaga, Ninip, and Šamaš, and of the canal Nār Banitum.

7. Details from the contract-tablets.

Others of the canals received the names of the cities to which they flowed (e.g., the Borsippa canal, and the old Cuthah canal). The tablets confirm the statement of Q. Curtius that the houses of the city did not fill all the space enclosed by the walls, the greater part of the ground being apparently fields, gardens, and plantations of date-palms and other trees, sufficient to furnish all the provisions that the city needed in event of siege. There is no mention, in the native records, of a bridge across the Euphrates, such as is described by the Greeks; but a contract-tablet of the time of Darius seems to refer to a bridge of boats. There is no confirmation of the statement that there was a tunnel under the river.

There have been various conjectures as to the identification of the different ruins on the site of Babylon. Rich thought that the hanging-gardens were represented by the mound known as Bābil, and this is the opinion of Rassam, who found there 'four exquisitely-built wells of red granite in the S. portion of the mound.' They are supplied with water from the Euphrates, which flows about a mile away, and their depth is about 140 ft. Originally, he thinks, they were

about 50 or 60 ft. higher. Rassam regards Mujellibeh as representing the palace begun by Nabopolassar and finished by Nebuchadrezzar in fifteen days. Remains of enamelled tiles of various colours and designs are found, he says, only on that spot. The Kasr he takes to be the remains of the Temple of Belus, though he frankly admits that there are many difficulties in the way of this identification. As the latest opinions, carefully formed by one who has frequently been on the spot, they will probably be considered to possess a special value.

The two queens, Semiramis and Nitôcris, to whom so many of the wonders of ancient Babylon are attributed, are not mentioned on the native monuments of the Babylonians, as far as we are at present acquainted with them.¹ In all probability, the explanation of this difficulty is that they suggested the erection of the works in question, and the reigning ruler (probably their husbands) carried them out. Only careful exploration of the sites can decide satisfactorily the real nature of each ruin—by whom it was built, or rebuilt, or restored—and the changes that it underwent in the course of ages. The discovery of the wells at Bābil seems to place the nature of that ruin beyond doubt, though Oppert (*Comptes Rendus*, 1898, p. 420) thinks that its distance from the other remains is too great, in view of the fact that Alexander, when suffering from a mortal illness, was carried from the castle to the baths and the hanging gardens (Plut. *Alex.* ch. 76; Arrian, *Exp. AL* 725). Much more may be expected from the German explorations.

There is a thorough article on the history and the topography of the city of Babylon in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenc. der class. Alterthumswiss.* ii. ('96). On the Babylon of the NT see PETER, EPISTLES OF, § 7, and cp. ROME.

T. G. F.

BABYLONIA

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Bibliography (§ 71).

The country of Babylonia, called by classical writers ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΑ, takes its name from that of its principal city BABYLON (§ 1). In the OT

1. Names. The city and the country are not sharply distinguished; both are frequently included under the Hebrew בָּבֶל. In other passages the country is termed שִׁנְאֵר, Shinar (see SHINAR), while in post-exilic times the whole nation are referred to as כְּשִׂיטָיִם, 'Chaldeans,' and the country as אֶרֶץ כְּשִׂיטָיִם, 'the land of the Chaldeans' (see CHALDEA). Among the Babylonians themselves there was no single name for the whole country until the third Babylonian dynasty (eighteenth to twelfth century B.C.), when the Kassite designation of a portion of the country as Karduniash was extended and adopted in the royal inscriptions as a general name for the country,—a use of the term that was retained throughout the whole period of the nation's history. The whole of Babylonia could also be expressed by the double title Šumēr and Akkad, which the Babylonians adopted from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of the land, Akkad designating the northern half of the country and Šumēr the southern half. The use of the former name was extended in the Neo-Babylonian period, and the word in such phrases as 'the king of Akkad' and 'the army of Akkad' was employed to designate the whole country. The terms *kibrat arbi'im*, 'the four quarters,' and *kislatu*, 'the world,' which occur in the royal titles *šar kibrat arbi'im*, 'king

of the four quarters,' and *šar kislati*, 'king of the world,' were employed to express extensions of the Babylonian empire beyond the natural limits of the country (cp. MESOPOTAMIA).

The natural features that bound the country of Babylonia are the Persian Gulf on the S., the Arabian desert on the W., and the Tigris on the E., while the limit from Assyria on the N.

2. Description. may be placed roughly at the line where the slightly elevated plain to the N. changes to the alluvial level. At the present day Babylonia in the S. differs considerably in size and conformation from the ancient aspect of the country. The soil carried down by the Tigris and the Euphrates is considerable, and the alluvium so formed at the head of the Persian Gulf increases to-day at the rate of about a mile in seventy years; moreover, it is thought by some that the rate of formation was considerably more rapid in ancient times. Thus in the early period of Babylonian history the Persian Gulf extended some 120 to 130 miles farther north than it extends at present, the Tigris and the Euphrates each entering the sea at a separate mouth. The country was thus protected on the S. by the sea, and on the W. by the desert which, rising a few feet above the plain of Babylonia, approached within thirty

¹ On Semiramis the wife of Ramman-ninari (or Adad-ninari) III., see ASSURUS, § 22. Apparently the only queen who reigned in her own right was Agadé-bat or Baucellit, in whose reign (c. 825) similar to those belonging to the time of Sargon of Agadé and his son were composed. She belongs to a very early period.

of the writing, however, there is no trace of the wedge:

the characters consist of straight lines.
8. Origin. This is due to the fact that cuneiform was merely a descendant of a system of picture-writing.

In the case of many of the characters which occur in the most ancient inscriptions it is still possible to recognise the original pictures which underlie them. For example the sign for 'heaven,' 'god,' 'high,' is a star with eight points, or possibly a circle intersected by four diameters; the sign for 'sun' is a rough circle representing the sun's disk; the sign for 'ox' is the head of an ox with horns; the sign for 'rain' is an ear of corn.

All the characters, however, did not descend from pictures. Some were formed artificially by combination. Thus the sign for 'water' when placed within that for 'mouth' gave a new sign with the meaning 'to drink'; the sign for food placed within the sign for 'mouth' gave a sign with the meaning 'to eat'; the sign for 'wild-ox' was formed by placing the sign for 'mountain' within that for 'ox'; while other signs were formed by writing a character twice or three times. Moreover, it is possible that the artificial formation of characters was customary to a considerable extent. According to a theory recently put forward by Delitzsch, certain strokes and combinations of strokes to be traced in the oldest forms of many of the characters had a meaning inherent in the names, and formed the material on the basis of which the signs maintaining them were developed. This question, however, is one on which it is impossible to form a conclusion until more of the inscriptions of the earliest period, recently discovered, have been published.

In the later forms which the characters assumed the original lines gave way to wedges from the fact that the scribes employed extensively soft clay instead of a material on which it was easy to write. A line formed by a single pressure of the style naturally assumed the form of a wedge, while the increased clearness and uniformity which resulted secured for the wedge its final adoption. In addition to the changes which occurred in the forms of the characters, there was a development in their signification. Originally representing complete words or ideas, they were gradually employed to express the sounds of the words they represented apart from their meaning; and thus were developed their syllabic values.

The Babylonians adopted this method of writing from

9. Principles. the non-Semitic race (see below, §§ 43, 71, *et*.) whom they found in possession of the country, and they adapted the system to their own idiom.

To characters or groups of characters representing Sumerian words they assigned the same words which were equivalent to them in meaning; they also employed the signs phonetically, the syllables they represented consisting of a vowel and a consonant (simple syllables)—*e.g.*, *ba, id, su*—or of a vowel between two consonants (compound syllables)—*e.g.*, *mat, kit, lul*. The system was further complicated by the fact that the majority of signs were polyphonous: that is to say, they had more than one syllabic value and could be used as ideograms for more than one word. A sign, therefore, might be used in one of three ways: as a syllable in a word written phonetically, or as an ideogram for a complete word, or as one sign in a group of two or more signs which together formed an ideogram for a complete word.

That this mixed method of ideographic and phonetic writing was often found ambiguous is attested by the methods which the Babylonians took to simplify it. (1) One of these methods consisted in adding to a word what has been termed its *determinative*, a sign attached to a word to indicate the class of thing to which it refers. Thus a special sign was placed before male proper names, another before female proper names; the sign for 'god' was placed before the names of deities; the sign for 'country' regularly preceded the names of countries; similar determinatives were used before the names of cities, mountains, rivers, tribes, professions, woods, plants, stones, garments, vessels, certain animals, the names of the months, stars, etc., while in a few cases the determinative is placed after the word, as in the case of places, birds, fish, etc. A determinative was never pronounced: it was designed only as a guide to the reader, indicating the character of the compound. (2) Another method used to the reader consisted in adding to an ideogram what has been termed its *phonetic complement*—that is to say, the final syllable of the word for which it is intended. By this means the reader is not only assisted in assigning the correct word to the ideogram, but also, in the case of verbs, is enabled to detect with greater ease the stem and tense intended by the writer. Even with this assistance, the writing, with its list of more than five hundred characters, was necessarily complicated. The use of ideograms was never entirely given up, and, although in the Neo-Babylonian period simple syllables were employed in preference to compound syllables, the Assyrians and Babylonians never attained the further development of an alphabet.

The decipherment of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions resulted from the labours of scholars who had previously devoted themselves to the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions in old Persian.

From the sixth to the fourth century B.C. the Persians made

use for their inscriptions of a character which they had borrowed originally from the Babylonians. Other nations of W. Asia also, such as the Sussians and the people dwelling around Lake Van, borrowed from Babylon the idea of cuneiform writing, in some cases making use of the Babylonian characters, in others modifying them to a greater or less extent. The changes introduced by the Persians when they borrowed the idea of writing by means of wedges were considerable, for, instead of employing a sign-list of several hundred characters representing syllables and complete words, they confined themselves to thirty-nine, each of which represented a single alphabetic value. Of the various systems of cuneiform writing, therefore, the Persian was by far the simplest. The Achaemenian kings who ruled in Persia at this period numbered among their subjects the peoples of Susia and Babylonia, these countries having by conquest been added to their empire. When, therefore, they set up an inscription recording their campaigns or building operations, they added, by the side of the Persian text, Susian and Babylonian translations inscribed in the cuneiform characters employed by these two nations. There are thus engraved on the palaces and rocks of Persia trilingual inscriptions in the old Persian, Susian, and Babylonian characters, and it will be obvious that as soon as one of these three characters could be read the way would be opened to the decipherment of the other two. Of the three the Persian, with its comparatively small number of signs, is (as we have said) the simplest, and it was therefore natural that it was the first to attract the serious attention of scholars.

Grotefend, in a paper published in 1802, supplied the key to a correct method of decipherment. Taking two short inscriptions in the old Persian character which Nicholas Vassier had copied at Persepolis, he submitted them to an analysis. The inscriptions, he found, coincided throughout, with the exception of certain groups of characters, which, he conjectured, might represent proper names. On this assumption each inscription contained two proper names, the name of the king who set it up, and, it might be supposed, that of his father. But the name which occurred in one inscription was the name which stood second in the other—that is to say, the three different groups of characters must represent the names of three monarchs following one another in direct succession. From the fact that the inscriptions were found in the ruins of Persepolis it might be concluded that their writers were Persian kings; and when he applied, by way of experiment, the three names Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, he found that they fitted the characters admirably. On his further deciphering the name of Cyrus he obtained correct values for more than a quarter of the alphabet.

Of the forty Persian signs, of which one is merely a diagonal stroke employed for dividing the words from one another, Grotefend's first alphabet included thirty. He subsequently suggested values for thirty-five characters, but he was not able to fix *r, s*, and *z*; his values *kh, dj*, and *ct* were practically correct; and his *v* was not far off the correct value *b*. About 1822 St. Martin took up the investigation, working at the decipherment for the next ten years, but without much result; he identified *t* and *v*, however, and for the vowel *i*, which had been read as *o* by Grotefend, he gave the improved reading *e*. The characters for *m* and *n* were identified by Rask in 1826, and Burnouf in his memoir, published ten years later, identified *k, b*, and *s*, while his readings *q* and *gh* for two other characters were great improvements on the suggestions of Grotefend and St. Martin. In the same year Lassen produced his first alphabet, improvements on which he published in 1839 and 1844, in a few cases making use of the suggestions of Jacquet and Beer which had been published soon after the appearance of his first alphabet. He suggested correct readings for at least ten characters, and improved readings of some others. This final alphabet did not contain many incorrect identifications. The scholar who did most, however, for the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions was the late Sir Henry Rawlinson. He first turned his attention to them in 1812, when he was stationed at Nimanshah, on the western frontier of Persia. At that time he had only heard of Grotefend's discovery; he had not seen a copy of his alphabet, and did not even know on what inscriptions it had been based. Thus he began the work of decipherment from the beginning. For his first analysis he took two short inscriptions, similar to those used for the purpose by Grotefend, which yielded him the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. During the next year he had increased his list of names by the correct identification of Arsames, Ariamenes, Teispes, Achaemenes, and Persia. It was not until the autumn of 1836 that he first had an opportunity of seeing the works of Grotefend and St. Martin. Then he perceived that his own alphabet, based as it was on longer inscriptions, was far in advance of the results obtained by them. In 1837 he copied the greater part of the long inscription at Behistun, containing the annals of Darius, and forwarded a translation of the first two paragraphs to the Royal Asiatic Society; but next summer, while at Teheran, he heard that Burnouf's publication had meanwhile anticipated many of his improvements. In the autumn of 1838 he obtained the published copies of the Persepolitan inscriptions, and with the help of the allied languages of Sanscrit and Zend, analysed every word in the inscriptions that had up to that time been copied. He then found that Lassen's alphabet confirmed many of his own conclusions; but he obtained assistance from it in the case of only one character.

¹ Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems (Leipzig, 1897).

It will thus be seen that Rawlinson worked out the characters of the Persian alphabet for himself independently of his predecessors and contemporaries; but it was not on this achievement that he himself based his title to originality. He justly claims that, whereas his predecessors had succeeded only in reading a few proper names and royal titles, he had been the first to present to the world a correct grammatical translation of over two hundred lines of cuneiform writing. This translation was in the hands of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was being prepared for publication in 1839, when his duties in Afghanistan put an end to his studies for some years. It was not until 1845 that he found leisure to complete the work, in which year he published his memoir containing a complete translation of the whole Persian text of the Behistun inscription.¹

Now that he had completed the decipherment of the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, Rawlinson turned his attention to the Babylonian cuneiform.

13. Babylonian. A comparison of the third column of the Behistun inscription with the now known Persian text occurring in the first column was the starting-point of his studies, and in 1851 he published the text and translation of the Babylonian part of this inscription, at the same time demonstrating the fact that the Babylonian characters were polyphonous. The historical inscriptions on cylinders, slabs, and stelai that had been found in Assyria and Babylonia meanwhile afforded ample material for study, and other workers lent their aid in the decipherment. In the years 1849-1852 Hincks contributed papers to the Royal Irish Academy. His most important discovery was the determination of the syllabic nature of Babylonian writing. Subsequently Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, and Oppert, while devoting themselves to the further interpretation of the historical inscriptions, classified the principal grammatical rules of the language, and so brought the work of decipherment to an end.

The earliest explorers of Babylonia did not undertake systematic excavation. They devoted themselves to

14. Excavations. surveying and describing the ruins that were still visible upon the surface. The

most valuable memoirs on the subject are those on the site of Babylon compiled by Rich, who from 1808 till 1821 was the Hon. East India Company's resident at Bagdad. Systematic excavations were first undertaken in Babylonia during the years 1849-55, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson assisted by Loftus and Taylor.

In 1854 Rawlinson excavated at Birs Nimrud near the Euphrates a few miles S.W. of Hillah, a mound that marks the site of a great zikkurrat erected by Nebuchadrezzar II. within the boundaries of the ancient city of Borsippa. Here, in addition to tracing the plan of the building, he found fine cylinders recording Nebuchadrezzar's building operations. He also successfully excavated the mounds Kasr and Hâbil, to the N. of Hillah, within the site of ancient Babylon; and during the same period excavations were conducted at the mound of Niffer to the S.E. of Hillah, marking the site of the ancient city of Nippur, and in S. Babylonia at the mounds of Warka, the site of Erech, Senkerah the site of Larsa, and Mukayyar the site of Ur. While Rawlinson was carrying on these extensive excavations, the French furnished an expedition which was placed under the direction of Fresnel and Oppert, and during the years 1854-5 did valuable service, especially in surveying and describing the site of the ancient city of Babylon. In 1879 the Trustees of the British Museum again undertook systematic excavations, which were continued down to the year 1883 under the direction of their agent H. Rassam. Excavations were undertaken in the neighbourhood of Hillah, at Tell-Ibrahim, the site of the ancient city of Cuthah, and at Abu-Habbah, the site of Sippar, where exceedingly rich finds of tablets and cylinders were made. The various expeditions of George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge resulted in the recovery of many Babylonian inscriptions. The French have obtained rich finds of sculptures and inscriptions of the early period at Telloh, in consequence of the exertions of de Sarcz, who, since his appointment as French vice-consul at Bassora (*Bassra*) in 1877, has devoted himself to the thorough excavation of the mounds that mark the site of the ancient city of Širpuria. The most recent excavations are those of the Americans at Niffer, which were begun in 1888; they were ably conducted by Haynes, and have only recently been discontinued.

With the exception of those at Telloh, the mounds of Babylonia, unlike those of ASSYRIA (*q. v.*, § 10), do not yield many sculptures or reliefs; but the excavations have enabled us to trace the history of the brick-built

¹ See *JRAS* 10.

palaces and temples, while the "finds" comprise vases, tablets of stone and inscribed alabaster vases, building-inscriptions upon cylinders, and thousands of inscribed clay tablets, many of which are of great literary, historical, and scientific interest.

As the soil of Babylonia is alluvial, it is entirely without metals, and even without stone, both of which had to be imported from other countries.

15. Building. This scarcity of stone had a considerable influence on the character of Babylonian architecture.

The difficulties of transport prohibited its adoption as a building material except to a very small extent, and as excellent clay was obtainable throughout the whole of Babylonia, all the temples and palaces as well as private dwellings were composed throughout of brick. The bricks were of two kinds, baked and unbaked. The former, though merely dried in the sun, formed a serviceable building-material, and in some cases entire buildings are composed of them. The usual practice, however, was to build the greater part of the structure of sun-dried bricks and then to face it with bricks dried in the kiln, the thin layer of harder material on the surface protecting the whole structure from rain and flood and change of temperature. Buildings of unbaked brick were often strengthened by thick layers of matting composed of reeds, while the interior structure of faced walls was in some cases strengthened at intervals by courses of baked brick. The bricks themselves vary considerably in size. Many of them were stamped with the name of the king for whose use they were made, which lends considerable aid in settling the date and history of many structures. For binding the bricks together two kinds of cement were employed, the one consisting of bitumen, the other of plain clay or mud, in some cases intermixed with chopped straw. The latter was used the more extensively, bitumen being employed only where there was special need of strength, as at the base of a building where injury from rain was to be feared (see BITUMEN). Conduits of baked bricks were employed for carrying off the water from the larger buildings (see also BRICK, § 4).

The principal building with the Babylonians was the *zikkurratu* or temple, consisting of a lofty structure

16. Temples. rising in huge stages one above the other, composed for the most part of solid brick and ascended by a staircase on the outside; the image of the god to whom it was dedicated was placed in the shrine at the top. The remains of these temple-towers at the present day are covered by huge mounds of earth and debris, and thus it is difficult to trace their plan and estimate their original dimensions. The larger ones, however, have been examined at different times. That at Warka, which at the present day rises more than a hundred feet above the plain, measures some two hundred feet square at its base, and consisted of at least two stories. The temple at Mukayyar is built on a platform raised about twenty feet above the plain; it is in the form of a parallelogram, the sides measuring 198 ft. and 133 ft., and the angles pointing to the cardinal points. Only two stories are at present traceable, of which the lower one is strengthened by buttresses. The upper story does not rise from the centre of the lower, but is built rather at one end.

There are said to have been traces on it, at the beginning of the century, of the chamber or shrine which may have originally contained the image of the god. The zikkurrat at Nippur is of a somewhat similar construction. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, on the N.W. edge of a large platform, the four corners also pointing to the four cardinal points. In this temple three stages have been traced, and it is not probable that there were more. In the later Babylonian period the number of stages was increased, as in the temple of Bêl or Marduk at Babylonia, and that of Nabû at Borsippa, both of which were finally rebuilt with great magnificence by Nebuchadrezzar II. (see BABYLON, NEBUCHAD-

REZZAR). Rising on their platforms high above the houses of the city and the surrounding plain, these ancient temples must have been impressive, though in the early period they were entirely without ornament or colour.

The remains of but few Babylonian palaces have been unearthed, that at Telloh being the one belonging

to the early period that has been most systematically excavated, while the finest example of the later period is the palace of Nebuchadrezzar at Babylon with its hanging gardens (see BABYLON, § 5 f.). Of the domestic architecture of the Babylonians not many remains have been recovered.

The site from which the finest examples of early Babylonian art have been obtained is Telloh, where

excavations have afforded evidence of an art so highly developed that its origin must be set back at least 2000 years before the consolidation of the Semitic kingdom of Babylonia (see below, § 54). Large seated statues, in diorite, of Ur-Bau and Gudea, carved in the round, stone slabs and plates sculptured in relief, small figures and carvings in marble, stone, ivory, and bronze, bronze and silver vessels, cylinder-seals, and ornaments of various kinds attest the skill of these early Sumerian artists, who were the teachers of the Semites by whom they were eventually displaced.

At a later period the Babylonians ornamented the interior of their palaces and houses by covering the brickwork with plaster, on which they painted; or they coated the walls with enamelled bricks. The development of sculpture, however, unlike that of Assyria, was hampered by the lack of material in which to work, and it is not surprising that the carvings that have come down to us never approach the level attained by the reliefs of the later Assyrian kings.

Of the many thousands of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions that have been recovered only a small

proportion can be classified as literature in the strict sense of the term. Perhaps the largest section of the inscriptions consists of the contract tablets, which throw an interesting light on the social and commercial life of the people, but in no single instance can be regarded as of literary value.¹ Similarly the many texts of a magical and astrological nature (see below, § 33 f.), tablets containing forecasts and omens, tablets prescribing offerings and ceremonies to be performed before the gods (§ 30), can hardly take rank as literature, though their classification and study is leading to a more accurate knowledge of Babylonian religion and belief; while the great body of letters and despatches dealing with both public and private affairs, written as most of them are in a terse, abbreviated style, are worthy of study from a philological rather than a literary standpoint.²

When all these deductions have been made, however, there remains a considerable number of texts on the basis of which the Babylonians and Assyrians may justly lay claim to the possession of a literature consisting of both

poetry and prose. The principal examples of Babylonian poetry are presented by the legends,³ the majority of which are written throughout in metre, by mythological and religious compositions and penitential psalms, many of which are composed in Sumerian with interlinear Assyrian translations, and by the many prayers, hymns, incantations, and litanies

¹ See Oppert and Menant, *Documents juridiques* (Paris, 1877); Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte* (Leipzig, 1880, etc.); Meissner, *Beitr. zum Altbab. Privatrecht* (Leipzig, 1880); also *A. P. 2*.

² See Badger and Boswell, *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1886); Boswell, *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1881); *K. B. 5*; Del. *Beitr. z. Assyrl.* 1; and R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London, 1892, etc.).

³ See George Smith, *Chaldean Genesis* (London, 1880); IV. R.; Haupt, *Bab. Nimrodpoesie* (Leipzig, 1884); E. T. Harper, *Beitr. z. Assyrl.* 2; Jeremias, *Isidore Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1881); Jensen, *Königliche Sarginschriften*; Zimmermann in Gunkel's *Schöpf.* (Gött., 1895); and Del. *Abh. d. Königl. Sächs. Gesells. d. Wiss.*, Bd. 17, n. 2 (1906).

which occur on tablets by themselves, or are preserved in the ritual texts interspersed with directions for the performance of ceremonies.¹ It has long been recognised that Babylonian poetical compositions, like those of the Hebrews, are written in a rough metre consisting of verse and half-verse, the Babylonian scribes frequently emphasising the central division of the verse in the compositions they copied by writing its two halves in separate columns. More recently it has been pointed out² that in many compositions, in addition to this central division, each verse is divided by a definite number of accented syllables or rhythmic beats.

The feet or divisions so formed do not contain a fixed number of syllables, but consist of a single word or of not more than two or three short words closely connected with each other, such as prepositions and the substantives to which they are attached, words joined by the construct state, etc., the metre in some tablets being indicated by blank spaces left by the scribe. The commonest metre is that consisting of four divisions, in which the two halves of the verse are each subdivided; but this, in many texts, especially in some of the prayers, is interrupted at irregular intervals by a line of only three feet.

In many of the legends, moreover, the single verses are combined both by sense and by rhythm into strophes consisting of four or two lines each.

The best examples of Assyrian and Babylonian prose are the longer historical inscriptions belonging to the

later periods. This class of inscription demands a more detailed treatment. Apart from its literary value, it is the principal source of our knowledge of the history of the Babylonians and Assyrians themselves, and supplements and supports in many particulars the biblical narrative of the relations of Israel and Judah to their more powerful neighbours.

Unlike all other classes of inscriptions, which were written with a style on tablets made of clay, the historical inscriptions assume a variety of forms. The shortest form consists merely of a king's name and titles, which are stamped or inscribed on bricks built into the structure of a temple or palace which he had erected or restored. In some cases the actual stamps that were used for this purpose have been recovered. Similar short inscriptions were engraved during the old Babylonian period on door-sockets of stone. Another class of short inscription records the dedication of temples on their erection or when they have been rebuilt; these are frequently written on clay cones fashioned in the form of pegs or nails, which may very possibly have had a phallic significance. The cones of Gudea and Ur-Bau are those most frequently met with, while clay cones of different shapes were engraved by Mul-Babbar, patesi of Islan, Sin-gäsid, Kudur-Mabug and other early Babylonian kings; cones of bronze, ornamented with the figure of a god clasping the thicker end, have also been found at Telloh. Dedicatory inscriptions were also written on circular stones, perforated through the centre; when these are small they are usually described as 'mace-heads'; but the use to which the larger ones were put has not been ascertained. The 'mace-heads' of Sargon I, Mani-tusu, and Nanmaghiani are good examples of the former class. Small square tablets of diorite, but more commonly larger oblong tablets of limestone inscribed on both sides, were employed for votive inscriptions; those of Rim-Aku and of his wife, of Hamnu-rabi and of Samsu-iluna, are particularly fine examples of this class of inscription. In the later Babylonian period, when such a votive inscription of an early Babylonian king was found in the ruins or ancient archives of a temple, a pious Babylonian would frequently have an accurate copy of it made in clay,

¹ See IV. R.; Haupt, *Akk. und sum. Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881-2); Zimmermann, *Bab. Bussps.* (Leipzig, 1885) and *Suryu* (Leipzig, 1896); Brunnow, *Z. A. 4* /; Kuhlthorn, *Assyrl. Ges. an den Sonnenogel* (Leipzig, 1875); Tallqvist, *Magia* (Leipzig, 1892); King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896); and Craig, *Rel. Texts* (Leipzig, 1895-7).

² Zimmermann, *Z. A. 8* and 10.

which he placed as an offering in one of the temples in Babylon. Several archaic inscriptions have thus been preserved in Neo-Babylonian copies. The famous stone-tablet recording the endowment of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar by Nabû-pal-iddina, which was found in a clay coffer with the sculptured portion protected by clay shields provided for it by Nabopolassar nearly three hundred years after it was engraved, is unique.

Clay vases and bowls were employed by some of the Assyrian kings for recording their building operations, the inscriptions running in parallel lines round the outside, while vases of alabaster which were presented to the temples frequently bore the name and titles of the king who dedicated them. Inscriptions on statues are not frequently met with in the later periods of Babylonian and Assyrian history, the short inscriptions on the statues of Āšur-nāsir-pal, the longer inscription on the seated figure of Šhalmāneser II., and those on the two large figures of the god Nebo, being the principal examples; at Telloh, however, long inscriptions of the non-Semitic kings Gudea and Ur-Bau are found engraved on their statues of diorite. Slabs of stone, marble, and alabaster were employed for longer historical inscriptions. These were sometimes treated as tablets and engraved on both sides, as in the memorial tablets of Rammān-nirari I.; but more frequently they were intended as monuments, and set up in the palaces of the kings who made them; parts of many are decorated with sculpture, and in some instances with portraits in relief of the king whose deeds they record. The later Assyrian kings also engraved their records on the colossal winged bulls and lions that flanked the entrances to their palaces, and by the side of, and even upon, the bas-reliefs which lined their walls. In some places on the borders of Assyria, as in the district of Lelanan and at the source of the Tigris, inscriptions to record the farthest point reached by some military expedition were engraved in the living rock.

Clay, however, was the material most extensively employed, and for the longer historical inscriptions some form of prism or cylinder was found to offer the greatest amount of surface in the most compact form;

the two earliest prisms that have been discovered are those of Gudea, each of which contains about two thousand lines of writing.

The annals of several of the Assyrian kings also were inscribed on clay prisms, good examples of which are the four eight-sided prisms¹ of Tiglath-pileser I. (see ASSYRIA, § 26), the famous six-sided 'Taylor' prism² of Sennacherib, which contains an account of his siege of Jerusalem (see SENNACHERIB), the six-sided prism³ of ESARHADDON (q.v.), and the fine ten-sided prism⁴ of Āšur-bāni-pāl.

Small barrel-cylinders were employed by some of the Assyrian kings, including Sargon, Esarhaddon, Āšur-bāni-pāl, and Šin-šar-iškun, and larger ones, containing accounts of his first three campaigns, by Sennacherib. Barrel-cylinders, however, are principally associated with the later Babylonian kings. Most of them contain accounts of the building operations of NEBU-CHADREZZAR II. (q.v.) and Nabonidus. The two latest barrel-cylinders that have been recovered are those of Cyrus (see below, § 66), describing his taking of Babylon (538 B.C.), and of Antiochus-Soter (280-260 B.C.), recording his rebuilding of the temple of E-zida in Borsippa.

Large clay tablets with one, two, or three columns of writing on each side were employed for long historical inscriptions. Among the best examples are the tablets of Tiglath-pileser III., which were found in the SE. palace at Nimrid; the tablet of Esarhaddon inscribed with his genealogy and an account of his building operations, the tablet giving an account of Āšur-bāni-pāl's accession to the throne of Assyria, and of the installation of his brother as viceroy of Babylon, and those recording Āšur-bāni-pāl's conquests in Arabia and Elam, his campaigns in Egypt, and the embassy of Gyges, king of Lydia.

The Assyrians and Babylonians themselves were ardent students of their own literature, compiling catalogues of their principal literary compositions, and writing explanatory tablets and commentaries on many of the more difficult texts. Their language itself and their method of writing

were studied in detail, archaic forms of characters being collected into lists and traced back to the pictures from which they originally sprang. Syllabaries giving the values of the characters in Sumerian, and their Assyrian names and meanings, were compiled. Collections of grammatical paradigms for every class of tablet were made for the use of beginners; examples of verbal formations were collected and classified; and explanatory lists of ideographs were made, arranged in some instances according to the forms of the characters with which they began or ended, in others according to the meanings or roots of their Assyrian equivalents. Perhaps the most interesting of the grammatical tablets are the lists of synonymous words, which served the purpose of a modern dictionary.

The most notable scientific achievements of the Babylonians were their knowledge of astronomy and their method of reckoning time.

24. Astronomy. These two achievements are to a great extent connected with each other, for it was owing to their astronomical knowledge that the Babylonians were enabled to form a calendar. From the earliest times, in fact, the Babylonians divided the year into months, partly of thirty and partly of twenty-nine days, and by means of intercalary months they brought their lunar and their solar year into harmony with each other. Their achievements in astronomy are the more remarkable as their knowledge of mathematics was not extraordinary: though we possess tablets containing correct calculations of square and cube roots, most of their calculations, even in the later astronomical tablets, are based principally on addition and subtraction.

Herodotus and other ancient writers concur in tracing to Babylonia the origin of the science of astronomy, as known to the ancient nations of Europe and W. Asia. In more recent times some scholars have asserted, with less probability, that Indian and Chinese astronomers also obtained their knowledge, in the first instance, from Babylon. That the Babylonians themselves took astronomical observations from the earliest periods of their history is attested by general tradition; and, though the forms this tradition assumed sometimes exhibit extraordinary exaggeration,—as in the calculations referred to by Pliny, according to one of which the Babylonians possessed records of astronomical calculations for 490,000 years, and according to another for 720,000 years,—there is not sufficient reason for rejecting the tradition as having no substratum of truth, and it is not improbable that the Babylonians, even before the era of Sargon I., were watching the stars and laying the foundations of the science. The first observations naturally belonged rather to the practice of astrology and can hardly be reckoned as scientific, and it is not until the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history that we meet with tablets containing astronomical as opposed to astrological observations.

The Assyrians made their observations from specially constructed observatories, which were not improbably connected with the temples; the observatory was termed a *bit tamarti*, or 'house of observation'; and we possess the reports of the astronomers sent from these observatories to the king recording successful and unsuccessful observations of the moon, the unsuccessful observation of an expected eclipse, the date of the vernal equinox, etc. The astronomers, as a rule, sign their names in the reports, and from this source we know that there were important astronomical schools at Āšur, Nineveh, and Arbēla in the seventh and eighth centuries B.C.; the many fragments of tablets containing lists of stars, observations, and calendars, which date from the same period, are, however, of an astrological rather than a scientific character.

Although we first meet with astronomical inscriptions on Assyrian tablets, it is probable that the Assyrians derived their knowledge originally from Babylonia, and we may see an indication of this origin in a fragment of

¹ Translation in *KTB* 1 14-48.

² Translation in *KTB* 2 80-113.

³ Translation in *KTB* 2 124-140.

⁴ Translation in *KTB* 2 152-236.

an Assyrian commentary referring to an astronomical inscription which had been brought to Assyria from the ancient city of Agadé. At a later period there were important schools of astronomy in Babylonia, at Sippar, Borsippa, and Orchoe; but it is from inscriptions obtained from the site of the first of these three cities alone that our knowledge of Babylonian astronomy is principally derived. Excavations undertaken at Abū-Habbah, the site of Sippar, resulted in the discovery of many fragments of astronomical tablets (belonging principally to the Seleucid and Arsacid eras) written in the later cursive Babylonian; and these, though in but few instances unbroken, have sufficed to vindicate the scientific character of Babylonian astronomy. Though the Babylonians may have had no correct conception of the solar system, they had, at least in the later period of their history, arrived at the conclusion that the movements of the heavenly bodies were governed by laws and were amenable to calculation; and from the tablets we gather that they both observed and calculated the time of the appearance of the new moon, and the periodical occurrence of lunar and solar eclipses, that they noted the courses of the planets, and that they included in their observations certain of the principal constellations and fixed stars.

As in all primitive religions, the gods of Babylonia were in their origin personifications of the forces of

25. Religion: nature. The various phenomena of
its general the world were not regarded as the
character. result of natural laws. They were explained as due to the arbitrary action

of mysterious beings of more than human power. The tempest with its thunder and lightning was mysterious — it must therefore be the work of a god; the light of the sun is the gift of the god, to whose unwearying exertion its movements in heaven are due; heaven itself is a realm as solid as the earth on which men walk; and each must be controlled by its own peculiar deity. In fact, Babylonian religion was a worship of nature in all its parts, each part the province of a deity, friendly or hostile to man, subject to human passions, and, like man, endowed with the powers of thought and speech. Many of the gods resembled mankind in having human bodies; some resembled animals; and others were monsters, partly man and partly beast. They differed from man in the possession of superhuman powers; but no one deity was all-powerful. The authority, even of the greater gods, was specialised, and beneath them were a host of demons endowed with various qualities, but of more narrowly limited influence.

Such is the general character of the Babylonian pantheon regarded as a whole; but it was not in the mass that the Babylonians themselves worshipped their gods, and this fact serves to explain the varying theology presented by the Babylonian religious texts. Every city, for example, had its own special god (cp § 68), who was not only the god of that city but also, for its inhabitants, the greatest of the gods; so too in the temple of any god a worshipper could address him in terms of the highest praise, and ascribe to him the loftiest attributes, without in any way violating the canons of his creed, and with no danger of raising the jealousy or wrath of other deities. In fact, in the Babylonian system, there was no accurately determined hierarchy, and the rank and order of the various deities was not strictly defined, but varied at different periods and in the different cities throughout the land. The tolerant nature of the Babylonian deities and the elasticity of their character explain the ease with which foreign deities were adopted and assimilated by the pantheon, while the origin of this elasticity may be traced back to the mixture of races from which the Babylonian nation sprang.

In spite of the varying nature of the Babylonian pantheon, it is still possible to sketch the general character and attributes of the principal Babylonian

deities. At the head of the pantheon, from the earliest period, stood a powerful triad consisting of Anu, the god

26. The gods. of heaven, Bēl, the god of the earth, and Ea, the god of the abyss and of hidden knowledge. Next in order comes a second triad, comprising the two chief light-gods and the god of the atmosphere: *i.e.*, Sin, the Moon-god, Šamaš, the Sun-god, and Rammān, the god of storm, thunder and lightning, clouds and rain. All of these gods had their own cities, which were especially devoted to their worship. Thus the worship of Anu was centred at Erech, that of Bēl at Nippur, and that of Ea at Eridu; the oldest seat of the worship of Sin was Ur, though in Harrān also there was an important temple of the Moon-god; and the cities of Larsa and Sippar were the principal centres of the Sun-god's worship. The city-god of Babylon was Marduk, whose importance in the pantheon increased as that city became the capital of the country, until in process of time he came to be identified with Bēl, 'the lord' *par excellence*. The nearness of Borsippa to the capital explains the close connection of Nabū, its city-god, with Marduk, whose attendant and minister he is represented to have been. The god Ninib, whose name is read by some as Adar, was of solar origin; the fire-god, who plays an important part in the magical beliefs and ceremonies of the Babylonians, was Nusku; and the god of battle was Nergal, the centre of whose worship was at Cuthah.

The Babylonian goddesses were in most cases of minor importance; they were overshadowed by the male deities with whom they were connected, and the principal function of each was to become the mother of other gods. In some cases their very names betray their secondary importance, as in that of Anatu, the spouse of Anu, and that of Bēlit, the spouse of Bēl. The spouse of Ea was Damkina; Ningal was the lady of the Moon-god, Ai of Šamaš, Sala of Rammān, Tašmētu of Nabū, Gula of Ninib, and Laz of Nergal.

The relationships of the gods to one another are not accurately determined, in some cases contradictory traditions having been handed down; Sin, Šamaš, and Ninib, however, were regarded as the children of Bēl, though Šamaš also passed as the son of Sin and Ningal, Marduk was the son of Ea, and Nabū the son of Marduk.

On a different plane from the other goddesses stands Ištar, one of the most powerful deities in the pantheon. She appears in two distinct characters, under which she assumes different titles, and is credited with different genealogies. As the goddess of battle she was hailed as Anunitu, the daughter of Sin and Ningal, and was worshipped at Agadé and at Sippar of Anunitu; as the goddess of love she was termed Bēlit-ilāni, the daughter of Anu and Anatu, and the chief seat of her worship was the temple of E-ana at Erech; it was here that the unchaste rites, referred to by Herodotus as having been paid to the goddess Mylitta, with whom Ištar is to be identified, were performed. Her name was connected in legend with Dumuzi or Tammūz, her youthful lover, on whose death, it is related, she descended to the lower world to recover him.

The conception of the Babylonian deities as actual personalities endowed with the bodies and swayed by the passions of mankind, and related to one another by human bonds of kindred, was not inconsistent with the other and more abstract side of their character which underlay and was to a great extent the origin of the human attributes with which they were credited. Thus, the return of Tammūz and Ištar to earth was the mythological conception of the yearly return of spring. Moreover, as each force in nature varies in its action at different seasons, so each of its manifestations may be connected with a separate deity. The attributes of several gods can thus be traced to a solar origin. Whilst Šamaš represented the sun in general, special manifestations of his power were connected with other deities; Nergal, the god of war, for example, represents

the sun's destructive heat in summer and at noon-day, Ninib the sun on the horizon at sunrise and sunset, and Marduk, the special friend of man, its temperate heat in the morning and in spring. The aspect of the heavens at night also plays a considerable part in the origin of the gods of Babylonia. Thus each of the planets was connected with one of the greater gods: the fixed stars represented lesser deities, and Bel and Ea, though ruling the earth and the abyss, also had astrological characters, in virtue of which they divided with Anu the control of the sky.

The worship of their deities by the Babylonians was attended by a complicated system of ritual and ceremony.

27. Temples. It formed one of the most important aspects of the national life, and, as their temples were the largest of their buildings, so the priests were the most powerful class in the community. In each city the largest and most important temple was that devoted to the city-god. Thus the chief temple at Babylon was E-sagila, the centre of the worship of Marduk; the great temple at Borsippa was E-zida, the temple of Nabu; the principal temple at Nippur was E-kur, the centre of Bel's worship; and E-hul-hul the temple of the Moon god at Harrān, E-barra the temple of Šamaš both at Sippar and at Larsa, and E-ana the temple of Istar at Erech, were the principal temples in each of these cities. Situated on a lofty platform and rising stage upon stage, these zigurats or temple-towers dominated the surrounding houses, and were more imposing than the royal palaces themselves. At the summit of each the image of the god reposed in his shrine, and around its base clustered the temple offices and the dwellings of the priests. To each temple was attached a trained and organised priesthood, devoted exclusively to the worship of its god, and preserving its own ritual and body of tradition. The temples were under the direct patronage of the kings, who prided themselves on the rebuilding and restoration of their fabrics as much as on the successful issue of their campaigns, while the priesthoods were supported by regular and appointed offerings in addition to the revenues they drew from the lands and property with which the temples were endowed. The

28. Priests. The influence of the priests upon the people was exerted from many sides, for not only were they the god's representatives, whose services were required for any act of worship or intercession, but they also regulated and controlled all departments of civil life. They represented the learned section of the nation, and in all probability the scribes belonged entirely to the priestly class. They composed and preserved the national records, and although some of the later Assyrian kings collected libraries in their palaces, this was probably accomplished only with the co-operation of the priesthood and by drawing on the collections of tablets preserved in the great temples throughout the country.

A still more powerful influence was exerted by the priests on the common people in connection with their social life and commercial transactions, inasmuch as the administration of the law was in their hands.

The religious functions discharged by the priesthood were twofold. On the one hand, they carried out the regular sacrifices and services of the temple to which they were attached; on the other, they were always at the service of any one who wished to present an offering or make intercession in his own behalf. In their former capacity they celebrated regular feasts in every month as well as the great festivals of the year, such as the New Year; in the latter their ministrations were more personal, and consisted in introducing the individual suppliant into the presence of the deity and performing for him the necessary rites.

29. Claims of religion. Every Babylonian had his own god and goddess, to whose worship he dedicated himself. They, in return, were his patrons and protectors. When any misfortune happened to

him it was a sure sign that his god and goddess were angry and had removed from him their countenance and protection, and in such a predicament he would have recourse to the temple of one of the greater gods, whose influence he would invoke for his restoration to the favour of his patron deities. The protection of his god and goddess were necessary to preserve a man from the spiritual dangers that surrounded him, for he believed that on every side were evil gods, spirits, demons, and spectres, who were waiting for any opportunity he might give them to injure him. Any sickness or misfortune, in fact, he regarded as due to a spell cast upon him which had its origin in one of several causes. It might be the result of an act of sin or impurity committed by him with or without his own knowledge; or it was the work of an evil spirit or demon; or, finally, it was due to the machinations of a sorcerer or sorceress. Whatever its cause, his only hope of recovery lay in recourse to the priests, through whom he could approach one of the gods.

From the carvings on Babylonian cylinder-seals we know the attitude that the suppliant must assume when led into the presence of the god. He is represented as standing with both hands raised before him, or, with one hand raised, he is being led forward by the priest, who grasps the other. The penitential psalms and incantations preserved on tablets from the library of

30 Religious observances. Ašur-bāni-pal indicate the general character of the petitions he must make, consisting of invocations of the deity addressed, confessions of sin, and prayers for assistance, recited partly by the priest and partly by the suppliant himself. Many tablets record the offerings that must be made before the gods, comprising oxen, sheep, lambs, birds, fish, bread, dates, butter, honey, oil, date-wine, sesame wine, pieces of precious woods, gold, jewels, and precious stones, plants, herbs, and flowers. Many magical rites and ceremonies were performed by the priests, such as the knotting and unknitting of coloured threads, the burning of small images made of a variety of substances, including bronze, clay, bitumen, plaster, wood, and honey, to the accompaniment of incantations; the throwing into a bright fire of certain substances, such as a fleece, a goat-skin, a piece of wool, certain seeds or a pod of garlic, a special form of words being recited by the priest as he performed the rite; the dropping of certain substances into oil and the pouring out of libations. Such ceremonies and rites were not regarded as symbolical, but were supposed to be sufficient in themselves to secure the suppliant's release from the spell or ban to which his sufferings or misfortunes were due.

The prediction of future events also plays an important part in the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

31. Augury. So far from being carried on in secret and by a few isolated soothsayers, augury was practised as a science by a large and organised body of the priesthood under the direct control and patronage of the king. This being the case, it is not surprising that a considerable portion of the native literature deals with the subject of omens and forecasts. Almost every event of common life was regarded by the pious Babylonian as perhaps a favourable or unfavourable sign requiring the interpretation of an expert, and necessitating a journey to the temple. Those whose duty it was to furnish the interpretation of such an event did not necessarily pretend to second sight or rely on a vision or any divine communication; their answer was based on their own knowledge, acquired by special training and study. In the course of time all events and the consequences said to result from them had been written down; the tablets on which they were inscribed had been divided into classes according to the subjects of their contents; and many were collected into series. Thus an important temple would contain a small library dealing with the subject, requiring to be mastered by

the novice and always at hand for the consultation of the augurs themselves. Many of these tablets have been preserved, and it is to them that we owe our knowledge of this important department of Babylonian religion.

The text of an omen-tablet consists of short sentences, each of which generally occupies one line of the tablet.

32. Omen-tablets. The construction of the sentence is invariably the same and may be rendered by the following formula: 'when (or if) so and so is the case, such and such an event will happen.' There are, therefore, two ways in which we may classify an omen—either by its protasis or its apodosis.

Regarded from the latter point of view, all omens may be roughly divided into those that relate to public affairs and those that relate to the fortunes of an individual. Thus certain occurrences may be looked upon as foretelling the death of the king or the future condition of the country, whether there will be a plentiful harvest or a famine, whether there will be war or peace, and, if war, in what quarter it may be expected. Those which relate to private affairs, on the other hand, concern themselves with the health, sickness, or death of a man or of his wife or child, or foretell the stability or destruction of his house. Some few tablets indeed relate to special classes, such as those which foretell accidents that may happen to women during pregnancy; but in the majority of omen-texts the apodosis is couched in general terms and the same phrases regularly recur. In fact, the events foretold are not very many, and may generally be classed under the headings of death and life, sickness and health, famine and plenty, war and peace; the predictions are cast in a vague form, and details, such as the place or manner of a man's death, are but rarely specified. In the protasis, on the other hand, we find an almost bewildering variety of subjects, which admit, however, of a rough classification. What is perhaps the largest section centres round the phenomena of human birth, the predictions being based on the manner of delivery and on the appearance of the child; and not only were miscarriages and the births of monstrosities regarded as of peculiar import, but variations in the appearance of normal offspring also formed the basis of prediction.

Important parts of the body of a newly-born child are dealt with independently, and to have grouped correctly the significance of every part must have required a long course of training and study of the tablets. The state of the eyes or the hair, the position and size of the ears, mouth, hands and feet, the resemblance of the face to that of certain animals, were all carefully considered. The parturition of animals also was made a special study, the appearance of the offspring of lions, oxen, horses, and other animals, the colour of their hair and the number and position of their limbs, being regarded as significant. Omens were drawn from the appearance of the various parts of the body of an adult, male or female, especially in sickness, such as the state and colour of the eyes, the ears, and the hair, the state of the heart, the lungs, the buttocks, and other members of the body, the resemblance of the head to that of a bird or beast, the condition of the urine, etc.; and with a view to predictions, studies were also made of the actions of a man, such as that of eating, and certain other of his natural functions. Another large class of omens were drawn from the appearance of animals, such as the colour of the horns of oxen and the direction in which they curve, while the actions of certain animals (pigs, horses, etc.) were likewise studied. If a man is walking and wishes to know the future he must note the direction in which an animal moves round him, and he must note if a lion, or a hyena, or a bird crosses his path. If he sees a snake at the entrance of a gate or at the doors of a temple, or dogs and calves as he is going out of a door, he must visit the augur for an interpretation. The appearance of animals, snakes, or scorpions in a man's house, or in a palace or a temple, was of significance, while the sting of a scorpion was a warning of dire events, different results following from stings on different toes. The appearance and flight of birds were exhaustively treated, and a man was wise if he did not disregard the flappings of a bird's wing and did not fail to observe the direction in which it flew should it flutter round his head. Another class of omens laid stress on the locality of certain events; those occurring in cities and streets received a treatment different from that of occurrences in the fields and open country. Predictions were made from the state of a house, its walls, etc., and even from the state of the furniture which it contained. The time of the events or observations was in some instances considered important, and in these cases the month and day were specially noted.

As omens were taken from so many common objects and occurrences, it was natural that dreams and visions

33. Dreams should be regarded as indications of future prosperity or misfortune, and that the objects or animals a man might behold in a dream had each a different signification. Thus, if he beheld in his dream certain people, or seemed to be fighting with a relation, such as his father or grandfather, the visions had a special meaning, while the fact that the person he fought with was alive or dead at the time was also of importance; apparitions of spectres and demons in a house were indicative of the future. In the majority of omens the conditions on which they were based were chance occurrences and events; it was, however, possible to obtain information as to the future by artificial means, such as by observing the entrails of victims, by kindling fire on an altar and noting the direction in which the smoke rose, or by observing the flickering of the flame of a lamp.

With omens it is difficult to say how far the facts on which the predictions were based were merely signs of

34. Astrology. prosperity or misfortune which would come in any case, and how far they were regarded as in themselves the actual cause of such prosperity or misfortune. In the case of astrological forecasts, however, which are closely connected with the omens, it seems probable that the latter conception preponderated. The astrological phenomena that are mentioned were not merely passive indications of the future, but active forces influencing the lives and fortunes of the individual and the state. The practice of astrology was based principally on observations of the sun and moon and stars, their relative positions at different times, and the various combinations presented by them. Another large body of forecasts was based on eclipses of the sun and moon, the results varying with the time of the eclipse, the appearance of the sun and moon during the eclipse, and the direction in which the shadow travels. Forecasts were based also on the appearance of meteors and shooting stars, on observations of lightning, clouds, and rain, on the direction of the wind, on the various directions in which a cloud may travel, and on the colour and shape of clouds and their resemblance to animals, fishes, ships, etc. As in the case of the omen tablets, the Babylonians possessed a great body of astrological literature; observations and forecasts in course of time were collected, grouped, and classified; and large works upon the subject were copied out on consecutive tablets for the training and use of the astrologers. Many tablets belonging to these larger works have come down to us; there are also preserved in the British Museum small oblong tablets containing the answers of astrologers who had been consulted as to the future, as well as their reports on recent astrological observations and the interpretation to be set on them.

Around the figures of their gods the Babylonians wove tales and legends, which, originating in remote antiquity,

35. Mythology. were handed down through countless generations, being added to and modified by the hands through which they passed. They were collected and arranged during the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history, and it is in these comparatively recent forms that they are preserved in the literature that has come down to us. It is true that the tablets containing the legends of Adapa and of the goddess Eriskigal were found at Tell el-Amarna and date from the fifteenth century B.C.; but not one of the tablets containing the other legends is earlier than the seventh century B.C. The antiquity of the legends themselves, however, is amply attested by the divergent forms which in some cases the same legend assumes, as related on different tablets belonging to the later Assyrian and Babylonian periods, or referred to in the works of classical writers. An additional interest attaches to two sections of the legendary literature of Babylon from their close resemblance to the narrative of the early part of

Genesis, relating to the creation and the deluge. Whether we are to trace the ultimate origin of both the Babylonian and the Hebrew versions of these legends to the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia need not concern us here. The contents of these legends and their relation to the Hebrew narratives will also be more conveniently treated elsewhere (see CREATION, DELUGE, CAVEITES, ENCHIL, NOAH). The legends of the creation and the epic of Gilgamesh are certainly the most famous portions of Babylonian mythology; but they form only a part of the legends and beliefs that were current in the various cities of Babylonia. Even those which have come down to us on the tablets present a great variety of subject and treatment.

Ištar's descent into Hades is one of the best preserved of these legends. It contains a description of the lower world, and records how at each of the gates that lead thereto the goddess is stripped of a portion of her apparel until she enters naked into the realm of Allatu, and how she is detained there but is eventually brought back to earth to put an end to the troubles of men and animals that had followed the departure of the goddess of love. The Plague-god was a prominent figure in Babylonian mythology, the legends describing in detail the ravages he caused among the cities of the land. Two other legends may be mentioned briefly: that of the Zū's theft of the destiny-tablets, and the legend of Adapa and the South-wind. In the former, Zū is recorded to have fled with the tablets to his mountain, and, although the other gods would not venture against him, he was eventually captured by Samaš the Sun-god in his net. The legend of Adapa relates how Adapa, the son of Ea, was fishing one day in the sea for his father's household when the South-wind blew and ducked him under; how in anger he caught the South-wind, and broke her wings; and how he came to heaven into the presence of Anu, who summoned him thither on noticing that the South-wind had ceased to blow. In

36. Legends. many of the legends animals and birds endowed with thought and speech are introduced: as in the legend of Etana's flight to heaven with the eagle, the legend of the Eagle, the Serpent and the Sun-god, the legend of the Fox, the legend of the Horse and the Ox, and the legend of the Calf. Not only do gods, heroes, and animals figure in the mythology of Babylonia, but also ancient kings, whose actual existence is attested by the remains of their buildings and inscriptions, were raised to the level of heroes or demi-gods in the popular imagination, and their names became centres round which in the course of ages legends have clustered. The most famous of these is the legend¹ of the birth of Sargon of Agadé, who is said to have been of lowly origin; his father he knew not, and his mother set him floating on the Euphrates in a chest of reeds smeared with bitumen; but Akki the irrigator rescued him, and while he was serving as gardener to his benefactor, the goddess Ištar loved him. Eventually she invested him with the rule of the kingdom. Narām-Sin the son of Sargon, Dungi king of Ur, Nebuchadrezzar I., and other ancient kings, figure in the legendary literature.

The data available for the settlement of Babylonian chronology vary for each of the three periods (see below, § 40) into which the history of the country may be divided. In the first period a single date has been fixed for us by a reference in one of the cylinders of Nabonidus, from which we infer that Sargon I. lived about 3750 B.C. When Nabonidus states² that 3200 years have elapsed since Sargon laid down an inscription which he himself found, he is naturally giving only an approximate estimate of the period during which it had lain buried. There is no reason, however, for doubting the general accuracy of the statement; for the Babylonians were careful compilers of their records, and Nabonidus

¹ See *KB* 3a. 100 ff.

² *KB* 3b. 104.

had access to sources of information which have not come down to us. This one date, therefore, gives us a fixed point in the early history of the country.

In settling the chronology before and after this point we do not gain much assistance from the list of dynasties preserved from the history of Hērōssus, who places in the earliest period ten kings who ruled before the flood. Similarly a tablet from Kuyunjik containing the names of certain kings, who, it states, ruled after the deluge, is not of assistance, especially as the names it does contain are arranged not chronologically but on a linguistic basis.

In settling the chronology of this period, we have, in fact, to fall back upon the internal and external evidence of date afforded by the archaic inscriptions themselves. (1) The internal evidence consists principally of the royal genealogies contained by the inscriptions, from which the relative dates of the kings so mentioned can be ascertained. Good examples of the use of such evidence are afforded by some of the inscriptions of the kings and patens of Sirjurla: as, for example, by the inscriptions of E-din-gira-naḡin, in which he calls himself the son of Akurgal, and of Akurgal, who styles himself the son of Ur-Ninā; or that of Entena, in which he is called the son of En-anna-tuma and the descendant of Ur-Ninā, or the gate-socket of En-anna-tuma II. from which we learn that Entena was his father; or the circular stone plate containing an inscription of the wife of Nammaghani, in which she is referred to as the daughter of Ur-Bau, proving that Nammaghani succeeded Ur-Bau through his wife's title to the throne. (2) The external evidence afforded by an inscription is obtained partly by a study of the general style of the writing, the forms of the characters, etc.; partly by accurately noting its relative position with regard to other inscriptions near which it may happen to be found, the different depths at which inscriptions are unearthed in some cases giving a rough idea of their comparative ages. It must be admitted, however, that the evidence to be obtained both from palaeography and from systematic excavation is in its nature extremely uncertain and liable to various interpretations. Such evidence is of service when lending its weight to that obtained from other and independent sources; but when it is without such support it cannot be regarded as indicating more than a general probability.

For the chronology of the second period we have the genealogies to be obtained from the historical inscriptions, as well as the chronological notices which occur in some of them. From the latter source, for example, we gather that Burna-Buriaš lived some 700 years after Hammurabi,¹ that Šagašalti-Buriaš lived about 800 years before Nabonidus,² and that Marduk-nādin-aḡē defeated Tiglath-pileser I. 418 years before Sennacherib conquered Babylon³ (cp ASSYRIA, § 20). Our principal source of information, however, lies in the chronological documents of the Babylonians themselves.

(1) One of the most important of these is the 'List of Kings,' a list of the names of the kings of Babylon from about 2400 to 625 B.C., in which the kings are divided into dynasties, the length of each reign and the total length of each dynasty being added;⁴ a smaller list of kings contains the names of the kings of the first two dynasties.⁵ (2) From the document known as the 'Babylonian Chronicle'⁶ we obtain a record of events in Babylonia and Assyria from the early part of Nabonassar's reign (about 745 B.C.) to 669 B.C., the first year of the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukin, and this information is supplemented by (3) the 'Ptolemaic Canon' (see CHRONOLOGY, § 24 ff.), which also begins with the reign of Nabonassar. The fragment of a second Babylonian chronicle refers to kings of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh dynasties, while part of a third chronicle supplements the narrative

¹ *KB* 3b. 90 ff.

² *KB* 3b. 106 ff.

³ Babylonian inscription.

⁴ *KB* 2. 286 ff., or *RP* 2^o 115 ff.

⁵ *KB* 2. 288 ff., or *RP* 3^o 113 ff.

⁶ *KB* 2. 274 ff., or *RP* 3^o 122 ff.

of the 'Synchronous History' for certain portions of the third dynasty. Finally, (4) the 'Synchronous History'¹ (see ASSYRIA, § 21, beg.) itself connects the history of Babylonia with that of Assyria, with certain breaks, from about 1480 to 810 B.C.

For the third period of the history the succession of the kings is known from the Ptolemaic Canon, which, in addition to the names of the kings, gives the lengths of their respective reigns; and the information so obtained is controlled by the many Babylonian contract tablets which have been found dated according to their regnal years.

The history of Babylonia falls naturally into three main periods. The first period comprises the history of the country from the earliest times down to the consolidation of its various elements into a single empire ruled by Semitic kings with their capital at Babylon. The second period begins with the first dynasty of Babylon, to whose greatest king, Hammurabi, was principally due the consolidation of the Babylonian empire, and extends to the fall of the power of Assyria, whose later kings included Babylonia in their dominions. The third period comprises the history of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

The length of the first period can only be approximately determined, for it reaches back into remote antiquity; the second period deals with the history of some seventeen hundred years, extending from about 2300 to 625 B.C.; the third period is by far the shortest of the three, for it contains the history of an empire which lasted for less than a hundred years, from Nabopolassar's accession to the throne of Babylon in 625 B.C. to the capture of the city by Cyrus, king of Persia, in 538 B.C.

During the first period the name of Babylon is not known. The country is under the successive domination of the more ancient cities of the land until the Semitic element eventually predominates. During the second period Babylon holds her place as the centre of the country in spite of the influx of Kassite and Chaldean tribes and the opposition of Assyria. In the third period the magnificence of Babylon became one of the wonders of the ancient world.

In treating the earliest period of the history of the country we are, to a great extent, groping in the dark. Our principal sources of information are the archaic inscriptions found on many of the sites of the old Babylonian cities, and these have been considerably increased by recent excavations. In order, then, to understand clearly the problems they present, it will be necessary to proceed gradually from the points that may be regarded as definitely fixed into the regions where conjecture still holds her own. As the earliest date that can be regarded as settled is that of Sargon I., it necessarily forms the basis or starting-point from which to reconstruct the history of the period.

Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, on a clay cylinder found at Abu-Habbah records the fact that while restoring the temple of the Sun-god in that city he came upon the foundation-stone of Narâm-Sin, the son of Sargon, which for 3200 years no king that went before him had seen. As the cylinder of Nabonidus was inscribed about the year 550 B.C., we conclude that Narâm-Sin lived about 3750 B.C., and Sargon his father about 3800 B.C.

During the French expedition to Mesopotamia (1851-1854) Oppert found in Babylon an alabaster vase inscribed in archaic characters with the name of Narâm-Sin, to which was added the title 'king of the four quarters.' The vase, which was lost in the waters of the Tigris on 23rd May 1855, formed the only remains of this king that were recovered until the American expedition in 1888.

¹ *KB* 1 194 ff.

Of Sargon, however, two inscriptions were known; the one on the cylinder in the possession of M. de Clerq, the other on a mace-head in the British Museum. Some doubt was thrown on the identification of this king with the Sargon of Nabonidus; for, whilst the name of the latter was written Sargina, that of the former was Sargani-sar-ali. Such an abbreviation, however, was not unusual in the names of many of the early kings, and the identity of the two names is now put beyond a doubt by the discovery at Nippur of inscriptions of Sargani-sar-ali in the same stratum which held bricks stamped with the name of Narâm-Sin.

That the empire over which Sargon ruled was extensive is attested by the legends that at a later period gathered round his name (see above, § 36). His name and that of Narâm-Sin occur in an astrological tablet,¹ in which expeditions against Phœnicia, Elam, etc., made by these two kings during certain lunar phases and astrological conditions, are recounted; and, although it would be rash to regard such statements as historical on the authority of this tablet alone, they at least bear witness to the permanent hold which the name of Sargon had attained in the popular imagination. In a cylinder² of Nabonidus found at Mukayyar (Ur) the title 'king of Babylon' is ascribed to both Sargon and Narâm-Sin; but it is probable that the city of Agadê, not Babylon, formed the centre of their empire, as 'king of Agadê' is the title by which Sargon invariably describes himself. The site of this city has not been identified; but it is probably to be sought in Northern Babylonia.

Both Sargon and Narâm-Sin were Semites, and the extent of their empire shows the progress which the Semitic invaders were making towards the final subjugation of the country.

The name of another king who was probably of Semitic origin is Uru-ur-uš, possibly to be read as Alušaršid, and from the fact that his inscriptions were found at Nippur near those of Sargon, which they closely resemble in character, it may be assumed that he belonged to about the same period. His name has been found on alabaster vases which he dedicated and placed in the great temple of Bel at Nippur; the vases, he states, formed part of the spoil captured on a successful expedition against Elam and Barasê to the E. of Babylonia. Moreover, Maništusu, whose name occurs on a mace-head preserved in the British Museum, must also be assigned to about the same period.

In addition to the empire established by Sargon, there is not lacking evidence of the existence at this time of other Semitic kings and principalities. The inhabitants of Lulubi spoke a Semitic dialect, as is evinced by the inscription engraved on the face of the rock at Ser-i-pul, a place on the frontier between Kurdistan and Turkey. The inscription accompanies and explains a relief representing the goddess Nini granting victory over his foes to Anu-bânini, king of Lulubi, and from the archaic forms of the characters the work must be assigned to a period not later than that of Sargon. It is also probable that the inhabitants of Guti, a district to the NE. of Babylonia, were Semites; for an archaic inscription of a king of Guti, which was found at Sippar, is written in Semitic Babylonian. This, we may assume, was carried to Sippar as spoil from the land of Guti, though it is also possible that the stone containing the inscription was a gift of the king of Guti to the temple at Sippar, the inscription being composed, not in the king's own language, but in the Semitic dialect of Sippar.

Still, whilst a few of the inscriptions of this early period are undoubtedly Semitic and may be adduced as evidence of the first settlements of the Semites in Babylonia, the majority of the inscriptions that have come down to us are written in a non-Semitic tongue (to which the late Sir H. Rawlinson gave the name Accadian), now generally known as Sumerian.³ These inscriptions

¹ *KB* 3 a 102 ff.

² *KB* 3 b 34 j.

³ For many years a controversy has raged around the character, and even the existence, of this language. The theory put forward by Halévy that Sumerian was not a

have been found in the mounds which mark the sites of the ancient cities of the land, and were the work of the previous inhabitants of the country whom the invading Semites eventually displaced. One of the most important of their ancient cities is to-day represented by the mounds known as Telloh, situated to the N. of Mukayyar and E. of Warka, on the E. bank of the Satt-el-Hai. These mounds mark the site of a city called by the kings and governors who ruled there Sirpurla, but known at a later time as Lagash. The excavations that were begun on this site by De Sarzec in 1877 have resulted in a rich harvest of inscriptions on statues, cylinders, cones, tablets, bricks, etc., from which it is possible to trace the history of the city throughout a long period. Its earlier rulers called themselves 'kings,' the later ones bearing the title of *patesi*, which is equivalent to the Assyrian *išakku*. The word *patesi*, whilst implying that the ruler is the representative of the national god, indicates the possession of a power less supreme than that attaching to the word *lugal* (Sem. *šarru*), 'king,' and it has been ingeniously suggested that the change in title was in consequence of an actual change in the fortunes of the city, the rule of the *patesis* being held to mark the subjection of their city to another power. The manner in which the succession of the various kings and *patesis* was determined has been already referred to (see above, § 37); the following is a brief description of their history based on those results.

The oldest king of Sirpurla known to us is in all probability Urukagina. After an interval, the length of which is unknown, we find Ur-Ninā on the throne; and, as he gives no mention to his father nor grandfather, the title of king, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he was the originator of a new dynasty, a dynasty that we can trace through several generations. Ur-Ninā was succeeded by his son Akurgal, who bore both the titles, king and *patesi*, and it was not until the reign of E-dingira-nagin, Akurgal's son and successor, that the title *patesi* appears to have ousted that of king permanently. It is during the reign of E-dingira-nagin, however, that we find the first record of any extensive military operations undertaken by the inhabitants of Sirpurla. To his reign belongs the famous stele of vultures, carved to commemorate his victory over the city the name of which is provisionally read as Isban. E-dingira-nagin was succeeded by his brother En-anna-tuma I., whose son Entena and grandson En-anna-tuma II. continued the succession. After a second interval comes Ur-Iau, from whom the throne passes through his daughter to his son-in-law Nammaghani. After a third but shorter interval there followed Gudea, who conducted a successful campaign against Elam, but, like his predecessors, devoted most of his energies to building operations. He was succeeded by his son Ur-Ningirsu; and finally there must be placed a second Akurgal, and either before or after him Lūkani, whose son Ghalalama may possibly have succeeded him on the throne.

The monumental inscriptions of these old kings and *patesis* of Sirpurla are, with the exception of one of Ur-Iau and several of Gudea, comparatively short, and are generally concerned with the erection of buildings and temples in the city, an object to which both kings and *patesis* without exception devoted themselves.

The thousands of clay tablets, however, which have been discovered dating from this period, the high point of development attained in their sculpture and carving in relief, the elaborate but solid construction of their temples and palaces, are all evidence of a highly developed civilisation; and the question at once arises as to what date must be assigned for the rise of the kingdom of Sirpurla. Additional interest is lent to the way in which this question may be answered by the fact that even the earliest inscriptions and carvings that language but merely a cabalistic method of writing invented by the Semitic Babylonians themselves was for years stoutly defended by its adherents; it has now, however, given way before the results of recent excavations. The thousands of archaic tablets found at Telloh and elsewhere are written entirely in Sumerian by a people who both in their inscriptions and in their art exhibit no traces of Semitic origin. The existence of Sumerian as the language of these early inhabitants of Babylonia is now generally admitted. See also below, § 71 (teml).

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have been discovered cannot have been the work of a barbarous race, but demand the assumption that at least one thousand years, during which they gradually attained their high level of civilisation and culture, had passed.

It will be obvious that, as the date of Sargon I. is already fixed, the simplest way of answering the question and of assigning a date to the earlier kings of Sirpurla is to determine the relation in which they stood to Sargon I. Until recently it was impossible to come to any definite conclusion, though it was generally held that the archaic forms of characters on the inscriptions of the kings of Sirpurla favoured the theory which assigned to them an early date. The excavations at Nippur, however, have now yielded sufficient data to justify a more conclusive answer.

In the same stratum as the inscriptions of Sargon and Aluārsid, and not far from them, was found a fragment of a vase inscribed with the name of Entena, *patesi* of Sirpurla, who is said to have presented the vase to En-lilla or Bel, the god of Nippur. It would be rash to conclude from this fact alone that Entena was the contemporary of Sargon I., though it may be held to indicate that approximately the same date may be assigned to Sargon and the earlier *patesis* of Sirpurla. Excavations, however, were subsequently extended below the level at which the records of Sargon had been found, and traces of a still more ancient civilisation were disclosed. An altar with a small enclosure or curb around it, two immense vases of clay standing at short intervals from each other, probably on an inclined plane leading up to the altar, and a massive building with an ancient arch, were the principal architectural remains discovered. However, there were also found inscriptions which, though occurring at a higher level and mixed with the inscriptions of Sargon, are probably to be assigned to a pre-Sargonic period. As the majority of these are broken into small fragments, it is not unlikely that they were intentionally broken and scattered by some subsequent invader of the country. Gate-sockets and blocks of diorite, however, were not broken, and so were made use of by subsequent kings. Thus both Sargon I. and Bur-Sin II. used for their own inscriptions the blocks which already bore the rough inscription of Lugal-kigub-nidudu, one of the kings of this early period. The characters in these early inscriptions, especially on the vases of Lugal-zaggisi, the most powerful of these early kings, bear a striking resemblance to those employed in the inscriptions of the earliest kings of Sirpurla (Urukagina, Ur-Ninā, and E-dingira-nagin), sharing with them certain peculiarities of form which are not met with elsewhere. The conclusion that they date from about the same period is, therefore, not unwarranted; and, as this period must be placed before Sargon I., we are justified in assigning to Urukagina a date not later than 4000 B.C.

To trace in detail the history of the predecessors of Sargon I., whose existence was not suspected until the lowest strata beneath the temple of Ekur at Nippur had been sifted, is a task that requires some ingenuity. Our only source of information is afforded by the fragmentary inscriptions themselves; but, as many of these are duplicates, it is possible to reconstruct their original text. The earliest rulers of Babylonia, such as En-sag-sagana, are found in conflict with the city of Kiš, and spoil from Kiš was from time to time placed as an offering in the temple at Nippur. Sometimes Kiš was victorious, and then the king of Kiš, as in the case of Ur-Sulpaudu, made a presentation to the temple at Nippur in his own behalf. The ultimate superiority of Kiš, however, was assured by its alliance with the powerful city of Isban; for Lugal-zaggisi, son of Ukuš, *patesi* of Isban, on coming to the throne, extended his sway over the whole of Babylonia. He has left us a record of his achievements in a long inscription carved

47. Before Sargon.

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on more than a hundred vases, which he deposited in Nippur. Though he especially favoured his own city of Isban, Erech was probably his capital, while Ur, Larsa, and Nippur were important centres. Lugal-zaggisi's empire did not long survive him, and the lead in Babylonian politics passed to the city of Širpurla. E-dingira-nagin's conquest of Isban, however, was not followed up by his successors on the throne; and the hegemony passed once more to the north, this time to Sargon of Agadé, who laid all Babylonia under his sway, the rulers of Širpurla exchanging the title of king for that of patesi in consequence of their subjection to him. Such may be taken as a general sketch of the course of Babylonian history up to the time of Sargon I.

It is impossible to say to what race or nationality Lugal-zaggisi and the earlier kings belonged, though we may mention the theory of Hilprecht, who sees in their successes against the cities of Babylonia the earliest Semitic invasions of the country; regarding Kiš as their first military outpost, and Isban, which he is probably wrong in identifying with Harrān, as their military base. Another patesi of Isban who may be placed in this early period is Mul-Babbar (in Semitic, Amel-Samaš), whose inscription on three clay cones is preserved in the British Museum.

After the fall of Sargon's empire, the first city that appears to have gained a considerable supremacy throughout Babylonia is Ur. Under Lugal-

48. Ur. *circa 2400.* Ur had already risen to some importance; but the city had been included in Sargon's kingdom, and it was not until nearly a thousand years after his death that it again recovered its position. Only two of her kings at this later period are known to us, Ur-gur and Dungi. In addition to their title 'king of Ur,' both style themselves kings of Sumer and Akkad, a title implying that many cities throughout both southern and northern Babylonia had tendered their submission and acknowledged allegiance to them. The monuments themselves bear witness that this title was no empty boast, but had its foundation in a real supremacy.

A seal cylinder in the British Museum bears a dedication to Ur-gur, 'the mighty hero, king of Ur,' by a patesi of the city of Iškun-Sin, 'his servant,' while there is evidence that the later patesi of Širpurla were subject to Ur, the Louvre possessing a fragment of a statue dedicated to the goddess Bau by Ghala-lama, 'son of Lukani, patesi of Širpurla,' for the life of Dungi, 'the mighty king, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad'; an inscription with a similar purpose of the time of Ur-Ningirsu, Gudea's son and successor, is preserved in the British Museum. That Ur-gur was a great builder is attested by the many short inscriptions on bricks recovered from the ruins of the buildings which he either founded or restored. From these we gather that he built the great temple of the Moon-god in Ur, while in Erech he erected a temple to Nini, the goddess Ištar. On a brick from a tomb discovered by Loftus at Senkereh, the ancient Larsa, is recorded the fact that Ur-gur built a temple to the Sun-god there, and bricks found at Nippur record his rebuilding of the great temple of E-kur in that city. Excavations at the latter place show that this temple was larger than any of its predecessors; buildings that had been standing since the time of Narām-Sin he raised on the ground in order to erect his huge platform of sun-dried bricks in the NW. corner of which he built a huge zikkurratu (temple tower) of at least three stories. Ur-gur thus appears to have erected or rebuilt temples in most of the principal cities of Babylonia; in his zeal for religion, however, he did not neglect to strengthen his own capital, for we have evidence that he erected, or at any rate rebuilt, the city-wall of Ur. His son and successor Dungi, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters, carried on the work of temple-building to which his father had devoted himself, and restored the temple of Ištar in Erech. An interesting clay tablet in the British Museum contains a copy of an old inscription that once stood in a temple at Cuthah. The copy was made in the later Babylonian period by a scribe named Bel-uballit, and the archaic inscription, which his care had rescued from oblivion, records the erection by Dungi of a temple to the god Nergal in the city of Cuthah.

With Dungi our knowledge of the city of Ur and its supremacy comes to an end for a time. Whether **49. Isin.** Dungi's successors retained for long their hold over the rest of Babylonia, or speedily sank into dependence to some other city, we have no means of telling. When we once more

come across inscriptions we see that the lead in Sumer and Akkad has passed into the hands of the kings of Isin.

At present we possess inscriptions of four kings of Isin: Ur-Ninib, Libit-Ištar, Bur-Sin I., and Išme-Dagan. In the case of each of them, before their chief title 'king of *circa 2500.* Isin' is given special mention is made of Nippur, Ur, Erida, and Erech as being under their sway. The order in which these cities are mentioned is significant. The fact that Nippur heads the list proves that Ur sank greatly in importance after the days when she held the lead in Sumer and Akkad. A fifth king of Isin, named Išbirigra, is known to us; the only evidence of his existence, however, is the occurrence of his name and title on a fragment of a clay tablet in the British Museum. The rule in Babylonia now passes once more to the city of Ur, which regains its old supremacy. Išme-Dagan was the last king of Isin who retained the title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' and held together the confederation of Babylonian cities which that name implies; we find his son erecting a temple for the life of Gungunu, king of Ur, *circa 2400.*

50. 2nd Dyn. of Ur. *circa 2400.* Under Gungunu began the second dynasty of Ur, to which the kings Bur-Sin II., Ine-Sin, and Gāmil-Sin belong. The many inscriptions on clay tablets that have been recovered, dated in the reigns of these three kings, testify to the great commercial prosperity of Babylonia at this time. The rise of the city of Larsa followed

51. Larsa. the second dynasty of Ur. The kings of the former city held Ur in dependency, and appear to have extended their rule still farther afield, for they assume also the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad.' The two principal kings of Larsa were Nūr-Rammān and his son Sin-iddina. *circa 2300.* Both erected temples in Ur, and the latter founded a temple to the Sun-god in his capital. Sin-iddina also, after meeting with success in the field, turned his attention to the internal improvement of his territory. He rebuilt on a larger scale the wall of Larsa, and by cutting a canal obtained for that city a constant supply of water.

Sin-iddina does not mention the name of the enemy his victory over whom he records. It has been sug-

52. Elam. gested, however, with great probability, that it was Elam whom he repulsed. This

must have been the period of the Elamite invasion to which Ašur-bāni-pal refers. On taking the city of Susa, about 650 B.C., Ašur-bāni-pal relates that he recovered the image of the goddess Nānā, which the Elamite Kudur-Nānūndi had carried off from Erech 1635 years before—i.e., about 2285 B.C. Though Sin-iddina repulsed the Elamites, he did not check them for long. A few years later we find them under the leadership of Kudur-Mabug, son of Simti-šilhak, again invading Babylonia. This time they met with more success and obtained a permanent footing in the south. Kudur-Mabug was not king of Elam. He styles himself 'prince of the Western land': that is to say, he was ruler of the tract of land lying on the W. frontier of Elam. From this position he invaded the country, and, having established himself as king of S. Babylonia, he erected a temple in Ur to the Moon-god in gratitude for his success. His son, Rim-aku, succeeded him and attempted to consolidate his kingdom, restoring and rebuilding Ur and extending his influence over Erech, Larsa, and other cities; his usual titles were 'exalter of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad.' It is a period of much interest for the biblical student (see CHEBORIAOMER).

During the second dynasty of Ur the city of Babylon had enjoyed a position of independence, with her own

53. Babylon. kings and system of government; but her influence does not appear to have extended beyond the limits of the city. It was not until the reign of Hammu-rabi, the contemporary of Sin-iddina and Rim-Aku, that she attained the position of importance in Babylonia which she held without interruption for nearly two thousand years. The dynasty to which Hammu-rabi belongs was called by the native historians the 'Dynasty of Babylon,' and, as far as we at present know, forms the limit to which *circa 2400.* they traced back the existence, or at any rate the independence, of their city.

The dynasty was founded about 2400 B.C. by Sumu-abi, who was succeeded by Sumula-ilu and Zabum his son. It is possible that Zabum had a usurper, Imnura, attempted to ascend the throne; but his rule cannot have been for long, as scribes of contract tablets do not give him the title of king, and his name is omitted from the list of kings of Dynasty I., Zabum's

Babylonia by marrying his daughter Muballitat-šerria to a king of Babylonia, who bore the name of Kara-indāš; and when his grandson, Kara-hardāš, the son of Kara-indāš, succeeded to the throne of Babylon, the relations between the two countries were still more cordial. The Kassite troops, however, possibly jealous of Assyrian influence, slew Kara-hardāš and set

the usurper Nazi-bugaš on the throne. The death *circa* 1400. of Kara-hardāš led to the invasion of Babylonia by Āšur-uballit, who avenged his grandson by slaying Nazi-bugaš, and putting Kurigalzu II., a son of Burna-Buriāš, the former king of Babylon, in his place. Kurigalzu II. was ambitious to extend the boundaries of his kingdom, and with this view he undertook a campaign against Elam, the capital of which he conquered and sacked, as we learn from an inscription on an agate tablet which was found at Nippur. On undertaking hostilities against Assyria, however, he was defeated by Bēl-nirari, and was forced to accept the terms offered

circa 1380. by the latter with regard to the boundary between the two kingdoms. The next defeat by the Assyrians which the Babylonians sustained was in the reign of Nazi-maruttāš, the son of Kurigalzu II., when Rammān-nirari inflicted a signal defeat on the Babylonian forces and extended the Assyrian boundary still farther southward. Kadašman-Turgu, whose name was also written Kadašman-Bēl, the son of Nazi-maruttāš, succeeded his father on the throne, and was in turn succeeded by his son, whose name, occurring in a broken inscription from Nippur, may probably be restored [Kadašman]-Buriāš. The Babylonian List of Kings furnishes the names of the last kings of the dynasty. Of Is-am-me- . . .

-ti we know nothing, and of Saġašali-Suriāš only the fact that he dedicated an object to Bēl and placed it in the temple at Nippur. Saġašali-Suriāš was succeeded by his son Bīlē, and the names of the next three occupants of the throne are Bēl-šum-iddina, Kadašman-Harbe, and Rammān-šum-iddina. We do not know the relations between Babylonia and Assyria during the early part of this period; but it is probable that the last three kings acknowledged their suzerainty to Tukulti-Ninib, king of Assyria, to whom Rammān-nirari III. ascribed the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' invaded Babylonia, captured Babylon, and for seven years maintained his hold upon the country. On the death of Rammān-šum-iddina, however, the Babylonian nobles placed his son Rammān-šum-usur on the throne, and, proclaiming him king, threw off the Assyrian yoke.

Subsequently, during the reign of Rammān-šum-usur, the Assyrians suffered a crushing defeat; *circa* 1210. their king, Bēl-kudur-usur, was slain in the battle; and although Rammān-šum-usur, on following up his victory by an invasion of Assyria, was repulsed by Ninib-pal-Ēšara, he recovered a considerable portion of Babylonian territory. During the reigns of Meli-šihu, and of his son, Marduk-pal-iddina, the Assyrians made no attempt to wipe out the reverse they had sustained. On the accession of Zamama-šum-iddina, however, *circa* 1155. Āšur-dān crossed the frontier and recaptured several Babylonian cities. Zamama-šum-iddina reigned only one year, and was succeeded by Bēl-šum-iddina II., the last king of the Kassite dynasty. Under this king the country suffered attacks from Elam, and the discontent and misery which followed the defeats sustained by the Babylonians brought about the fall of the dynasty.

The fourth dynasty is called the dynasty of Pašē; who its founder was we do not know, though an early **58. 4th Dyn.** place in it must be assigned to Nebuchad-
(Pašē). rezza I. In one of the two monuments that we possess of this king he styles himself 'the Sun of his land, who makes his people prosperous, the protector of boundaries'; and it is certain that to a great extent he restored the fallen fortunes of the kingdom. He successfully prosecuted campaigns against Elam on the east, he conquered the Lulubi on the north, and even marched victoriously *circa* 1130. into Syria. Against Assyria, however, he did not meet with similar success.

On Nebuchadrezzar's crossing the frontier, Āšur-rēš-iši, king of Assyria, marched against him, and Nebuchadrezzar, who was not then prepared to meet an army of the Assyrians, burnt what engines of war he had with him, in order to facilitate his retreat. He soon returned with reinforcements; but Āšur-rēš-iši, who had also strengthened his army, defeated him, plundered his camp, and carried off forty of his chariots. A king who reigned early in the dynasty and may possibly have succeeded Nebuchadrezzar is Bēl-nadin-aplu, whose name is known from a 'boundary stone' dated in the fourth year of his reign. Under Marduk-nadin-āpē Assyria and Babylonia were again in conflict. It is probable that this king enjoyed a temporary success against Tiglath-pileser I., during which he carried off from the city of *circa* 1110. Ekallati the images of the gods Rammān and Sala which are mentioned by Sennacherib in his inscription on the rock at Bavian. This campaign is not mentioned in the 'Synchronic History,' though in the beginning of the account of the campaign this mentioned, which ended disastrously for Babylonia, the two kings, it is said, set their chariots in battle array 'a second time' (see ASSYRIA, § 25). This second cam-

paign consisted of a series of successes for Tiglath-pileser, who, after defeating Marduk-nadin-āpē in Akkad, captured Babylon itself and other important cities in the northern half of the kingdom. Āšur-bēl-kala, Tiglath-pileser's successor on the throne of Assyria, changed his father's policy and formed treaties with the Babylonian king Marduk-šāpik-zēr-mīti.¹ On this king's death Rammān-aplu-iddina, a man of obscure origin, was raised to the throne of Babylon, and Āšur-bēl-kala, in pursuance of his policy, allied himself to the new king by a marriage with his daughter. Only the beginnings of the names borne by the last three kings of the dynasty are preserved in the List of Kings.

The fifth dynasty was called the dynasty of the 'Sea-land,' and was a short one, consisting of only three kings, Simmaš-šihu, Ea-mukin-zēr, and Kassu-nadin-āhi. It is not improbable

59. 5th Dyn.
(Sea). that the Chaldean tribes, who are not actually mentioned in the inscriptions be-
circa 1050. fore the time of Āšur-nāsir-pal and Shalmaneser II., were even at this early period making their influence felt, overrunning southern Babylonia and spreading themselves throughout the country; and the fact that at a later time we find them especially connected with the district termed the 'Sea-land' in S. Babylonia lends colour to the suggestion that the dynasty of the Sea-land was of Chaldean origin.

Of the three kings of the dynasty Ea-mukin-zēr reigned but a few months; the other two kings, who occupied the throne for longer periods, are mentioned by Nabū-aplu-iddina in connection with the fortunes of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar. At the time of Simmaš-šihu this temple was in ruins in consequence of the troubles and disturbances in Akkad, the powerful tribes of the Sutu having previously invaded the country, laying the temple in ruins and breaking up the sculptures. Simmaš-šihu partially restored the structure of the temple, and placed it in charge of a priest for whose regular office he appointed regular offerings. In the violent death of Simmaš-šihu, of which we learn from the fragment of a Babylonian Chronicle, and in the shortness of the reign of Ea-mukin-zēr, we may probably see additional indications of the disturbed state of the country at this time. Under Kaššu-nadin-āhi the general distress was increased by a famine, in consequence of which the regular offerings for the temple of Samaš at Sippar were suspended.

The first king of the sixth dynasty was E-ulbar-šākin-šum, and on his accession to the throne E-kur-šum-ušābi, the priest whom Simmaš-šihu had placed in charge of the temple at Sippar, complained to the king that the offerings had ceased. On hearing the state of the temple's resources E-ulbar-šākin-šum increased the regular offerings and endowed the temple with certain property situated in Babylon. The sixth dynasty consisted of only three kings, E-ulbar-šākin-šum being succeeded by Ninib-kudurri-usur and Silānim-šukamuna; it was termed the dynasty of the House of Bazi, and each of the three kings on a fragment of a chronicle is termed a 'son of Bazi.'

From this point onwards for nearly a hundred years there is a gap in our knowledge of Babylonian history.

After the dynasty of the House of Bazi an **61. Gap.** Elamite occupied the throne for six years; *circa* 1005. but his name is not known, nor are the circumstances that attended his accession. He did not perpetuate his hold upon the country; for on his death the rule again passed to native Babylonians, the kings of the eighth dynasty, which was the second to bear the title 'the dynasty of Babylon.'

The names of the early kings of the dynasty are not preserved, though Sibir, a Babylonian king whom Āšur-nāsir-pal mentions as having destroyed a city which he himself rebuilt, is probably to be placed in this period. The first king of this dynasty of whose reign details are known is Šamaš-mudammik, who suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Rammān-nirari II., king of Assyria. Against Nabū-šum-iškun, his successor on the throne, Rammān-nirari scored another victory, several Babylonian cities falling into his hands, though we subsequently find him on good terms with Assyria and allying himself to Nabū-šum-iškun, or possibly his successor, each monarch marrying the other's daughter.

62. 8th Dyn.
(Babylon). *circa* 900. Nabū-aplu-iddina is the next king who is known to have ruled in Babylon, and, though he aided the people of Suhi against Āšur-nāsir-pal, his relations with Shalmaneser II. were of a friendly nature. He is the king who restored and endowed so richly the temple of Samaš at Sippar, digging the ruins of former times. He will be found the ancient image of the god. He restored and redecored the shrine, and with much ceremony established the ritual and offerings for the god, placing them under the direction of Nabū-nadin-šum, the

circa 880. ¹ The name has also been read Marduk-šāpik-kullat.

circa 880. ¹ The name has also been read Marduk-šāpik-kullat.

circa 880. ¹ The name has also been read Marduk-šāpik-kullat.

circa 880. ¹ The name has also been read Marduk-šāpik-kullat.

circa 880. ¹ The name has also been read Marduk-šāpik-kullat.

son of the former priest E-kur-šum-ušabši. Marduk-šum-iddina succeeded his father on the throne; but his brother *circa* 850. Marduk-bēl-ušai headed a revolt against him, and compelled him to call in the aid of Shalmaneser of Assyria, who defeated the rebels and restored the land to order. Shalmaneser's son and successor, Šamsi-Ramman II., was not on the same terms of friendship with Babylonia. He directed an expedition against that country and plundered many cities before meeting with serious opposition. Marduk-balaṭu-šibi, the Babylonian king, had meanwhile collected his forces, which included bands from Elam, Chaldea, and other districts; and the two armies met near the city of Dūr-Papsukal. Marduk-balaṭu-šibi was totally defeated: 5000 of his troops were slain; 2000 more were captured; and rich booty, including 100 chariots of war, fell into the hands of the Assyrians. Rammān-nirari III., the successor of Šamsi-Rammān, also subjugated a considerable portion of Babylonia, carrying away to Assyria Bau-ah-iddina, the Babylonian king, together with the treasures of his palace.

Here the record of the "Synchronic History" ceases, and there follows another gap, of about fifty years, in our knowledge of the history of the country.

The next king of Babylon whose name is known is Nabū-šum-iškun—the first name which occurs after the break in the List of Kings. His successor was Nabu-nassar, the Nabonassar of the Ptolemaic Canon; and with this

63. Nabonassar.

king our knowledge of the Babylonian succession becomes fuller, as, in addition to the evidence afforded by the List of Kings, the information contained in the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon becomes available. In the third year of Nabonassar's reign, Tiglath-pileser III. ascended the throne of Assyria; and one of his first acts was an invasion of Babylonia, during which he overran the northern districts and captured several cities, carrying away many of their inhabitants. The distress in the country due to the inroads of the Assyrians was aggravated during this reign by internal dissension: Sippar repudiated Nabonassar's authority, and the revolt was subdued only after a siege of the city.

The Babylonian Chronicle tells us that after a reign of fourteen years Nabonassar died in his palace at Babylon, and was succeeded by his son Nadinu, in

733. Nadios of the Ptolemaic Canon, who is to be identified with Nabū-nādin-zēr of the list of kings. The eighth dynasty ended with the country in confusion. Nabū-nādin-zēr, after a reign of only two years, was slain in a revolt by his son Nabū-šum-ukin or Sum-ukin,

731. who had hitherto held the position of governor of a province. After his accession the dynasty soon came to an end. He had not enjoyed his position for more than a month when the kingdom again changed hands and Ukin-zēr ascended the throne.

From the fall of the eighth dynasty until the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire Babylonia was overshadowed

64. Assyrian suzerainty.

by the power of Assyria, the kings of the latter country frequently ruling both at Nineveh and at Babylon. Ukin-zēr had reigned only three years when Tiglath-pileser again invaded Babylonia, took him captive, and ascended the throne of Babylon, where he ruled under the name of

Pulu (see TIGLATH-PILESER). On his death, 729. which occurred two years later, he was succeeded in Assyria by Shalmaneser IV., who, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, also succeeded him on the throne of Babylon, though in the List of Kings Pulu is succeeded

by Ululai. The two accounts can be reconciled by the supposition that Ululai was the name assumed by Shalmaneser as king of Babylon (see SHALMANESER). Shalmaneser died after a reign of

five years, and, while Sargon held the throne, Merodach-baladan, a Chaldean from southern Babylonia, freed Babylonia for a time from Assyrian control. He

sided with Ummanigāš, king of Elam, in his struggle with Assyria; but ten years later was himself captured by Sargon after being besieged in the city of Ikbi-Bēl (see MERODACH-BALADAN, SARGON).

Sargon then ascended the throne of Babylonia, which he held until his death in 705.

According to the Ptolemaic Canon, the next two years were a period of interregnum, though the List of Kings assigns the throne to Sennacherib. However this may be, we know that in 703 Marduk-zākīr-šum proclaimed himself king; but he had reigned for only one month when he was murdered by Merodach-baladan,

703. who had escaped from Assyria. Merodach-baladan thus once more found himself king in Babylon; but Sennacherib marched against him, defeated him, and caused him to seek safety by hiding himself in the Babylonian swamps. After plundering Babylon and the neighbouring cities, Sennacherib returned to

Assyria, leaving the kingdom in the charge of Bēl-ibni, a young native Babylonian who had been brought up at the Assyrian court. On the death of Merodach-baladan, shortly afterwards, a rising

headed by Suzub, another Chaldean, brought Sennacherib again into the country. Bēl-ibni also must have displeased the king; for, after defeating Suzub, Sennacherib carried Bēl-ibni and his nobles to Assyria,

leaving his own son Ašur-nādin-šum upon the throne. Sennacherib next planned an expedition

against the Chaldeans whom Merodach-baladan had settled at Nagitu, on the Elamite shore of the Persian Gulf, whence they were able in safety to foment insurrections and plan revolt. Sennacherib, determined to stamp out this disaffection, transported his troops in ships across the Persian Gulf. Disembarking at the mouth of the Euleus, they routed the Chaldeans and their allies, and returned with much booty and many captives to the Babylonian coast. Meanwhile Suzub, who had previously escaped Sennacherib's pursuit, collected his forces and with the help of Elam captured Babylon and placed himself upon the throne.

He is to be identified with the Nergal-ušēzib of the Babylonian Chronicle and the List of Kings. He, however, ruled for only one year. Sennacherib, on his return from the Persian Gulf, defeated his army and sent him in chains to Nineveh. Turning his forces against Elam, he plundered a considerable

portion of the country, and was stopped in his advance into the interior only by the setting in of winter. In his absence a rebel bearing the name of Suzub—the Mušēzib-Marduk of the Chronicle

and the List of Kings—seized the throne of Babylon. Allying his forces with those of Elam, he attempted to oppose Sennacherib in the field; but the combined armies were defeated at Halule. Next year Sennacherib returned to Babylonia, captured the city of Babylon, and deported Mušēzib-Marduk and his

family to Assyria. According to the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon, there now

occurred a second interregnum, though the List of Kings credits Sennacherib with the control of Babylonia. On Sennacherib's murder in 681 his son Esarhaddon

was proclaimed king of Assyria. He succeeded to the rule of Babylonia also, though a son of

Merodach-baladan made an attempt to gain the throne. He came to Babylon and personally superintended the

restoration of the city, rebuilding the temples and the walls, and placing new images in the shrines of the gods. During his reign Babylon enjoyed a season of

unusual prosperity, and was free from the internal feuds and dissensions from which she had been suffering.

On Esarhaddon's death the throne of Babylon passed to his son Šamaš-šum-ukin, his elder son, Ašur-

bāni-pal, having already been installed on the Assyrian throne during his father's lifetime. For some

years the two brothers were on friendly terms, and when Urtaku and the Elamites, with the aid of some discontented Babylonian chiefs, invaded the country, Ašur-

bāni-pal assisted his brother in repelling their attack. During all this time Šamaš-šum-ukin acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria and acquiesced in his brother's

active control of the internal affairs of both kingdoms.

At length, however, he wearied of this state of dependence, and seizing an opportunity, organised a general rising against Assyria among the neighbouring tribes and nations who had hitherto owned her supremacy. He bought the support of Ummanigâs, king of Elam, contracted an alliance with Arabia, and at the same time enlisted the services of smaller chiefs. Though one half of the Arabian army was defeated by the Assyrians, the other half effected a junction with the Elamites. This powerful combination, however, was neutralised by the revolt of Tammariu, the son of Ummanigâs, the king of Elam. In fact, the dissensions in the Elamite camp proved of great service to Ašur-bāni-pal, who completely crushed the confederation that Sanaš-šum-ukin had brought against him (see AŠUR-BANI-PAL, § 7). Sanaš-šum-ukin himself was besieged in Babylon, and, on the capture of the city, he set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. According to the List of Kings, he was succeeded by Kandalanu, the

647. Kineladanos of the Ptolemaic Canon; but this king is probably to be identified with Ašur-bāni-pal himself, who, on this supposition, like Tiglath-pileser III. and Sbalmaneser IV., ruled Assyria and Babylonia under different names. The last years of his reign are wrapped in obscurity; but on his death the throne was secured by Nabopolassar, who was destined to raise the fortunes of his country and to found an empire, which, though it lasted for less than one hundred years, eclipsed by its magnificence any previous period in the varied history of the nation. Nabopolassar, in fact, was the founder of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

During the early part of Nabopolassar's reign Ašur-bāni-pal's successors on the throne of Assyria did not relinquish their hold upon the southern kingdom. They retained their authority for some time over a great part of the country (see ASSYRIA, § 33*f.*). Though we do not possess historical documents relating to this period, we may conclude that Nabopolassar during all these years was strengthening his kingdom and seeking any opportunity of freeing at least a part of it from the Assyrian yoke, and it is not improbable that conflicts between the Assyrian and Babylonian forces were constantly occurring. Towards the end of his reign he found the opportunity for which he was waiting in the invasion of Assyria by the Medes. He allied himself with the invaders by marrying Nebuchadrezzar, his eldest son, to the daughter of Cyaxares, and on the fall of Nineveh had a share in the partition of the kingdom. While N. Assyria and her subject provinces on the N. and NW. fell to the Medes, S. Assyria and the remaining provinces of the empire were added to the territory of Babylon.

Before Nabopolassar could regard these acquisitions of territory as secure, he had first to reckon with the power of Egypt. Necho II., the son and successor of Psammetichus I., soon after his accession to the throne had set himself to accomplish the conquest of Syria. In 608, therefore, he had crossed the frontier of Egypt and begun his march northwards along the Mediterranean coast. Vainly opposed by JOSIAH (*q.v.*), he pressed forward and subdued the whole tract of country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. For three years he retained his hold on Syria, and it was only after the fall of Nineveh that Nabopolassar successfully disputed his possession of the country. Nabopolassar did not himself head the expedition against the Egyptians, for he was now old; but he placed the troops under the command of Nebuchadrezzar his son. The two armies met at Carchemish, where a decisive battle took place. Necho was utterly defeated; thousands of his troops were slain; and Nebuchadrezzar pressed after his flying army up to the very borders of Egypt.

While Nebuchadrezzar was still absent on this expedition Nabopolassar died. His son, therefore, returned to Babylon and was duly installed as king in his

stead. It is probable that during the early part of his reign Nebuchadrezzar consolidated his rule in Syria and on the Mediterranean coast by yearly expeditions in those regions.

66. **Nebuchadrezzar.** After a few years, however, the country showed signs of repudiating Babylonian control. Nebuchadrezzar returned to the coast to suppress the rising. For some years things remained quiet; but soon after the accession of Apries (see EGYPT, § 69) to the throne of Egypt the ferment revived. After a siege of a year and a half Jerusalem fell (see JERUSALEM).

Tyre, the siege of which also Nebuchadrezzar undertook, held out for thirteen years, 585-572 (see PHœNICIA). Built on an island, it was practically impregnable from the land, while the blockade instituted by the Babylonians did not prevent the entry of supplies by water. More successful were Nebuchadrezzar's campaigns against Egypt. We do not possess his own account of them; but an Egyptian inscription records that on one of them (undertaken against Apries) he forced his way through the country as far as Syênê, the modern Aswân, on the borders of Ethiopia; and it is not improbable that the country was subject to Babylonia during the first few years of the reign of Amasis II., who succeeded Apries on the Egyptian throne (see EGYPT, § 69). Nebuchadrezzar's hold upon Egypt cannot, however, have been permanent; a fragment of one of his own inscriptions mentions his sending an expedition to Egypt in his thirty-seventh year.

During his reign the relations between Babylonia and Media were of a friendly nature, as was not unnatural from the close alliance that had been established between the two kingdoms before the fall of Nineveh. In a war between Media and Lydia, some twenty years later, the Babylonians did not take part; but, when an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of May in the year 585 put an end to a battle between the Lydians and Medes, Nebuchadrezzar, in conjunction with the king of Cilicia, used his influence to reconcile the combatants and bring the war to a close.

While constantly engaged in extending and solidifying his empire, Nebuchadrezzar did not neglect the internal improvement of his kingdom. He rebuilt the cities and temples throughout the country, and in particular devoted himself to the enlargement of Babylon, completing its walls and rebuilding its temples with such magnificence that the city became famous throughout the world (see NEBUCHADREZZAR, BABYLON). Nebuchadrezzar died after reigning forty-three years, and was succeeded by his son Amel-Marduk,

mentioned as *EMEL-MERODACH* (2:23) in 2 K. 25:27 *ff.* Of this king we possess no inscription, though contracts dated in his reign have been found.

67. **His successors.** He was assassinated after a reign of two years in a revolt led by Nerigissar, his brother-in-law, who succeeded him upon the throne (see NERGAL-SHAREZER).

559. His inscriptions that have been recovered are concerned merely with his building operations. He was succeeded by his son Labaši-Marduk, who, after reigning nine months, was murdered by his nobles. Nabu-na'id or Nabonidus, the son of Nabu-balatsu-ikbi, was placed upon the throne.

Nabonidus was a ruler more energetic than his immediate predecessors on the throne. He devoted himself to rebuilding the ancient temples

68. **Nabonidus.** throughout the kingdom, and dug in their foundations until he found the ancient inscriptions of the kings who had first founded or subsequently restored them. In his own inscriptions recording his building operations he recounts his finding of several such inscriptions, and, as he mentions the number of years that had passed since they had been buried by their writers, his evidence with regard to the settlement of Babylonian chronology is invaluable.

Nabonidus, however, in spite of his zeal for rebuilding the temples of the gods, incurred the hatred of the priesthood by his attempt to centralise Babylonian religion. Although the rise of Babylon to the position of the principal city of the land had been reflected in the importance of Marduk in the Babylonian pantheon, the religion of the country had never radically changed its character. It had always remained a body of local worship, each deity retaining his own separate centre of ritual. Nabonidus set himself to centralise all these worships in Babylon. He removed the images of the gods from their shrines in the various cities throughout the country and transported them to the capital. By this act he brought down upon himself the resentment of the priests, who formed the most powerful section of the community, and they, by the support they gave to Cyrus on his capture of Babylon, considerably aided the Persian conquest of the country.

Cyrus, who had previously conquered the Medes, imprisoning Astyages and sacking Ecbatana, next turned his attention to the conquest of Babylonia.

69. Cyrus. The Babylonian army was commanded by Bēl-šar-usur (Belshazzar), the son of Nabonidus; but it did not offer an effective opposition to the Persian forces. After

538 suffering a defeat at Opis on the Tigris, it was broken. Cyrus marched on and entered Sippar without further fighting, and Nabonidus fled. Babylon itself was taken two days later, and Nabonidus fell into the hands of the conqueror (cp CYRUS, § 2).

In restoring order to the country, Cyrus adopted the wise policy of conciliating the conquered. He restored to their shrines the images of the gods which Nabonidus had removed. The popularity he acquired by this act is reflected in the inscription on his cylinder recording his taking of the city, which was probably composed at his orders by the official scribes of Babylon. Although naturally couched in flattering terms, it bears ample witness to the pacific policy of Cyrus, who therein allows himself to be represented as the vindictor and champion of Marduk, the principal deity of his conquered foe:

'He (i.e. Marduk) sought out a righteous prince after his own heart, whom he made ruler by the hand of Cyrus king of Anšan, he called by his name, for empire over the whole world he proclaimed his title. The land of Kūtū, the whole of the tribal horde, he forced into submission at his feet; as for the men whom he had delivered into his hands, with justice and righteousness did he care for them. Marduk the great lord, the protector of his people, beheld his upright deeds and his righteous heart with joy. To his city of Babylon he commanded him to go, he made him take the road to Babylon; like a friend and helper he went by his side. His wide-spreading host, the number of which, like the waters of a river, cannot be numbered, girt with their weapons advanced at his side. Without contest and battle he made him enter into Babylon his city; Babylon he spared from tribulation. Nabonidus, the king that did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, the whole of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors beneath him bowed down, they kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his kingdom, bright was their countenance. To the lord, who through his strength raises the dead to life and from destruction and misery hath spared all, joyfully they paid homage, they revered his name.'

Other passages in the cylinder refer to the zeal displayed by Cyrus for Marduk and the other Babylonian gods.—'When into Babylon I entered favourably, with exultation and shouts of joy in the palace of the princes I took up a lordly dwelling, Marduk the great lord (inclined) the great heart of the sons of Babylon to me and daily do I care for his worship. . . . And the gods of Sumer and Akkad, which Nabonidus had cast away, the gods I brought into Babylon, at the word of Marduk the great lord one and all in their own shrines did I cause to take up the habitation of their heart's delight. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities pray daily before Bēl and Nabū for the lengthening of my days, let them speak the word for my good fortune, and unto Marduk, my lord let them say: "May Cyrus the king that feareth thee and Cambyses his son [have prosperity]."

With the capture of Babylon by Cyrus the history of the Babylonians as an independent nation comes to

70. End. an end. The country never regained her independence, but remained a province subject to the powers which succeeded one another in the rule of W. Asia. Under Cambyses, indeed, and still more under Darius Hystaspis, discontent be-

came very prevalent in Babylonia. Soon after the accession of Darius a certain Nadintu-Hēl put himself at the head of a revolt, declaring himself to be Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. Darius stamped out the rebellion and executed Nadintu-Hēl. A few years later he quelled a second rebellion headed by Arahū, who was captured and crucified, and during the reign of Xerxes a similar rising proved equally unsuccessful. These rebellions were the last struggles of the national spirit to reassert itself. They met with no response among the general body of the people, who were content to serve their foreign masters. Babylonia, in fact, remained subject to the Persians until the conquests of Alexander brought her under Greek control, which she exchanged only for the Parthian supremacy.

(a) For the history of Babylonia, see the works by Tiele, Hommel, Deutsch, and Winckler cited under ASSYRIA. For the early period these histories may be supplemented

71. Bibliography. by reference to the inscriptions which are being published in *L. de Sarrasin, Les découvertes en Chaldée* (1903), in *The Bab. Exped. and the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (1903, 1904), in *Hopwood, and the Museum Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum* (1896, etc.), and in English histories, reference may be made to George Smith's *Babylonia* (S.P.K., 1877) and G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. i. and ii. (1871). In Schr.'s *K.B.*, vol. iii., translations of many of the historical inscriptions of Babylonia are given, while the same author's *COT* describes the principal points in the O.T. which are illustrated by the monuments. For other works dealing with the inscriptions of Babylonia the bibliographies mentioned in the article ASSYRIA (§ 34) may be consulted.

(b) [On the religion of the Babylonians we have as yet only one student's handbook, *Jastrow's Religion of the Ancient and Medieval Ages* (revised by D. G. Lyon, New World, March, 1909). Sayce's *Hilbert Lectures* (for 1887) on the same subject are less systematic. On the cosmology of Babylonia, Jensen's *Kosmologie der Babylonier* is still the most complete authority; but editions of religious texts must be consulted by the advanced student.]

(c) With regard to books for the study of the language, the first dictionary to appear was Norris's *Assyrian Dictionary* (1860-72), which he did not live to complete. In his *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Assyrischen Akkadischen Wörter* (1870), Strassmaier published an immense collection of material, which has been used in subsequent dictionaries, and these may be mentioned. Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* (1882, etc., unfinished), the same author's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (96), Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (1904, etc., in progress), and Meissner's *Synonymicon Assyr. und Akkad.* (1905) (transl. Brinnow's *Assyrian List of Cuneiform Ideographs*, his *RV* (Indices, 1897), contains a full list of ideographs with their values. The best Assyrian grammar is Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gramm.* (1889, transl. by Kennedy).

(d) The existence of the Sumerian language, which for long was disputed, is now generally acknowledged; but a grammar of the language has yet to be written; it should be noted that the views on Sumerian which Delitzsch expressed in his *Assyr. Gramm.* have since completely changed. A list of the Sumerian values of the cuneiform signs is given by Brinnow in his *Classified List*, while Weissbach's *Die sumerische Frage* (98) may be consulted for the history of the controversy.

L. W. K.

BABYLONIANS (בְּבִי בָבֶל; γῆσι Βαβυλωνίῳ [BAQ]), Ez. 23.15 [BA. ON. BAB.], 17. [ON. Q.], 8. s., in Aram. בְּבִי בָבֶל, Βαβυλωνίῳ [BAL.], Ltr. 404, in every case the land, not the city, is referred to: cp especially Ez. 23.15, 'the Babylonians, the land of whose nativity is Chaldea.'

BABYLONISH GARMENT, RV Babylonish Mantle

(מַנְתֵּי שִׁנָּר, lit. 'mantle of Shinar,' so RV^{msc.}), Josh. 7.21. SEE MANTLE.

BACA. VALLEY OF (עֵקֶן הַבְּקָא § 103), or Valley

of Weeping (RV. ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΟΙΛΑΔΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΥΨ ΜΛΩΝΟC [BA*RV], ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΛΑΑ Τ. Κ. [BA*AT], cp Aq. Vg. Pesh.), mentioned only in Ps. 84.6 [7]. For the meaning given above cp the Wady of Weeping (עֵקֶן וָדֵי) found by Burckhardt near Sinai. The name is frequently explained 'balsam vale' (so RV^{msc.}); but cp Cheyne, who reads בְּקָא (cp ע here and at Judg. 25), and supposes a play on the name Bek'im. The pl. בְּקָא occurs in a Sam. 5.22 f. (= 1 Ch. 14.14 f.), apparently

as the name of a spot (see REPHAIM, VALLEY OF) where there were Baca-trees. David took his stand there to wait for Yahwè's signal to attack the Philistines.¹ **Ⓞ** (2 S. 5:24) speaks of it as a 'grove,' meaning an Asherah; there is no mention of trees in **Ⓞ**. On the meaning of Baca trees see MULBERRY.

BACCHIDES (ΒΑΚΧΙΔΗΣ, also ΒΑΙΥΧΙΔΗΣ; ΒΑΡΑΚΥ, [1 Macc. 7:8, A], KAKY, [ib. v. 12, A], ΒΑΚΥΧ, [ib. 9:1, N* A]), the chief general of DEMETRIUS I. [v. v. 1], who was sent to Judaea to enforce the claims of Alcimus to the priesthood (1 Macc. 7:8 ff.). Almost immediately after the death of NICANOR, he was sent again with Alcimus, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Maccabean party at Elasa,² who lost their leader Judas (chap. 9, 161 B.C.). Judasa suffered heavily at the hands of Bacchides; nor did any real advantage accrue when Jonathan took up the leadership (9:32 ff.). The capital and other important strongholds remained in the hands of Bacchides, who was engaged in fortifying them until the death of Alcimus (159 B.C.), when he returned to Demetrius (9:57). At the end of two years the opponents of the Maccabean party (whose hands had become strengthened) agreed to betray Jonathan and his followers to Bacchides. This piece of treachery was discovered and avenged (9:58 ff.). Bacchides set out against Judaea (158 B.C.) and besieged Beth-basi, but met with ill success everywhere, until at last he was only too glad to accept Jonathan's overtures of peace (9:68). The Jewish captives of the former wars were restored, and the Maccabees had rest for four or five years.

BACCHURUS (ΒΑΚΧΟΥΡΟΣ [BA], ΒΑΚΧΟΥΡ [L], ZACCURUS), singer in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, I, § 5, end), 1 Esd. 9:24; but not in || Ezra 10:24 [MT EV Ⓞ^{BA}], though Ⓞ^B adds ΒΑΚΧΟΥΡ.

BACCHUS (*Liber*), the equivalent of the Greek Dionysus (50 RV^{MG}, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ [AV]), is mentioned in 2 Macc. 67, where it is said that on the occasion of the birthday of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) the unhappy Jews were compelled to attend the feast of Bacchus (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ; RV^{MG}, 'feast of Dionysia') wearing the ivy-wreath (*κισσός*), the peculiar emblem of the god. A few years later Nicanor (the general of Demetrius) threatened to pull down the temple and supplant it by one dedicated to Bacchus unless Judas was handed over to him (ib. 14:33, Διωνυσος [A]). The worship of Bacchus seems to have been introduced first by the Ptolemies, of which family he was the patron-god, and according to 3 Macc. 2:29 several years previously the Jews in Alexandria had been branded by Ptolemy Philopator (222-204) with the sign of the ivy; the object of this obviously being forcibly to identify the unwilling Jews with the detested worship of Bacchus. See CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 6. His worship would be specially abhorrent to pious Jews, since one of the greatest of the Dionysian festivals fell in the month Elaphebolion (March-April), thus synchronising closely with the passover. In course of time the Hellenising Jews and Greek residents were more attracted by the cult, and when Jerusalem became a Roman colony (Ælia Capitolina) we find Dionysus with his thyrsus and panther figuring upon the coins as one of the patron gods.³

The worship of Dionysus flourished at Cæsarea, at Damascus, and in the Haurân. He was the special patron of Scythopolis, and from him the town Dionysia (Soada) received its name. Dionysus, however, soon became identified with the Nabatean deity Dusares (the Baal, the god of heaven, and of wine). The

Dionysiac character which the latter presents is not native; it is directly due to the northern influence.¹ The priest of Dionysia (see above) calls himself the priest of Dusares, and on the coins of Bostra the latter appears with the Dionysian emblem of the wine-press. Figures of the vine and wine-cup are still found upon the lintels in many of the villages in the Haurân. Although the worship of Yahwè had little in common with that of Bacchus (*nequaquam congruentibus institutis*, Tacit. Hist. 5:5), classical writers, observing the musical and joyful nature of their ceremonial rites, now and then fell into the error of making Bacchus a Jewish god that had been worshipped by the earliest patriarchs (cp. e.g. Plut. Sympos. 146).

For the various mythological forms of Bacchus, see *Ency. Brit.* (3) s.v. 'Dionysus'; and Roscher, s.v.

BACENOR occurs in an uncertain passage, 2 Macc. 12:35, Διοσθεος δε τις των του βακναρος [VA]. It is doubtful whether it is the name of a captain or the cognomen of a company or division in the army of Judas. See DOSITHEUS.

BACHRITES, THE (בַּחְרִי, Nu. 26:35, Ⓞ^{BA} [v. 39] om. l. See BECHER.

BADGER, ROCK (בִּשְׁמֵן), Lev. 11:5 RV^{MG}; 1 V CONEY.

BADGERS' SKINS, RV SEALSKINS (עֹרֵת תְּחִשִּׁים, עֹרֵת תְּחִשִּׁים, ΔΕΡΜΑΤΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΝΑ [IAOΘIΝA, Aq., Sym., Ezek. 16:16] [BAL]; Ex. 25:5 26:14 35:7:23 36:19 [BAL om.] 39:34 Nu. 4:68 [δερματιω υακινθινω] 10:12 14:25 Ez. 16:10f), are mentioned as the fourth or outermost covering of the tabernacle (next above the 'rams' skins dyed red'), and as outer wrappings for the ark and different vessels of the tabernacle during journeys. In Ezekiel's figurative description of Yahwè's adorning of Israel as a beautiful maiden, shoes of this material are included. As to the meaning of *tahās* there have been many opinions: five chief views may be indicated.

(1) The ancient versions with one consent understood a colour: Ⓞ Syr. Chald. Vg. render 'blue' or 'violet,' Ar. Samar. 'black' or 'dark.' This view, which has been strongly maintained by Bochart, rests, however, on no philological ground, and is refuted by the syntax of the Hebrew words.² Apart from the versions, all Hebrew tradition is in favour of the view that *tahās* is an animal.

(2) In the discussion on this animal in the Talmud (*Shabb. c. 2*, fol. 28) the opinion prevails that it is a species of *תַּלַּא אֵילִין* (prob. = 'ferret'), a description which would roughly suit the badger; and the claim of this animal has been supported (by Ges. and others) by comparison with late Lat. *Taxus* or *taxo* (Ital. *tasso*, Fr. *taison*) and Germ. *Dachs*.³ The common badger, *Meles taxus*, found throughout Europe and Northern Asia, reaches its southernmost limits in Palestine, where it is common in the hilly and woody parts of the country. It is, however, improbable that the reference is to the skins of these animals. They would be difficult to procure either in Egypt or in the desert, and there is no evidence of their being used in those regions for such a purpose.⁴

¹ For the god Dusares (Δουσαρης, on Nab. inscr. 17:17A; see ZDMG 14:465, 41:711, Baethg. Beitr. 92 ff., WRS, *Kins.* 292 ff., and We. Heid. (2) 48 ff. The name means 'possessor (du) of Sarah.' The latter is often taken to be equivalent to 'Sarah,' in which case Dusares is equivalent to Abraham—a hazardous theory.

² תְּחִשִּׁים is obviously gen. after עֹרֵת—i.e., equivalent to עֹרֵת הַתְּחִשִּׁים, not to תְּחִשִּׁים, in the phrase for 'rams' skins dyed red.'

³ Philological explanations involving roots common to the Aryan and Semitic languages are, however, notoriously precarious.

⁴ How little value attaches to the opinion of the Rabbis may be gathered from another view, strongly supported in the Talmud, that the תְּחִשִּׁים was a kind of unicorn which specially appeared to Moses for this purpose, and immediately afterwards disappeared (Bochart, i. 330).

¹ In v. 24 emend וְעָרַת כִּסְיָהּ (συσσεισσος [L] for συσσεισσος [BA]), 'when thou hearest the sound of a stormy wind in the tops of the Baca trees.' It is in the tempest that Yahwè goes out against the Philistines.

² Doubtless an error for ΑΒΑΣΑ.

³ See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 252 f.

(3) A more scientific etymology is that which compares the Ar. *tahās* or *dūhās*, 'a dolphin.' This would indicate a marine animal,—probably (a) the seal (RV text), or (b) the porpoise (RV^{msc}), or (c) the dugong or sea-cow.

(a) has in its favour the adaptability of sealskins to the purposes referred to, the statement of Artemidorus (in Strab. 16.776) that seals abounded in the Red Sea, one island there being called *νήσος φλοκῶν*, and the actual use of a sealskin covering in antiquity to protect buildings, because it was supposed that lightning never struck this material (e.g., Pliny, *HN* 255, Suet. *Oct.* 90). One species of seal, *Monachus albiventer*, undoubtedly occurs in the Mediterranean, and some authorities are of opinion that the same is true of the common seal, *Phoca vitulina*.

(b) The porpoise, like the seal, is as a rule a denizen of the colder waters of the globe; but *Phocaena communis*, the common porpoise of the British coasts, occasionally enters the Mediterranean, whilst the Indian porpoise, *Ph. phocaenoides*, inhabits the shores of the Indian Ocean from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, and may have been captured in the Red Sea.

(c) The Dugong, being more like the dolphin, has the etymology in its favour. According to Knobel (Comm. on Ex. 255) this animal (*Halicore tabernaculi*) 'is found in the Red Sea, attaining a length of 8 to 10 or more feet, is hunted like the whale, and has a skin well adapted for sandals or coverings.' Friedr. Del. sought to strengthen the case for this identification (Prol. to Baer's *Ezek.* p. xvi. f.) by comparison with Ass. *tahšu*, an animal whose skin, according to various Ass. inscriptions, was used to cover the beams of ships in the manner described by Herodotus (1.194). He has since (*Prol.* 77-79 [86]), however, abandoned the view that *tahšu* was the dugong, and supposes it to mean *whaler*.¹ The dugong of the Indian Ocean, with the Manatee of the Atlantic, composes the class Sirenia. They are usually found in the estuaries of large rivers browsing on sea-weed, and they are still actively sought off the coast of Queensland for the sake of their blubber and hide.

(4) Much less probable is the opinion of Böttcher (*Neue Aehrenl.* 32 ff.) that *תַּהֲשׁוּ* is a form of *תַּיִשׁ* (he-goat) with the middle radical hardened; he supposes that goat-skin was manufactured into a kind of morocco leather. It is natural that 'rams' and 'he-goats' should come together as in Gen. 32.15 [14] 2 Ch. 17.11; but apart from this the explanation has little to recommend it.

(5) The latest and perhaps most probable view is that put forward by Bondi (*Aegyptiaca*, 1 ff.), who makes *תַּהֲשׁוּ* a loan-word from Egyptian *thš*, 'Egyptian leather,' and gives a thorough discussion of views. This meaning is especially suitable to Ez. 16.10, but is also appropriate in the other passages.

Of all the explanations those by Ar. *dūhās* or *tahās*, by Ass. *tahšu*, and by Eg. *thš*, most deserve attention.

N. M.—A. E. S.

BAEAN (ΒΑΙΑΝ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 5.4 f. RV; AV BEAN.

BAG. Several of the Hebrew words are much more general in signification than the English 'bag.'—(1) *בֶּקַעַיִם* (Dt. 25.13 Pr. 16.11 Mi. 6.11 Is. 46.6) for holding money, or the weights employed by merchants. In Pr. 11.14 (βαλλάντιον), EV renders PURSE. (2) *תַּבְּשִׁיטִים* (*hārīt*) (cp Ar. *haritatum*, bag of skin, etc., and see Fränk. 296) in 2 K. 5.23 (θύλακος) of Naaman's bag which contained a talent of silver. In Is. 3.22 it is mentioned in the list of women's adornments, and signifies probably a satchel (so RV; AV 'crisping pin'). (3) *קֵלִי* (*kēli*), a word of very general meaning (see VESSEL), 'used of a sack for containing corn (Gen. 42.25 ἀγρῶν) or

¹ Cp Shalmaneser, Monolith inser. ii. 16, *ina elipne ha matāk tahši*, 'on boats of skins of wethers'; so Wi. for good reasons; but see references in Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.* s.v. 'tab-shu-ai'.

of the instruments carried by a shepherd (Zech. 11.15). It is rendered 'bag' only in 1 S. 17.40.49 (AV^{msc} 'vessel'); see SLING. (4) *בִּזְרֵךְ* (*ḥāḥ*, 'bind, cp verb) in 2 K. 12.11 [11], *בִּזְרֵךְ*, 'and they put in bags', Job 14.17 (βαλλάντιον), Pr. 7.30, 27.3, 'a bag with holes' (11.32. 16). It is rendered 'bundle' in 1 S. 25.20 Gen 42.35 (of money) and Cant. 1.13 (of myrrh, RV^{msc} 'bag'). (5) *βαλλάντιον*, Lk. 12.33, RV 'purse'; and (6) *γλωσσόκομος* (Jn. 12.6.18.29, RV^{msc} 'box'). See BOX, 3.

BAGO (ΒΑΓΟ [Λ]), 1 Esd. 8.40 = Ezra 8.14, BIGVAI, 3.

BAGOAS (from Pers. *bagā*, 'God'; see Ed. Meyer, *Ent.* 157; cp Bigvai, Bigtha, Abagtha, a eunuch in the household of Holofernes; Judith 12.11 ff. (Βαγωαδ [BAΓ]); in 1.3.3 Βαγωαδ [AV]).

BAGOI (ΒΑΓΟΙ [Λ]), 1 Esd. 5.14 = Ezra 2.2, BIGVAI, 2.

BAGPIPE (RV^{msc} of *בַּנְיֹנִי* Dan. 3.5.10 [10], *בַּנְיֹנִי*, Kr. 'בַּנְיֹנִי', Gr. *κύμαφώνια*, EV 'dulcimeter'). The Aramaic word is from *ḥanūphā*, a late Gr. word, used, curiously enough, by Ptolemy in his account of the festivities in which Antiochus Epiphanes (who is so frequently alluded to in Daniel) indulged (xxvi. 105 xxxi. 4); see DANIEL, § 71. For the form of the Aramaic *בַּנְיֹנִי*, *בַּנְיֹנִי*, *בַּנְיֹנִי*, in the Fiscal Inscription from Palmyra, 137 A. D. *nos. 3, II.* 14.43). See MUSIC, § 40.

BAHARUMITE, THE (בַּהַרְמִי, 1 Ch. 11.33; 0 ΒΕΡΒΑΡΜΙ [B. N.], 0 ΒΕΡΒΕΙΝ [B. N.], 0 ΒΑΡΒΑΜΑΙ [Λ], 0 ΒΑΡΒΑΜΑΙ [L]), evidently a scribe's error for the Bahurimite"—i.e., 'the man of BAHURIM (בַּהַרְמִי)'. The same reading should be restored in 2 S. 23.31. See BAHURIMITE.

BAHURIM (בַּהַרְמִי, בַּהַרְמִי; Βαυρημ [A], 2 S. 3.10 Βαυρημ [B], - [L]; 16.5 Βαυρημ [B], χερρα [L]; 17.1 Βαυρημ [B], Βαυρημ [L]; 19.16 Βαυρημ [B], χερρα [L]; 1 K. 2.36 Βαυρημ [B], Βαυρημ [A], Βαυρημ [L], *בַּהַרְמִי*, vii. 9.7), a place in Benjamin (2 S. 19.16 [17]), not included in the list of Benjaminite towns, which appears prominently in two very interesting narratives—that of the return of MICHAEL to David, and that of the flight of David from Absalom. Michael had been given by David's angry father-in-law to Palti (q.v.) or Paltiel of Gallim, and David in his returning prosperity demanded her back. Followed by her weeping husband, Michael went from Gallim¹ to Bahurim. There Abner commanded Paltiel to return. It may naturally be asked, Why was Bahurim selected as the scene of this leave-taking? The answer is furnished by the story of David's flight. It is clear from 2 S. 16.5 (cp 17.24) that Bahurim lay near the road from Jerusalem to the Jordan valley. Abner would have to take this road on his return to Mahanaim, and would naturally wait at Bahurim until he knew for certain that a visit to Hebron would be acceptable to the king. Meantime the envoys of David conducted Michael to Hebron. Later it was David's turn to pass by Bahurim, when he sought the Jordan valley as a fugitive (2 S. 15.28). At Bahurim he would apparently have made his first halt had not the insults of SHIMEI compelled him to go farther² (2 S. 16.5-14). It was at Bahurim also that Jonathan and Ahimaz lay hid in a well, when pursued by the servants of Absalom (2 S. 17.18). The spot which best answers the topographical conditions is (as Barclay was the first to see) SE. of the village of *el-'Isāwīyeh* (see LAISHAH). Here, to the S. of the old Roman road, van Kasteren found in the upper *Wādī er-Rawābī* a ruin without a name, which he believes to be on the site of Bahurim (ZDPV 13.101 ff.). For a less probable view, fully discussed by van Kasteren, see Marti, ZDPV 38 ff.

T. K. C.

¹ Sir G. Grove (Smith's *DB*) thinks this may be doubtful. The rendering of *בַּהַרְמִי*, however, in 2 S. 3.15 (וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־מִיכָאֵל) suggests that the verse originally closed with *בַּהַרְמִי*, 'from Gallim.' That Palti was Iahbosheth at Mahanaim seems very improbable.

² The name of the village where he 'refreshed himself' (2 S. 16.14) seems to have dropped out. See AVEPHIM.

BAITERUS

BAITERUS (ΒΑΙΤΗΡΟΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:17 RV, AV METEPIRUS; see GIBBAR.

BAJITH, RV BAVITH (בַּיִתְיָהּ, 'the temple'; text of 6 differs), is taken in EV of Is. 15:2 as the name of a place, the article being neglected (cp AIN, 2). It is perhaps more defensible to render the stichus containing the word thus: 'They go up to the temple, Dibon (goes up) to the high places to weep' (so Ges. and formerly Che.). The temple referred to might be the Beth-bamoth of the inscription of Mesha (l. 26; cp BAMOTH-BAAL). In בַּיִתְיָהּ, however, are so easily confounded (see, e.g., Is. 10:32 Kt.) that it is still better to read בַּת־דִּבּוֹן, 'the daughter (= people) of Dibon is gone up,' with Dahm and Cheyne (SBOT).

BAKBAKKAR (בַּקְבָּקָר) form strange, probably corrupt; BAKAP [B], BAKB. [AL]; Pesh. has בַּקְבָּרִי, which in 2v. 8:12, etc. = Heb. בַּקְבָּרִי, Jeroham), a Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [d], § 15 [1 a], 1 Ch. 9:15; not in || Neh. 11:16, but perhaps transposed to v. 17 (where MT and G¹ read BAKBAKKAR [7.7.], though G² omits. 6¹ βουκκακας).

BAKBUK (בַּקְבֻּק), §§ 38, 71, 'pitcher'; but see below; BAKBOYK [AL]. The b'ne Bakkūk, a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 6, 1 Esd. 2:31, 3:20, 4:11, 5:11, 7:21; Neh. 7:53, 8:14; EV, ACUB). The name can hardly be Hebrew. It may be corrupted from Assy. Ḥabbaḳka, a plant name (see HABAKKUK). T. K. C.

BAKBUKIAH (בַּקְבֻּקִיָּהּ) § 38, 'pitcher of Yahwè'? [or else = Bakkuk, 7, being probably a simple affirmative HEBREW; JHL 13:127]. cp BAKBUK; BAKBAKIAK [8.6.10. sup. L], BN²A om.), one of the Nethinim; a singer in list of Levite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [d], § 15 [1 a], and cp Herzel, 105), Neh. 11:17 (BOKYEIAC [L]; omitted in || Ch. 9:16 before Obadiah = Abda of Neh.); and porter in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6 b, § 11, and Herzel, 110), Neh. 12:25. In Neh. 11:17, of the three persons named, Mattaniah is a 'son' of Asaph, and Abda is a 'son' of Jehuthan. It is plausible, therefore, to take Bakkukiah to be the same name as בַּקְבֻּק (cp 6¹) and identify with BUKKIAH [7.7.], one of the sons of Heman. The three great guilds of temple-singers will then be represented.

BAKEMEATS. In his dream Pharaoh's chief baker carried on his head 'three baskets of white bread'

1. Baking. (כֵּלֵי חֵיִן), Gen. 40:16—so RV and most modern scholars; AV 'three white baskets'), in the uppermost of which were 'all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh,' literally, as we read in the margin of AV, 'meat [food] of Pharaoh, the work of a baker' (40:17). The best commentary on these verses is the representation of the royal bakery on the tomb of Ramses III. at Thebes, which has been reproduced by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.*, 1878, 1:176), and more recently by Erman (*Anc. Eg.*, 1911). The process of making the ordinary household supply is described under BREAD; here it is proposed to bring together the scattered notices in Scripture regarding other products of the baker's skill. In this connection, it is interesting to note the remarkable variety of shapes assumed by the bread and pastry in the representation referred to. Additional varieties are collected by Erman from other sources and represented on the same page. How far the Hebrew court bakers (1 S. 8:13) were able to imitate those of Egypt we do not know.

There is certainly no lack of names for different species of bakemeats in the OT; but it is now impossible to

2. Cakes. identify them (cp BREAD). Thus we can only conjecture, although with a fair amount of certainty, that the cake named *kikkār* (כִּקָּר, AV 1 Cp AKKAR, 2. It is possible, however, that BA omits the name (L has βακκα), since ακουφ, etc. may be a duplicate of ΗΑΚΥΡΗ (7.2).

BAKEMEATS

'morsel,' RV 'loaf'), 1 S. 2:36, must have been round, like a Scottish 'bannock'; which, from the context, must hold good also of the barley-cake (צֶלֶת) of Gideon's dream (Judg. 7:13). The *nikkādīm* (נִקְדִּים, possibly from נָקַד, to prick) may have been thin cakes pricked over like a modern biscuit, or dotted over with the seeds of some condiment (see below). They were part of the present which the wife of Jeroboam I. took to the prophet Ahijah (1 K. 14:3), and are rendered by EV cracknels, for which the American revisers prefer to read 'cakes.'¹ Still, judging from etymology, we may consider the *hallā* (חֲלָה), the cake which so frequently occurs in the sacrificial ritual, as having been perforated (חָלַהּ, to pierce) like a modern Passover cake. It was made of the finest flour (חֲלָה), Mention is made of another kind of sacrificial cakes, apparently of foreign origin, which the women of Jerusalem kneaded and baked in connection with the idolatrous worship of the 'QUEEN OF HEAVEN' (7.7.1; Jer. 7:18 44:10). 6¹ merely transliterates the Heb. word (חֲלָה, χαλωνας [8.2.10]; χαλωνας [N²], χαλωνας [Q²] in Jer. 44:10), and the exegetical tradition varies. That these *kaḥōnīm* were some kind of bakemeats is clear from the kneading of the dough in their preparation (7:18). It is generally thought that they may have resembled the *selēnai* (σεληναί), cakes shaped like the full moon, which were offered in Athens to Artemis, the moon-goddess, at the time of full moon (see especially Kue's essay 'De melcheth des hemels,' translated in Bu.'s edition of his *Gesammelte Abh.* 208, and the comm. of Graf and Giesebrecht *in loc.*). A similar custom is said to have prevailed in the worship of the Arabic goddess Al-'Uzza (We. *Ar. Heid.*⁽¹⁾ 38 f., 2nd ed. 41 f.).

With regard to what may be called the pastry of the Hebrews, all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that a more delicate relish was imparted to 3. Pastry. the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats in three ways. (1) The dough was baked in olive oil. Thus the taste of the manna is said in one passage (Nu. 11:8 [E]) to be like the taste of 'cakes baked with oil' (RV^{mg.}, חֲפֵי חֲמֵץ), generally understood of some dainty cooked in oil (but EV 'like the taste of fresh oil'). (2) The dough was prepared by being mixed with oil and then fired. This mode of preparation was extensively used in the ritual of P: see, for example, Lev. 24 ff., where a distinction is made between cakes 'mingled' (בְּחֵיִן—see below in BDB *Lex.*) with oil' and cakes merely 'anointed (מְשֻׁמֵּם) with oil.' (3) In the passage parallel to that quoted above (1), viz., Ex. 16:31 [P], the taste of the manna is likened to 'wafers (כִּבְכָק, for which see BREAD) made with honey.' From this passage, from the prohibition of honey in the ritual (Lev. 2:11), and from the post-biblical use of the verbal stem כִּבַּח (DB³), we learn that honey (*d'bas*)—no doubt both the product of the bee and the artificial grape-syrup (the modern *dibs*; see HONEY)—was used in the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats. 6¹ in both the passages discussed (Nu. 11:8 Ex. 16:31) renders by *εγκυπλι*, according to Athenæus (in Di. on Ex. 16:31) denoted 'a bakemeat made with oil and honey.' Saadia's word here is *kaṭṣ'ipā* (*pastilli dulciarii*), a species of confection still made in Syria. Landberg (*Proverbes et Dictons*, 125) defines it as 'a flaky paste (*pâtisserie feuilletée*) made with walnut and sugar and, in spring, with cream.'² Some sort of dainty confection is evidently intended by the obscure *ḥibibōth* (חִבְבוֹת; 2 S. 13:6 8:10; EV 'cakes') which Tamar baked for Amnon.³ If the etymology

1 For Josh. 9:5, the only other passage where נִקְדִּים occurs (EV 'mouldy'), see Di. *in loc.*

2 The curious in these matters are referred to Landberg's book for a detailed list of modern Arab confections, 123-128; cp Wetz. *ZDMG* 11:57 f.

3 On the reading in v. 9 see COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 (i.)

from בָּרֵךְ (heart) were more secure, we might conclude that the tit-bit in question was heart-shaped.

In Ex. 27:17 we find among the trade-products of Tyre a substance called *pannag* (פַּנָּאָג) which, according to the Targum, was a 'kind of confection'; so RV^{mg.} The meaning is quite uncertain, and probably the text is corrupt (Co. would read וַחַרְוֹ , wax; see PANNAG). For the frequently mentioned פֶּתִיחַ or grape-cake, see FRUIT, § 5; and for the use of condiments in baking, see FOOD and SPICES.

A. R. S. K.

BAKING. See BREAD, § 2; OVEN.

BAKING PAN (כִּיּוּן־בָּרֵךְ), Lev. 25:79. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 7.

BALAAM (בְּלַעַם ; etymology uncertain; Winckler's Bel-am [*GZ*] seems improbable; cp perhaps Bal-lum-e (CAB. Tab.) and see BILEAM, BELLA, NIGOLAITANS; BALAAAM [H.M.]; Joseph. ΒΑΛΑΑΜΟΣ), b. Beor; a soothsayer or prophet

whom BALAK, king of Moab, made anxious by Israel's victory over the Amorites, summoned to curse his enemies. Instead of doing so, Balaam bore himself as the prophetic mouthpiece of Yahwē, whom he acknowledged as his God (Nu. 22:18), and by the spirit of Elohim (24:2) foretold the future glory of Israel. No wonder that a prophet of Judah, writing probably in the dark and idolatrous days of Manasseh, recalled the history of Balaam, when he would remind his ungrateful countrymen of Yahwē's 'beneficent deeds' (Mic. 6:5). Balaam's character has long been regarded as an enigma, and from Bishop Butler's time onwards many subtle solutions have been offered. The enigma, however, is mainly produced by the combination of two traditions belonging to different periods, and it is the duty of the critic to distinguish, as far as possible, the two traditions which, though one in spirit, present a palpable difference in details.

According to J, Balak, king of Moab, dismayed by the number of his new and unwelcome neighbours, called Balaam from the land of the b'nē Ammon² to curse Israel. Balaam protested that he could not, for all the royal treasure, go beyond Yahwē's word; but he saddled his ass and set out.³ On the road, the angel of Yahwē, invisible to Balaam, but visible to the beast he rode, stopped his way with a drawn sword. Yahwē endowed the ass with speech, and at last opened the prophet's eyes to the apparition, and, had it not been for the fear which held the animal back, Balaam would have paid for his rashness with his life. Still, he received permission to go, and was only warned to report Yahwē's oracle faithfully. The Elohist has no occasion for these marvels. In his account, Balaam, who is an Aramaean of PETHOR (*q.v.*) on the Euphrates (or perhaps rather a N. Arabian of Rehoboth by the river of Musri), did not yield to Balak's repeated solicitations till God (Elohim) appeared in a dream and told him to go with the Moabite ambassadors.

From this point it is not possible to separate the E and J documents with full confidence. In what follows we have four great prophecies concerning Israel's future, besides three short oracles on the destruction of the Amalekites, the Kenites, and the Assyrians. Probably the first two of the four great prophecies come to us in their present form from the hand of the Elohist,⁴

¹ The word 'confection' here used in the RV^{mg.} refers everywhere else in E^v to perfumes or spices (Ex. 30:35, RV 'perfume'; 1 Ch. 9:20, AV 'ointment', RV 'confection'; Eccles. 38:8); cp the 'confectionaries' or perfume-compounders of r. S. 8:13.

² 22:26; read בְּנֵי־אֲמֹן with Di. after Sam. Pesh. Vg., and some Heb. MSS. For a third view, however, see PETHOR.

³ Nu. 22:19-22 belongs to E. The reason why Balaam went is not told in the extant portions of J.

⁴ The Elohist account of the prophecies must, however, have made some reference to Moab, and must, therefore, have contained more than is now given in chap. 23.

while the last two are derived from the narrative of the Yahwist.

Balaam prepares for his work rather after the fashion of a sorcerer than in accordance with the spiritual ideas of Hebrew prophecy. In order to influ-

2. Oracles
1 and 2 [E] ence Elohim, he directs Balak to offer sacrifices of special solemnity¹ (seven altars, seven oxen, seven rams; cp BEER-SHEBA). Bamoth-baal, the scene of the sacrifices, was no ordinary 'high place,' but (probably) one of those high hills where huge dolmens still suggest primeval communing with God, and, as we learn, it commanded a view of at least 'the utmost part' of the Israelitish encampment. This was important, for a curse must be uttered in sight of those upon whom it is to fall (cp 23:13 a). When Balaam returns to Balak and his princes after meeting God, he can but break forth into jubilant praise of Israel. Curse it he cannot. The people has a destiny of its own which parts it from the surrounding nations. The Israelite hosts N. of Arnon are the token of a mightier multitude unborn. All individual desire loses itself in the sense of Israel's greatness. Happy is he who dies in Jeshurun, and, dying, knows that his people is immortal! In vain Balak changes the seer's place of outlook. As Balaam beholds all Israel from the top of PISGAH,² he receives a divine oracle which confirms and transcends the former blessing. God, says Balaam, is not a man; he does not change his mind. Nor can trouble touch Israel, for Yahwē himself reigns in their midst; and the people (if we may trust the reading³) greet this divine king with exultant shout. With the strength of a wild-ox, they fling their foes to the ground. No magical arts avail in Israel's case: even now all has been decided, and one can but cry 'What has God done!' Like a lion, Israel rises up to devour the prey.

Again sacrificial rites are performed, and again Balaam has to disappoint the king (see PETHOR). The third

3. Oracles
3 and 4 [J] prophecy (J), together with some striking parallels to the second⁴ has characteristics of its own. The poet still dwells on the numbers and prowess of Israel, but adds a panegyric of its well-watered and fruitful land, and surprises us by a definite mention of the kingly power as distinct from the reign of Yahwē. The king of Israel is described as raised even above AGAG (*q.v.*). Still more definite is the fourth prophecy. The seer beholds in spirit the rise of David, and chaunts the victories which are to crush Moab and subdue Edom.

The basis of the story of Balaam is evidently a patriotic legend, which, as we now have it, presupposes a comparatively advanced historical period.

4. Origin
of story. It is true, the story of the ass, which comes to us from the angel invisible to man, and speaks (Nu. 22:22-34; cp 2 Pe. 2:16), has a highly primitive flavour.⁵ Still, this story, though welded with some psychological skill into the surrounding narrative, is a decoration derived from folklore, and the narrative as a whole is designed to accentuate the uselessness of jealous and rebellious feelings in the Ammonitish and Edomitish neighbours of Israel. Ammon and Edom

¹ It is Balak, not Balaam, who sacrifices; 'Balak and Balaam' in Nu. 23:22 evidently be omitted (as in B.M.B.).

² This is certainly E's meaning in Nu. 23:12. The second part of v. 13, which limits Balaam's range of vision to 'the utmost part of the people,' must be due to a redactor. Its object is to harmonise v. 13a [E] with 24:2 [J], which tells us that Balaam is now taking his first complete view of the people of Israel. In reality, however, v. 13b destroys the progress which E intended from 22:4 to 23:13. Since a limited view of Israel had not resulted in the utterance of a curse, Balak deemed it necessary to try the effect of the wider outlook from Pisgah.

³ Cheyne, however, reads וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ , and 'the glory of the king is among them.'

⁴ It is doubtful, however, whether Nu. 23:22-23 is not a Yahwistic fragment (see Bacon, *Triple Tradition*, 228, and cp Di.'s note). According to Cheyne, וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ occurs both in vs. 21 d and in v. 22 b.

⁵ Cp the Babylonian beast-stories, the speaking horse in Hom. *Il.* 19:404, and the speaking serpent in Genesis.

were older as nations; but Israel alone had secured permanent foothold W. of Jordan, and for a time reduced the oldest nationalities to vassalage. The story of Balaam points out that Yahwé had ordained these privileges of Israel long before. The Moabitish king and the Ammonitish, Arabian,¹ or Aramaean soothsayer had striven to turn aside the irreversible decree, and Yahwé had turned the very means they took into the instrument by which he announced the triumphs and the unique destiny of his people.

It is much harder to fix the date and origin of the poems. We can scarcely attribute them without reserve to J and E, for the points of contact

5. Origin of poems. between the prophecies (cp especially 23²² and 24⁸) suggest that an ancient poem has been expanded and changed in diverse ways. The kernel of the poem may go back to the early days of the kingdom,—even, it may be, to those of Solomon. The national fortune is painted in glowing colours, and the historical references stop short at David, who was the only king to conquer both Moab and Edom. On the other hand, the clear sense of Israel's separateness from the nations (23⁹) had not arisen, so far as is known, before the time of the literary prophets, and the phraseology does not permit us to place the poems, as we now have them, earlier.

The appendix (24²⁰⁻²⁴), at any rate, is generally admitted to be comparatively modern (note the exaggeration respecting the Amalekites).

6. The appendix. The structure shows that the oracles are from one hand (cp 24²⁸, end, with *v.* 24, end).

The writer was quite familiar with the Assyrian power, and speaks of the deportation of the Kenites by the Assyrians. He speaks of the Kenites, rather than more famous peoples, because he considers them to be (like the Amalekites; cp 1 S. 156) within Balaam's horizon. He also (if the text of 24²⁴ be correct) predicts that Assyria in its turn will be destroyed by ships from CHITTIM (*g. r.*). Was he thinking of the Persian empire (Assyria = Persia, Ezra 6²²), and its overthrow by Alexander the Great (cp 1 Mac. 11)? The theory has been widely accepted, and much controversy as to the limits of prophecy has grown out of it. It seems bolder than the evidence as a whole warrants (see Di.), and it has lately been pointed out that 'they shall afflict' (*v.* 24) is a misreading which has arisen out of the loss of an ethnic name in *v.* 23. Analogy requires that the last of the three little oracles in 27¹, 22-24 should begin thus:

And he saw . . . and began his oracle, and said,
Alas who will live (survive) of . . .

And the discoveries of the Tell of Zenjirli enable us to restore the missing name, which was, not 'Samuel' (שמואל, as many MSS and some editions), but 'Sham'al.' Then in *v.* 24 we may continue:

And there shall be ships from the direction of Cyprus,
And Assyria shall afflict him (*v.* 24), and Eber shall afflict him,
And he too (shall come) to destruction.²

The kingdom of Sham'al in NW. Syria was not so very far from Balaam's native place Pethor. (The *poet.*, at any rate, placed Pethor in Aram.) That it was destroyed by Assyrians and peoples from the other side of the Euphrates (=Eber), and plundered by shipmen from Cyprus, was probably within the recollection of the author, who is, therefore, not to be regarded as post-

¹ See above, § 1, second paragraph. Cp Gen. 30³², and see BELA (*z.*) MELBAIM.

² The importance of this correction will appear if we compare the alternative explanation of Hommel (*AHT* 245^{f.}), which produces the following most unnatural and unworthy distich:

'Jackals (שׂוֹמְרֵי) shall come from the north

And wild cats (שׂוֹמְרֵי) from the coast of Kittim,'

where 'jackals' and 'wild cats' are figurative expressions for wild invaders, and Kittim is, Hommel says, 'the familiar term for the Hitites (var. chittim).' See ASSHURIM, EBER.

exilic. Assyria may have been no longer at the height of its prosperity, but was still a conquering power.¹

We have passing notices of Balaam in Josh. 24⁹ (E) and in Dt. 23^{4 f.}, cp Neh. 13^{1 f.} (see AMMONITES, § 3).

7. Allusions to Balaam. In Dt. *l.c.*, as in E, he is an Aramaean from Mesopotamia, hired to curse Israel; but Yahwé turned his curse into a blessing.

The Priestly Writer represents Balaam in a much more unfavourable light, Nu. 31^{8 16} Josh. 13²² (cp Nu. 25⁶⁻¹⁸). He is a sorcerer, at whose instigation the Midianite women seduced the Israelites into sensual idolatry; and he died in the battle between the Israelites and the Midianites. Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 66) dwells at great length on the corrupting advice of Balaam, given in the first instance (cp Rev. 2¹⁴) to Balak, and in Rabbinical literature Balaam is the type of false teachers (*Aboth*, 5¹⁹; cp Rev. *l.c.*) and sorcerers. Cp also 2 Pet. 2¹⁵ Jude 11. For Arabic parallels to the efficacy of Balaam's oracles, see Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, 26 ff.

See Di.'s *Comm.* and cp Tholuck, 'Die Gesch. Bileams,' *Vermischte Schriften*, 1 406-432; Oort, *Disput. de Nu. xxii.*, 1877; Klie. *Abent. Tijds.* 18 497-540 [184]; van Hoonacker, 'Observations critiques concernant Bileam,' *Le Mission.* 1888; Halévy, *Revue sem.* 1894, pp. 201-209; Schr. *COT* 1 143-145; We. *Cl.* 346 ff.; Kit. *Hist.* 1 202, 214, 229; Kautsch, *Abriss* (sketch of literature appended to *HS*), 143; Hommel, *GBA* 9; Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899, pp. 399-402.

W. E. A.

BALAC (בַּלְאֶק [Ti. WH]), Rev. 2¹⁴. See BALAK.

BALADAN (בְּלָדָן), 2 K. 20¹² Is. 39¹. See MEGRO-DACH-BALADAN.

BALAH (בָּלַח), Josh. 19³. See BAALAH, 2.

BALAK (בְּלַק, בַּלְאֶק [BAL]; *BALAC*), b. Zippor, an early king of Moab (Nu. 22-24 Josh. 11²⁵, and elsewhere; cp Rev. 2¹⁴, BALAC), inseparably connected with Balaam. For the alliteration cp Jabal and Jubal, Bera and Birsha, Eldad and Medad, etc. See BALAAM.

BALAMO, KV Balamon (בַּלְאָמֹן [BNA]), Judith 8³. See BELMEN.

BALANCE. (1) מִזְנָאִים (מִזְנֵי),—the dual refers to the two *ear-like* pendants² are scales for weighing money (Jer. 32¹⁰), hair (Ez. 5¹, מִזְנֵי מַשְׁקָל, etc.); cp the metaphor of weighing calamity (Job 6²), men (Ps. 62⁹ [10]), cp Dan. 5²⁷),³ and hills (Is. 40¹²). The dust of the balance is a simile for an insignificant or negligible quantity (Is. 40¹⁵). The frequent metaphor of a just or even balance (קָבֵל, Lev. 19³⁵, cp Job 31⁶ Ez. 45¹⁰; מִשְׁכָּל, Prov. 16¹¹, RV 'scales'), as opposed to one that is false (קִרְבָּה, Prov. 11¹¹, cp 20²³ Am. 8⁵ Hos. 12⁷ [8]; קִרְבָּה, Mic. 6¹¹), is analogous to the well-known Heb. and Aram. idiom which expresses honour and integrity by the simile of 'heaviness' (cp קָבֵל and קָבֵל, ⁴

(2) For *kānt*, קָנָה (Is. 46⁶: only here in this sense), see REED, 1, n. Other words are (3) *pelēs*, פֶּלֶס, Prov. 16¹¹ RV, AV 'weight,' Is. 40¹² (σραθμός [BNAQ]), EV 'scales'; cp the verb in Ps. 58² [3]; but hardly פֶּלֶסִי in Job 37¹⁶, 'the balancings (פֶּלֶסִי) of the clouds?' (see Budde). (4) ἵστῶν, Rev. 6⁵, frequent in *Θ* for the above.

The balances used in Palestine were probably similar to those found on Egyptian monuments. One type consists of an upright pole rising from a broad base with

¹ Che. *Expositor*, 1896, pp. 77-80 (following D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten*, 1215^{f.}).

² In Ar. *mizān* with *z*, whereas *udu* (=—[k]) has *d*; see Fränkel, 398.

³ Cp Phoen. בַּעֲלֵס, 'B. hath weighed out.'

⁴ Cp the deprecation of unfair weights (שִׁבְרֵי אֲבָנִים, lit. 'stones') in Lev. 19³⁵ Prov. 11¹ Mic. 6¹¹.

cross beams turning upon a pin. An arm on either side ended in a hook to which the article to be weighed was attached in bags (cp Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2246, fig. 415, 5 d, see BAG, 1). Small ones of a particularly ingenious nature, as well as hand-scales, are found (Wilk. 1285 fig. 95). Above the pole is sometimes placed the figure of a baboon representing 'Thoth the regulator of measures. The steelyard (in Egypt) does not seem to have been known until the Roman period.

BALASAMUS (ΒΑΛΑCΑΜΟC [BA]). 1 Esd. 9:40; Neh. 8:4. MAASELAG, 15.

BALD LOCUST (בַּלְדָּן; ΔΤΤΑΚΗC [BAFL]). The *sol'am* is apparently a species of edible locust, or a locust in a particular stage of growth. See further LOCUST, 2.

BALDNESS. See CUTTINGS, § 1; HAIR.

BALM (בָּרָךְ or בָּרִיף; ΡΗΤΙΝΗ [PIT. AEF] ΡΙΤΙΝΗ [E one]; cp Ezek. 27:17 AV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'rosin'; Vg. *rosina* Gen. 37:25 43:11, Jer. 8:22 46:11 51:3, Ezek. 27:17), a valuable product of Palestine,

the identification of which has given much trouble. EV's rendering, 'balm,' is an unfortunate inheritance from Coverdale's Bible (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). Let us look first at the Hebrew name בָּרָךְ (*šōri*). The Arabic *šarw* or *širw*¹ is identical with it, and since the root means to 'drip' or 'bleed,' the product referred to must be *resinous*, but it need not be *aromatic*. From the OT notices we learn that *šōri* (EV 'balm') was found abundantly in Gilead, that it was in early times exported thence to Egypt (Gen. 37:25), was sufficiently prized to form an appropriate gift to a lord of that country (Gen. 43:11), was applied as a remedy for violent pain (Jer. II. cc.), and was among the chief products of Palestine that were brought into the Tyrian market (Ez. 27:17).

Next, we must point out that the modern commercial name 'balm of Gilead' has, like the botanical specific name *Gileadense*, no foundation but the hypothesis that the substance so designated is the OT 'šōri of Gilead'; and that from the earliest times resins and turpentine have been used in medicine, as stimulants and as antiseptics for wounds, and as counter-irritants for pain. The *šōri* (EV 'balm') of Jer. 8:22 46:11 is clearly a local product in Gilead; its association with *mōr* (EV 'myrrh') in Gen. 37:25 43:11 proves that it was a valuable article of commerce.

It has been shown elsewhere (BALSAM) that the so-called 'balsam of Mecca,' produced by the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, is most probably

2. Probably not the 'šōri of Gilead' but the Hebrew *mōr*, which EV mistakenly renders 'myrrh' (see BALSAM, MYRRH). *Šōri* (EV balm), then, must be something else.

(1) Arabic usage is in favour of the rendering of RV¹⁹⁰⁸ Gen. 37:25 etc., MASTIC—i.e., the resin yielded by the mastic tree, *Pistacia Lentiscus*.

This tree 'is a native of the Mediterranean shores, and is found in Portugal, Morocco, and the Canaries' (Flickiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacog.*, 161). According to Tristram (*NHB* 356), it is extremely common in all the Mediterranean countries, especially on the African coasts and in the Greek islands, where it overruns whole districts for many miles. Tristram states, also, that it is indigenous in all parts of Palestine, though, according to Post (Hastings, *BD* 236 a), it is not now to be found E. of the Jordan. The mastic of commerce is mainly derived from the Isle of Scio. Down to the seventeenth century mastic was an ingredient of many medicines. Unlike most resins, it readily softens with moderate heat, even that of the mouth.

As the Arabic word *šarw* (or *širw*) is used mainly of this tree and its products, we are not rash in concluding that a substance of this kind is intended in the biblical passages, though it seems unnecessary to limit *šōri* to the resin of *P. Lentiscus*; it may include the resins of the *terebinth* (*P. Terebinthus*) and *Aleppo pine* (*Pinus halepensis*; see ASH). The former yields 'Chian

¹ The Syriac *šarwā* must be a loan-word from Arabic (Iag. *Mith.* 1 234).

turpentine,' which has recently been brought into notice as an alleged remedy for cancer. According to Tristram (*op. cit.* 400), the terebinth is not now tapped for turpentine in Palestine, 'where the inhabitants seem to be ignorant of its commercial value.' There is abundant evidence of the medicinal use of these resins in antiquity (see Movers, *Phön. Alt.* iii. 1223).

(2) *Balanites aegyptiaca*, called *zakkām* by the Arabs (Tristram, *op. cit.* 336), yields an oil 'prepared by the Arabs of Jericho and sold in large quantities to the pilgrims as balm of Gilead.' This, however, was the *περσεία* of Greek writers, and clearly, therefore, distinguished by them from *βάλσαμον* or *βρίσιον*. It is merely a modern substitute.

(3) Lastly must be mentioned Lagarde's view that Gr. *στύραξ* = בָּרָךְ (*šōri*). There is great probability in this identification of the words, for *στ-* is employed in several instances to transliterate *š* (*š*); but evidence is wanting to connect בָּרָךְ with the substance *στύραξ*, which seems to have been called in Hebrew לְבָנֶה (libneh). See further STORAX.

W. T. T.-D.—N. M.

BALNUUS (ΒΑΝΥΟΥC [B]. ΒΑΛΝΟΥC [A]). 1 Esd. 9:31 = Ezra 10:39. BINNU, 4.

BALSAM appears in RV¹⁹⁰⁸, once for בָּשֵׂמֶן *bāsim* (Cant. 5:1, ἈΡΩΜΑΤΑ), and twice in rendering the 1. Heb. *bāsim*, בָּשֵׂם בְּרִיחַת *bāsim bēriḥat*. 2. Heb. *bāsim*, *bāsim*, 'bed of balsam' (Cant. 5:13 6:2, ΦΙΛΛΑΙ ΤΟΥ ἈΡΩΜΑΤΟC). RV text and AV have 'spice,' 'bed of spices.' The verb (in Aram. *bāsim*) signifies to 'have pleasure,' 'be attracted by desire,'¹ and in Heb. the nominal forms² denote enjoyment connected with one particular sense—that of smell. From one or other of the Semitic forms comes Gr. *βάλσαμον*. Although *bāsim* and *bōsim* in the above passages may have the general sense of spice or perfume,³ it is more probable that, like *bāsim* and *βάλσαμον*, they denote the balsam tree or plant *par excellence*. We now know that the proper source of Mecca balsam is *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* (see § 4); and a tree of this kind seems to be intended in the passages from ancient writers which are here summarised.

(a) Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 96) has a long passage about the production of balsam. It is produced, he says, 'in the hollow about Syria (ἐν τῷ αἰθῶρι τῆς περὶ

2. Ancient *Σύρια*). This phrase Stackhouse explains References. from Strabo as meaning *Κοίλε-Συρία*; but circa 322 B.C. at the present day *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* does not grow farther N. than Suākim; it is essentially a tropical plant. Theophrastus, who is so minutely accurate in all his other details (note his happy expression *φθλοῦν* δὲ . . . *βασιν* *παράγω*, 'with leaves like rue'), cannot have meant what Stackhouse supposes. It is certain, however, that the term *ΚΟΙΛΗ-ΣΥΡΙΑ* [q.v.] in the Greek period had a wider application, and Vespingius (*Opobalsami Indiciæ*, 243) rightly remarks, 'Vallem hic intelligendam esse Hierichuntis . . . persuademus.' The fruit, Theophrastus continues, resembles the terminth (turpentine) in size, shape, and colour. The 'tear' is gathered from an excision made with iron at the season when the stems and the upper parts are tenses (*σύντηξ*). The odour is very strong; the twigs also are very sweet-smelling. No wild balsam is met with anywhere. The unmixed juice is sold for twice its weight in silver; even the mixed, which is often met with in Greece, is singularly fragrant.

(b) Strabo (763) is somewhat less full; but there can be no doubt that it is the Mecca balsam plant which he describes as grown in a *παράσιτος* at Jericho. He says that it is 24 B.C. shrub-like (*θαμνώδης*), resembling cypress and terminth, and sweet-smelling. The juice is obtained by means of incisions in the bark; it is very much like a viscous milk (*γλισχροῦ γαλακτός*) and solidifies when stored in little shells (*κοχλῶν*). He praises its medicinal use, and says that it is produced nowhere else. Diodorus Siculus (2:48) mentions 'a certain hollow' in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea as the habitat of the balsam, 8 B.C. and adds that great revenue is derived from this plant, because it is met with nowhere else in the world, and is of great value to physicians. Pliny too (*H.N.* 12:25) affirms that the balsam plant is confined

¹ Curiously enough, Ar. *bāsimā* has the contrary sense of *loathing* (see Lag. *Covers.* 143); but *bāsim* denotes the balsam tree.

² Heb. does not possess the verb.

³ See *Spice*. *Bāsim* is the word used in 1 K. 10:2 10:25 (Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon).

to Judaea. 'In former times it was cultivated only in two regions, both of them royal; one of them was to be more than twenty iugera extent, and the other less. The emperors Vespasian and Titus had this shrub exhibited at Rome; . . . it bears a much stronger resemblance to the vine [*etc.*], in the stems; here Phry seems to borrow from Icosus (Pompeius) than to the myrtle. The leaf bears a very close resemblance to that of [ruie] and it is an evergreen. . . . At the present day it is cultivated by the fiscal authorities, and the plants were never less than more numerous. They never exceed a couple of cubits in height.'

Josephus makes several references to the balsam. He says (*Ant.* viii. 6) that the first roots of balsam (ὀροβάλασμου) were brought to Palestine by the queen of Sheba. To give an idea of the sites of Pompey's camp (at Jericho), he says it is here that balsam (ὀροβάλασμου) which is of all unguents (ἀρώμα) the chief grows, and describes how the juice (σῆμα) is obtained (*Ant.* xiv. 41). Again, when speaking of the districts around Jericho assigned to Cleopatra, he speaks of the pleasantness of this plant, which grows there alone (*Ant.* xv. 42). Lastly, in a second reference to Pompey, he says that the region of Jericho bears the balsam tree (βάλασμου), whose stems (σῆμα) were cut with sharp stones, upon which the juice 'drops down like tears' (*Ant.* xiv. 41). Pliny, in a passage quoted by Justin (36 3), also places the opobalsamum grove; and the name of the 1st cent. A. D. place is Jericho (Hierichus). 'In that valley is a wood, notable alike for its fertility and its pleasantness, being adorned with a palm grove and opobalsamum. The opobalsamum trees have a form like pine trees (*πίνε*), except that they are less tall (*μειγρὰ*), and are cultivated after the manner of vineyards. These at a certain time of the year sweat balsam.'

It is remarkable that the Greek and the Roman writers dwell so constantly on the uniqueness of the balsam-tree

3. Balsam in Palestine. Some of them, at any rate

Arabia. (e.g., Strabo, Pausanias, Diodorus), were not unaware that the plant grew on the coasts of Arabia; and Josephus, in his legendary style, actually attributes to importation from Arabia its presence in Palestine (*Ant.* viii. 66). No doubt this is substantially correct. Prosper Alpinus (*De Balsamo*, 1592) and Veslingius (*Opobalsami Vindiciae*, 1643) long ago investigated the subject. In the time of the former, balsam plants were brought to Cairo from Arabia; Alpinus himself (*op. cit.* 64) apparently possessed a living specimen. The Arabic writer 'Abdallatif (*d.* 1231) also speaks of the balsam tree as in Egypt at 'Ain Shems ('Fountain of the Sun')—i.e., in the gardens of Matariya, close to Heliopolis. It was about a cubit high, and had two barks; the outer red and fine, the inner green and thick. When the latter was macerated in the mouth, it left an oily taste, and an aromatic odour. Incisions were made in the barks, and the amount of balsam oil obtained formed a tenth part of all the liquid collected.² The last balsam tree cultivated in Egypt died in 1615; but two were alive in 1612. This was the only place in Egypt where the balsam tree would grow. We can well understand, therefore, that the neighbourhood of Jericho was the only habitat of the tree in Palestine.

It would, however, be unreasonable to suppose that the needs of the luxurious class in Palestine in pre-Roman times were altogether supplied

4. Probably = OT *môr* EV myrrh.

The precious unguent derived from the balsam tree, not less than the costly frankincense, was doubtless always one of the chief articles brought by Arabian caravans. The tree that produces the so-called 'balsam of Mecca' is the *Balsamolendron Opobalsamum*. This tree, as Schweinfurth reports,³ averages above 15 ft. in height, possesses a yellow papery exfoliating bark, and produces thin, grayish black twigs, from the ends of which a small quantity of balsam exudes. 'It is widely distributed over the coast territory of Arabia, the adjacent islands, and S. Nubia'; but 'the balsam is collected only in the valleys near Mecca.' It is thus described by Dymock (*Pharmacogr. Ind.* 1 317): 'Balsam of Mecca, when freshly imported into Bombay, is a greenish turbid

¹ *Rute* in old editions; but Mayhoff prefers *tuberi* (*tuberi*).
² See 'Abdallatif, *ed.* De Saady, 88 (Hugie, *The Nile*, 181).
³ We quote from a *résumé* of his researches in *Pharm. Journ.* April 1894, p. 897.

fluid of syrupy consistence, having a very grateful odour, something like oil of rosemary.' Jewish tradition seems to have held that Mecca balsam is what the OT writers call *šôri*—whence the rendering 'balm' of AV and RV (text); but the tradition was impugned long ago by Bochart (*Hiæc.* i. 251), and does not agree with the use of the Arabic cognate word *darîv* (mastic; see BALM, 1). Schweinfurth holds that the OT name for Mecca balsam is not *šôri* (EV balm, perhaps really mastic; see BALM, 1), nor *bösem* (see above, § 1), but *môr* (see MYRRH). Certainly *môr* was (like Mecca balsam) strongly aromatic and also a liquid substance (Ex. 30 23 Cant. 5 5 13), whilst the OT references do not necessarily imply that *šôri* was aromatic. It is not unlikely that both *bösem* (§ 1) and *môr* mean Mecca balsam. (Cp *New Bulletin* for Mar.-Apr. 1896, p. 862.) See MYRRH. N. M. W. T. 7: D. 1. K. C.

BALSAM TREES (בָּלְשָׁם); RV¹⁹⁰⁹: 2 S. 5: 1 (Ch. 14 14 Ps. 84 6). See MULBERRY.

BALTHASAR, RV Balthasar (ΒΑΛΤΑΣΑΡ [BAQT]). Bar. 1 1 r f. See BELSHAZZAR.

BAMAH (בָּמָה, Ez. 20 29). See HIGH PLACES, § 5.

BAMOTH (בָּמוֹת; ΒΑΜΩΘ [BAFL]), a station of the Israelites between NAHALIEL (*q. v.*) and 'the glen (גַּל בְּאֵן) which is in the field [plateau] of Moab, [by] the summit of [the] Pisgah, etc.' (Nu. 21 19). Eus. (*OS* 101 22) describes it as 'on the Arnon' (like Nahaliel), which must be wrong. See BAMOTH-BAAL.

BAMOTH-BAAL (בְּמוֹת בַּעַל)—i.e., 'the high places of Baal' lay in the Moabite territory (see Nu. 22 41, RV; ΣΤΗΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΑΛ [BAFL]), to the north of the Arnon, and was assigned to Reuben (Josh. 13 17: ΒΑΜΩΘ ΒΑΑΛ [B. BAΜΩΘ B. [A.]). The order of enumeration in Nu. 21 19 f., where it is called simply BAMOTH, leads to the supposition (so Di.) that it must have lain somewhere on or near the Jebel 'Attârûs, on the south side of the Wady Zerka Ma'in (cp Is. 15 2: 'the high places'). Conder (*Heth and Moab*, 144) and G. A. Smith (*HG* 562), however, find the Bamoth in the dolmens immediately north of el-Maslûbiyeh, near the Wady Jideid. The Beth Bamoth of the Moabite stone is perhaps the same place (cp BAJITH); but this whole region is thickly strewn with the remains of ancient altars and other religious monuments (Conder, *op. cit.* 140 21 f.). The name Bamoth-baal is suggested also by Nu. 21 28, where the בְּמוֹת בַּעַל (EV 'lords of the high places of Arnon'—but see Ⓞ) are mentioned in parallelism with Ar of Moab.

G. A. S

BAN, RV¹⁹⁰⁹: BAENAN (ΒΑΝ [A], ΒΑΕΝΑΝ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 37 = Ezra 260, TOBIJAH, 2

BAN (בָּן), to Ban (בָּנָה).

Ⓞ renders by ἀνάθημα, ἀνάθημα, ἀναθεματισμένον, and in a few instances ἀπωλεία and other words denoting destruction; ἀναθεματίσειν and more rarely ἀναθεματίσειν.

1. Terms.—*ban*, 1 Esd. 9 4, ἀνερωσει, ἐξολοθρευσει, and in 11 it destroys'. Vg. has *anathema, consecratio*, etc.; *accidit, consumit, consero*, etc. AV translates *curse, utterly destroy, accursed thing*, etc.; RV, *devote, utterly destroy, devoted thing*.

The root *HRM* in Hebrew denotes devoting anything to Yahvé by destroying it; *hêrem* is any person or thing thus devoted. The root is found in a similar sense in all the Semitic languages, of sacred things which men are partly or wholly forbidden to use. It is especially common in Arabic: e.g., the sacred territory of Mecca and Medina is *haram*, and the *harem* (harem) is ground forbidden to all men other than the master and his eunuchs. It may be noted that the exclusive use of the root in the strong sense of devoting by destroying is characteristic of Hebrew (and of the dialect spoken by the Moabites; see §§ 3 f.), and that in other languages *harm* bears a meaning more nearly approaching *unclean* (בָּטָל), *profaned* (קִדְּשׁ).

(a) Idols are *hërem* in themselves. In Dt. 7:25 the Israelites are ordered to burn all heathen idols and not to bring them into their houses. The idols

2. Law of Hërem. (b) Public *hërem*. The Israelites or their rulers are ordered to treat as *hërem* in certain circumstances, guilty citizens or obnoxious enemies. In Ex. 22:19 [20] (Book of the Covenant, E) any one sacrificing to any deity other than Yahwë is to be made *hërem*. So in substance Dt. 13:6-11, though the term *hërem* does not occur till v. 16. In Dt. 13:13-19 [12-18] any idolatrous Israelite city is to be made *hërem*: all living things are to be killed and 'all its spoil' is to be burnt. So far, in (a) as in (b), the *hërem* is something abominable in itself and distasteful to God. Its destruction is a religious duty, and an acceptable service to Yahwë. Similarly, in Dt. 20:16-18 all Canaanite cities are to be made *hërem*, that they may not seduce Israel to idolatry. In Dt. 20:10-14, if any distant city refuses to surrender when summoned, all the males are to be slain, and all other persons and things may be taken as spoil. The term '*hërem*' is not used in that paragraph, and is perhaps not applicable to it. (c) We gather from certain passages that individuals might devote some possession to destruction as a kind of service to Yahwë, and that also is called *hërem* (see Vow). In a section of P concerning vows, Lev. 27, two verses (28 f.) deal with this individual *hërem*. Other vows may be redeemed; but individual (like public) *hërem* must be destroyed—it may not be sold or redeemed: it is most holy (*qodesh kôlôshîm*) unto Yahwë. Among the objects which an individual may make *hërem*, men are specially mentioned: they must be put to death. It is startling to find such a provision in one of the latest strata of the Pentateuch. Possibly only criminals could be made *hërem*; or the text may be fragmentary. Cp Dillmann and Kalisch on Lev. 27:28-29.

In Josh. 6:24 we have a provision that metal *hërem* (obviously because indestructible) is to be put into the treasury of the sanctuary. By an extension of this principle, Nu. 18:14 (P) and Ez. 44:29 ordain that *hërem* shall be the property of the priests.

Hërem is met with in Hebrew literature in all periods. The sweeping statements that all Canaanite cities E. and W. of the Jordan were made *hërem* (see Nu. 21:2 (JE) and Judg. 1:7 (J)), though otherwise discrepant, agree that the city on whose site Hormah was built was made *hërem*. Other instances of *hërem* are Jabesh-gilead (Judg. 21:10 f.), Jericho (rebuilt) forbidden under supernatural penalty, Josh. 6:26 f.), the Amalekites (1 S. 15), and the children of Ham at Gedor (1 Ch. 4:41). Similar cases—in regard to which, however, the term *hërem* is not used—are Gibeah and Benjamin (Judg. 20) and Saul's attempt to execute Jonathan (1 S. 14:24-46). On the Moabite stone (*l. 16 f.*) Mesha' says that he made the whole Israelite populace of Nebo *hërem* to Ashtarchemosh. The prophets speak of Israel or Yahwë making *hërem* of enemies (Is. 34:2 etc.) or of enemies' property (Mic. 4:13), or, conversely, of the heathen (Jer. 25:9), or Yahwë (Is. 43:28), making *hërem* of Israel. In the later literature the root *hërem* often only means exterminate (2 Ch. 20:23). The old meaning, however, was not quite forgotten, and in Ezra 10:8, if any Jew failed to obey Ezra's summons to Jerusalem, his property was to be made *hërem* and he himself excommunicated. In post-biblical Hebrew *hërem* came to mean excommunication as well as property set apart for the priests and the temple (Levy and Jarostw's Dictionaries, s.v.; S. Mandl, *Der Bann*, 1908, pp. 24-51). See, further, EXCOMMUNICATED.

The character of *hërem*, the diffusion of the root in a similar sense throughout Semitic languages, and its use in the Hebrew sense by the Moabites, show that it was an ancient Semitic institution belonging to Israel in common with its kinsmen. Stade (*Gesch.* 1:490) holds

that a Semitic people besieging a city vowed to make it

4. Origin and parallels.

hërem to their god in order to secure his aid. Moreover, the idea of *hërem*—as the use of the root in allied languages shows—was kindred to that of sanctity and uncleanness. Like these, it was contagious (cp CLEAN, §§ 2, 14): the possessor of *hërem* became *hërem* (Dt. 7:26 Josh. 6:18; Achan). OT legislation, as we have seen, converts the bribe to a venal deity into a legitimate penalty. The various degrees of severity are not important in relation to the principle.

Hërem has something in common with taboos, especially in its fatal effect on its possessor—e.g., in New Zealand taboos food is fatal to any one who eats it (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. 'Taboos');—but it is not so closely allied to taboos as the idea of uncleanness (see WRS, *Rel. Sem.* (2) 450 ff.). The Arab *harim* often assimilates to *hërem*: e.g., clothes used at the circuit of the Ka'aba are *harim*, and may not be worn or sold. Cp also the Roman ceremony of *devotio*, by which an enemy was devoted to destruction as an offering to the infernal gods (Preller, *Röm. Myth.* 124, 466). The instance of Kirra and the Amphitryonic council, in which the cultivation of land laid under a curse was made the pretext for a holy war, may also be compared with the case of Jericho. W. H. B.

BANAIAS (ΒΑΝΑΙΑC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:25 = Ezra 10:4, BENAIAH, 10.

BAND. 1. In the sense of a troop or company of men, soldiers, etc. (see ARMY, § 3).

The rendering of *band* בָּנָיִם (prop. wings, cp *Bab. agrippa*, Ez. 12:4, etc.; *gawād*, 777, 1 K. 11:24 AV 1 K. 11:24, etc.; *bayil*, 577 (prop. furore), 1 S. 10:9 AV 1 Sam. 10:9; *mar' asb*, 777, Gen. 42; [H AV (prop. camps, see *Movses*); *band*, 577, 1 Ch. 12:33 AV Job 1:17; 'by bands', Pt. 30:27, represents a participle בָּנָיִם, *banding* (10000?)). In this sense the common Gr. word is *στρατή* (cp Mt. 27:27 Mk. 15:19, etc.), 'cohort' (so RVmg, Acts 19:4).

2. In the sense of a ribbon.

So *heKebh*, בָּנָיִם, Ex. 28:8, RV 'cunningly woven band'; AV 'curious girdle.'

3. Finally, to denote anything that connects or encloses, the following words (also rendered 'bands,' etc.) are employed.

Esar, עָסַר, Judg. 15:14, cp Aram. עָסַר, Dan. 4:13 [10 100]; *bandah*, בָּנָה, Ps. 119:61 (RV Connects, 70:4 and esp. Zech. 11:12), where 'Bands' (mg. 'binders' or 'union') is the name of one of the prophet's staves; *bandah*, בָּנָה, Is. 28:6 and Is. 37:4 (RVmg. 'pangs,' doubtful); *mo'ash*, מוֹאֵשׁ, Lev. 26:13 Ez. 34:27, RV 'bars' (AGRICULTURE, § 4); *mo'ar*, מוֹאֵר, Job 39:5 Ps. 2:3, *mo'ar'kôth*, מוֹאֵרֶת, Job 38:31, of the 'bands' of Orion; see SCARUS, § 3; *mo'ash*, מוֹאֵשׁ, Job 39:10, elsewhere (in plura) rendered 'cords,' 'ropes,' etc.

BANI (בָּנִי §§ 5, 52; cp Palm and Nali, 22; probably shortened from BENAIAH, 'Yah hath built up'; cp Gen. 30:3 Dt. 25:9 Ruth 4:11, and see Haupt, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* Ap. 22 [92]; BAN[É] [BANAL], -AI [L], -AIA [BL], -AIA[É] [NAL], BANAI-É [L], [BANAI] is a frequently occurring name (chiefly post-exilic), and in some cases it is difficult to separate the persons bearing it; there is often confusion between it, the parallel names BUNNI and BINNU [44 v.], and the noun B'ne (בְּנֵי). See Mey, *Entsteh.* 142.

1. A Gadite, one of David's 'thirty'; 2 S. 23:32 (1000 700 אֲבִירֵי [B], vi. γαδῖ [A], vi. αγγαῖ [L]) 1 Ch. 11:38, in which see HAVRI. Cp DAVI, § 11 G1.

2. A family of P'ne Bani occurs in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, II. §§ 9-11), Ezra 2:36 (Baniou [B], vii [A]) = Neh. 7:13 (Baniou [BNA], -aiou [L]) AV BINNI (2:26) = Esd. 5:12; and various members of it are enumerated in Ezra 10:20 (Baniou [BNA] = Esd. 9:20 (Baniou [BNA]) EV BANI; and among those who had married foreign wives (see EZRA, I. § 5) in Ezra 10:34-42; RV, in v. 34 (Ave [BN], Baniou [BNA] = Esd. 9:23 AV MAANI, RV BAANI, and in v. 38 (cf. viot [Baniou] [BNA], Baniou, kai viot

BANNEI (L) = MT בַּנֵּי בַנִּי, EV BANI and BINNI = 1 Esd. 9:34 (EV BANNUS, FELIPI; BANNUS, ΕΒΛΑΝΕ [B], β., ΕΒΛΑΝΕ [A], BANNUS, και οινο BANNUS [L]). It is plausible, however, to correct Bani into BINNET or perhaps Bignai (cp. 1 Esd. 34 (cp. 2:14)). The family is also referred to on important occasions in Neh. 8:17 and 10:15 (BANNUS [L]) and as in Ezra's catalogue (see EZRA, I, § 2, ii, § 15 (12)), 1 Esd. 8:35, AV BANNA, RV BANNAS (BANNUS [B], BANNUS [L], or AN [A]). EZRA 8:10 (10:19) [BANNUS, B], etc. [BANNUS, L], BANNUS (ΕΒΛΑΝΗΘ, ε, εβλκ) where Bani should be restored in MT (see *Be. ind. loc.*).

3. One of the exponents of the Law (Neh. 8:7; see EZRA, II, § 13:1; cp. I, § 8, ii, § 19 [15] 1.) who officiated at the constitution of the 'congregation' (9:4); see EZRA, II, § 12, § 13 [7]. In 9:4 (Bani Kadmiel; ΕΒΡΗΥ ΝΙΝΑ ΚΑΔΜΙΕΛ) the name is repeated, probably by an error (cp. Ryssel); Grätz, after Pesh., reads Binnui for the second Bani. In 9:5 ΕΒΡΑ has simply ΚΑΔΜΙΕΛ. Cp. also Ezra 2:40 and Kadmiel of the children of Hodaviah (Neh. 7:43 with 1 Esd. 5:26 (ΚΑΔΜΙΕΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΝΟΥ [A]). In Neh. 11:22, Uzzi (5) b. Bani (BANI [B], BANNUS [L]) is called overseer of the Levites at Jerusalem.

4. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, I, § 7), Neh. 10:14 [15] (BANNUS [L]; ονο Βαν Βαν); cp. BINNET, I.

5. A Merarite; 1 Ch. 6:31 [45].

6. A Judahite; 1 Ch. 9:4 Kr. (ΕΒΑΛ. ον).

BANID, RV Banias (ΒΑΝΕΙΑC [B], γ. β., BANI [9:75 2] [10:1]).

BANISHMENT. On various forms of temporary or permanent exclusion from the community as a consequence of crime or ceremonial disqualification, see BAN, § 3; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 15 f.; SYNAGOGUE; EXCOMMUNICATION.

In 2 S. 14:14 allusion is made to Absalom in the word בָּנִי (EV 'banished', elsewhere usually rendered 'outcast' ('outcasts' or 'dispersed of Israel'); see DISPERSION, § 1. The nature of the punishment threatened in Ezra 7:26f (עָרַב) RVaug. 'rooting out' (παύσει [B]), παύσει (L) was already obscure to the editor of 1 Esd. (8:24; τιμωρία [B], ἀπώμια [L]). Ezra 10:8 ('separated' [בָּנִי] from the congregation of the captivity) may give an explanation of the phrase.

BANK. For *šābāh*, בַּנְכָּן, in 2 S. 20:15 2 K. 19:32 Is. 57:33 AV (elsewhere EV always MOUNT) and χάρμαξ in 1 K. 19:41 (AV TRENCH, RVaug. PALISADE) see FORTIFICATION.

BANK (ΒΡΑΠΕΖΑ, 1 K. 19:43 EV), **BANKER** (ΒΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΗΣ, Mt. 25:27 RV). See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

BANNAIA (ΒΑΝΝΑΙΟΥC [A]), 1 Esd. 9:33 AV = Ezra 10:33, ZABAD, 5.

BANNAS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥC [B]), 1 Esd. 5:26 RV = Ezra 2:40, BANI, 3.

BANNEAS (ΒΑΝΝΑΙΑC [B]), 1 Esd. 9:26 RV = Ezra 10:25, BENAIAS, 7.

BANNER (דג, לָבַד, לָב). See ENSIGNS, § 1, a, b, c.

BANNUC (ΒΑΝΝΟΥC [B]), 1 Esd. 9:34 = Ezra 10:38, BANI, 2.

BANQUET, Banqueting House. See MEALS.

BANUAS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥC [B]), 1 Esd. 5:26, apparently a misprint for Bannas (so RV). See BANI (3).

BAPTISM (ΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ, ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕΙΝ). Among the permanent witnesses to the birth of Christianity out of Judaism is the primary institution of the Christian Church, the rite of baptism.

1. **Origin**. With the Jews the bathing of the whole body in pure cold water—if possible, in a running stream—was a recognised means of restoration from a state of ceremonial uncleanness. Passages like Num. 19:11 f., 31:19, also Is. 1:16 Zech. 13:1, and especially Ezek. 36:24 f., may be compared. The pouring of water on the hands—a symbolic representation, perhaps, of baptism in a running stream—was a Pharisaic precaution insisted on before every meal (cp. Mk. 7:3 Lk. 11:38). The Gentile, whose whole life had been ceremonially unclean, was required to submit to baptism among other conditions of his reception as a Jewish proselyte (Schürer, *Gesch.* 2:569 ff.; 3rd ed. 3:129). See PROSELYTE, § 5. The connection between Jewish and Christian baptism

is strikingly illustrated by the regulations prescribed for the latter in the *Didaché*, to be noticed presently; but, the ceremonial baptisms of Judaism, though they lie behind Christian baptism and exert an influence on its history, are not its immediate antecedent. The Jewish baptisms were the outcome of the Jewish distinction between clean and unclean—a distinction which was done away by Christianity (cp. WASHINGS). Christian baptism is a purification, not from ceremonial, but from moral impurity. The historical link is found in the baptism of John in the river Jordan. John adapted the familiar ceremony of baptism to a moral purpose: his was 'a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,' a purification of the nation from that moral uncleanness which ceremonial uncleanness was properly typical. It was by means of this development of its true significance that baptism was rescued from mere formalism, and prepared to become the initiatory rite of the new Christian society.

As Jesus' work took up John's, and as he himself had chosen to be baptized by John, it was natural that his first preaching of repentance should be coupled, like John's, with a baptism. It is significant, however, that he did not perform the rite himself; only his disciples did so (Jn. 4:1 f.). Christian baptism was not yet instituted; and when it came it was to add a spiritual element which John's baptism lacked. Meanwhile Jesus was indicating by his own action, and by his defence of the action of his disciples, that the frequent Pharisaic baptisms—the ceremonial washing of the hands, and the 'baptisms' of vessels and dishes (Mk. 7:4)—had no permanent claim on the conscience; and certain of his words are directly explained by one of the Evangelists as repealing altogether the ceremonial distinction of clean and unclean, and as 'cleansing all meats' (Mk. 7:19). Only when the whole purport of Jewish baptism was annulled was the way clear for the institution of the Christian rite, one of the essential principles of which was that it should be performed once for all, with no possibility of repetition.

On the day of Pentecost Peter answers the inquiries of the multitude in words which, whilst they recall the baptism of John, indicate the fuller significance of Christian baptism: 'Repent ye, and be baptized, each one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit' (Acts 2:38). About three thousand were thereupon added by baptism to the original band of believers. It is expressly stated that at Samaria, as the result of Philip's preaching, both men and women were baptized 'in the name of the Lord Jesus'; but the gift of the Holy Spirit did not follow until the arrival of Peter and John from Jerusalem (8:12-17). The eunuch after Philip's instructions asks for baptism; and 'they go down both together into the water' (8:36-38). Saul is baptized by Ananias at Damascus (9:18). When Peter preached to Cornelius and his friends 'the Holy Spirit fell on all that heard the word'; whereupon the apostle 'commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ' (10:44 ff.). Special stress is laid on this incident as the first occasion of the baptism of Gentiles as such (10:45 11:18). It was justified by the apostle on the ground of the previous gift of the Holy Spirit, which was the baptism promised by Christ in contradistinction to John's baptism (11:16 ff.).

Baptism was thus recognised as the door of admission into the Christian Church for Jews and Gentiles alike; and certain disciples of the Baptist whom Paul found at Ephesus were baptized afresh 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' (19:5). Of Lydia, the purple seller of Thyatira, found by Paul at Philippi, we read that she 'was baptized, and her household' (16:15); and of the Philippian gaoler, that he was baptized, 'he and all his straightway,'—i.e., in the middle of the night (16:33). At Corinth a few of the earliest converts were baptized by Paul himself—Crispus, Gaius, and the household of

Stephanas;—but the apostle's language shows that this was quite exceptional (1 Cor. 1:14-17). In 1 Cor. 15:29 Paul mentions a custom, apparently prevailing in Corinth, of vicarious baptism in behalf of the dead. He neither commends nor rebukes it, and it would seem to have soon died out.¹

The earliest notice of the method of baptism is perhaps that which is found in the *Didaché*, and, as we

have already said, it illustrates the recognition of a connection between the Jewish and the Christian baptisms. The *Didaché*, here as elsewhere, is strongly anti-Judaic in its tone, and at the same time shows the influence of Jewish practices upon the community which it represents. The Mishna draws six distinctions in the kinds of water available for various purificatory purposes (*Mikwa'oth* 1:1-8, quoted by Schürer, 2:403 ff.), and in certain cases it insists upon the full stream of running water, in which the whole body can be immersed. The *Didaché* (chap. 7) recognises 'living water'—*i.e.*, the running stream—'other water,' 'cold,' and 'warm'; and finally allows a triple pouring, where a sufficiency of any water for immersion cannot be had; but, though it indicates a preference in the order here given, it admits the validity of baptism under any of these conditions.

It is sometimes urged that, because βαπτίζειν means 'to dip,' Christian baptism must originally have been by immersion. In the NT, however, as in classical writers, the usual word for 'to dip' is βάπτω (Lk. 16:4, Jn. 13:6). βαπτίζειν had a wider usage, and could be used even of a mere ceremonial handwashing, as we see from Lk. 11:38, 'he marvelled that he had not first washed (ἐβαπτισθη) before dinner.' Already the partial ablution would seem to have been regarded as symbolical of the whole. It is difficult to suppose that the 3000 converts on the day of Pentecost could all have been baptized by immersion. Such a method is indeed presupposed as the ideal, at any rate, in Paul's words about death, burial, and resurrection in baptism (Rom. 6:3 f.); but pouring water on the head was in any case symbolical of immersion, and tantamount to it for ritual purposes.

(a) In the name, not 'into the name.' Although εἰς is the preposition most frequently used, we find ἐν in

3. **Formula.** Acts 2:38 10:48; and the interchangeability of the two prepositions in late Greek may be plentifully illustrated from the NT. Moreover, the expression is a Hebraism; ἐν ἐνοματι κυρίου Mt. 21:9 (= Ps. 118:26 עֲנֵן); so in the baptismal formula of Mt. 28:19 the Syr. version has ܩܕܝܫܐ (Lat. *in nomine*).

(b) In the name of Jesus Christ, or of the Lord Jesus. The former expression is used in Acts 2:38 10:48; the latter in Acts 8:16 19:5; cp also Acts 22:16, 'Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on his name.' From these passages, and from Paul's words in 1 Cor. 1:13 ('Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?'), it is natural to conclude that baptism was administered in the earliest times 'in the name of Jesus Christ,' or in that 'of the Lord Jesus.' This view is confirmed by the fact that the earliest forms of the baptismal confession appear to have been single—not triple, as was the later creed. When Philip's baptism of the eunuch appeared to have been abruptly narrated, the confession was inserted in the simple form, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God' (Acts

8:37); and the formula 'Jesus is Lord' appears soon to have become a stereotyped confession of Christian faith (cp Ro. 10:9 1 Cor. 12:3 Phil. 2:11); moreover the 'question and answer' (ἐπερώτημα) connected with baptism in 1 Pet. 3:21 would appear to represent only the central section of the later creed.

On the other hand, we have in Mt. 28:19 the full formula, 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' We have no synoptic parallel at this point; and thus, from a documentary point of view, we must regard this evidence as posterior to that of Paul's Epistles and of Acts.

The apparent contradiction was felt by Cyprian, who suggested (*Ep.* 73 17 f.) that in baptizing Jews the apostles may have been contented with the one name of the Lord Jesus Christ, as they already believed in the Father; whilst in baptizing Gentiles they used the full formula, which was given (as he points out) with the command to 'make disciples of all the nations' or 'Gentiles.' This explanation, however, breaks down in face of Acts 10:45-48, the opening of the door to the Gentiles.

Three explanations deserve consideration: (1) that in Acts we have merely a compendious statement—*i.e.*, that as a matter of fact all the persons there spoken of were baptized in the threefold name, though for brevity's sake they are simply said to have been baptized in the single name; (2) that Matthew does indeed report exactly the words uttered by Jesus, but that those words were not regarded as prescribing an actual formula to be used on every occasion, and that the spirit of them was fulfilled by baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus; (3) that Matthew does not here report the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but transfers to him the familiar language of the Church of the evangelist's own time and locality.

The first of these explanations cannot be regarded as satisfactory in the absence of any historical evidence of the employment of the threefold formula in the earliest times. A decision between the second and the third would involve an inquiry into the usage of the evangelist in other parts of his Gospel, and belongs to the discussion of the synoptic problem; but in favour of the third it may be stated that the language of the First Gospel, where it does not exactly reproduce an earlier document, shows traces of modifications of a later kind.

It has been argued that when Paul (Acts 19:2 f.), in answer to the statement of the Ephesian disciples of the Baptist, 'We have not so much as heard if there be a Holy Spirit' (*εἰ πνεῦμα ἁγίων ἔσται*), said, 'Unto what, then, were ye baptized?' he presupposed the use of the longer formula which expressly named the Holy Spirit. The statement can hardly mean, however, that they had never even heard of a Holy Spirit, for disciples of the Baptist could scarcely so speak (Mk. 18); it must refer to the special gift of the Holy Spirit which Christians were to receive. Accordingly, Paul's question simply implies that Christian baptism could scarcely have been given without some instruction as to this gift which was to follow it. In any case, it would be exceedingly strange that at this point Lk. should not have referred to the threefold formula, had it been in use, instead of simply saying, 'When they heard it, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19:5).

The threefold formula is attested by the *Didaché* (chap. 7), both in express words and by the mention of the alternative practice of triple effusion; but, as the *Didaché* shows elsewhere its dependence on Matthew, this is not independent evidence.

Justin Martyr (chap. 153), in describing baptism to heathen readers, gives the full formula in a paraphrastic form (*Apol.* 161), 'in the name of God, Father of the Universe and Ruler, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.' Such a paraphrase was necessary to make the meaning clear to those for whom he wrote.

We find the full formula again in Tertullian some

¹ Tertullian (*Res.* 48 c. *Mare.* 5:10) assumes that the custom was current in Paul's time, but is wrongly cited as attesting it for his own day. Chrysostom (*ad loc.*) says that Marcionites practised it; and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 28:6) had heard of a tradition that the Corinthians had done the same. This is very weak evidence for a second-century custom, and it is most probable that if the practice was found it was due to the passage in Paul's Epistle, and cannot be regarded as independent testimony to the existence of the custom among primitive Christians.

² The difficulties in which Commentators who reject the obvious meaning of the words find themselves involved may be seen at length in Stanley's *Corinthians* (*ad loc.*).

forty years later (*De Bapt.* 13, *Adv. Prax.* 26); and when the First Gospel was widely known it was certain to prevail. Exceptions are found which perhaps point to an old practice dying out. Cyprian (*Ep.* 73) and the Apostolic Canons (n. 50) combat the shorter formula, thereby attesting its use in certain quarters. The ordinance of *Can. Apost.* 50 runs—'If any bishop or presbyter fulfil not three baptisms of one initiation (ἑνὴν βαπτίσματα μᾶς μόνως), but one baptism which is given (ἅς) into the death of the Lord, let him be deposited.' This was the formula of the followers of Eumonius (*Socr.* 524), 'for they baptize not into the Trinity, but into the death of Christ' (for other references see Usener, *Relig. Untersuch.*, 1889, 1184); they, accordingly, used single immersion only.

No statement is found in the NT as to the age at which baptism might be administered. Circumcision, which Paul regards as fulfilled in Christian baptism (see below, § 5), enrolled the Jewish boy in the covenant of his fathers on the eighth day after birth, so that there could be no doubt that young children were truly members of the holy people. Thus, if children had been excluded from baptism when whole families were won to Christianity, we should almost certainly have had some record of the protest which would have been raised against what must have seemed so inconsistent a limitation to the membership of the new 'Israel of God.' It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that where 'households' are spoken of as being baptized (*Acts* 16:15 31-33 1 *Cor.* 1:16), there may have been, at least in some cases, instances of the baptism of infants. That Paul could speak of the children of a believing husband, or of a believing wife, as 'holy' is an indication in the same direction.

Paul, as we might expect, sees in baptism the means by which the individual is admitted to his place in the one body, of which he thus becomes a member; 'For as the body is one and hath many members, but all the members, many though they be, are one body, so also is the Christ; for indeed by one Spirit (ἐν ἑνὴ πνεύματι) we all were baptized into one body—whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bondmen or free' (1 *Cor.* 12:12 f.). Baptism was thus the fundamental witness of Christian unity (*Eph.* 4:5, 'one baptism'); and in both the passages here referred to it is emphasised as such in view of the variety of spiritual gifts. A parable of Christian baptism might be found in the cloud and the sea through which all the Israelites had alike passed; 'they were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea' (1 *Cor.* 10:2).

In *Rom.* 6:1 ff. Paul regards baptism as effecting a union with the death of Christ: 'we were baptized into his death.' It was a kind of burial of the former self, with a view to a resurrection and a new life. The same conception recurs in *Col.* 2:11 f., where it is immediately preceded by the thought that it corresponds in a certain way to the circumcision of the old covenant. It is 'the putting off'—totally, not merely partially and symbolically—of the whole 'body of the flesh'; and so it is the fulfilment of the old rite: it is 'the circumcision of the Christ.'

In *Gal.* 3:26 ff. Paul further speaks of baptism as involving a kind of identification with the person of Christ, so that the divine sonship becomes ours in him; 'For ye are all sons of God, through faith (or 'the faith') in Christ Jesus; for as many of you as were baptized into Christ put on (or 'clothed yourselves with') Christ.' The old distinctions, he again reminds us, thus disappeared—Jew and Greek, bond-man and free, male and female—'for ye all are one [man] in Christ Jesus' (*εἰς ἓστέ ἐν Χρ.* '1).

Eph. 5:26 speaks of Christ as cleansing the Church by the 'washing' (λουτρόν = 'washing,' probably not 'laver.' [In Ἐ 7:23 is always λουτρό; λουτρόν is 2777 *Cant.* 4:2 6:5 *Ecclus.* 34:25; so Aquila renders 771 in

Ps. 60:10 108:10) of water with the word' (ἐν ῥήματι). This last expression finds its interpretation in the ῥήμα, or formula of faith, to which we have already referred—which, whether as the confession in the mouth of the baptized or as the baptismal formula on the lips of the baptizer, transformed the process of ablution into the rite of Christian baptism. With this passage we may compare *Tit.* 3:5, 'He saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit' (ἰδὲ λουτροῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις πν. ἁγίου).

This last passage reminds us of the teaching of *Jn.* 3. The relation of that chapter to the sacrament of baptism is exactly parallel to that of chap 6 to the sacrament of the eucharist (see EUCHARIST). We are secure in saying that the evangelist's interpretation of the significance of baptism must have followed the line of Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus as there related. That a Gentile, or even a Jew who had been neglectful of the Rabbinical discipline of ablutions, should need to begin entirely anew in the religious life, to be 'born again of water and the Spirit,' as a condition of entry into 'the kingdom of God,' would seem natural. The marvel and the stumbling-block was that this should be required of those who, like this 'teacher of Israel,' had been strictest in their ceremonial purity; 'Marvel not that I said unto thee: ye must be born again.'

Jn., then, recognises, with Paul, the universal character of the initial rite; whilst at the same time the narrative teaches the radical nature of the change in the individual soul.

J. A. R.

BAPTISMS (ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΟΙ). *Mk.* 7:4, etc., *RV*¹⁹⁰⁸. *EV* WASHINGS (*q.v.*).

BARABBAS (ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΣ [*Ti.* WH], § 48), the name of the prisoner whom, in accordance with a Passover custom, Pilate released at the demand of the Jews while condemning Jesus to death (so *Mt.* 27:15-26 *Mk.* 15:6-15 *Lk.* 23:17-25 *Jn.* 18:40 f.).

More precisely than *Mt.*, who simply calls him a 'notable' (ἐπίσημον) prisoner, and *Jn.*, who calls him a robber, *Mk.* describes him as lying

1. *Story.* 'bound with them that had made insurrection (μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένους), men who in the insurrection had committed murder.' As *Mk.* has not previously referred to these insurgents, it seems all the more probable that he is borrowing verbatim from another source, although about this particular insurrection we are in as complete ignorance as about the Galileans mentioned in *Lk.* 13:1. *Lk.* (23:16), who follows *Mk.*, adds that the insurrection had occurred in Jerusalem, but says nothing about any fellow-prisoners with Barabbas, and thus leaves the impression that Barabbas personally had committed murder. *Mk.* is entitled to the preference, not only on this point but also when he represents the Jews as having demanded the release of a prisoner on their own initiative, as against the less probable view that Pilate offered them this of his own accord.

Reference is sometimes made to the analogy of the Roman *testistermia*; but of these all that *Livy* (v. 126) says—and that only with reference to their first celebration—is that during those days such also as were bound (*vinciti*) were relieved of their chains (*vincula*), and such was the religious awe inspired by the proceedings that no one dared afterwards to rebind (*vincitū*) the recipients of this divine favour. Thus he says nothing about release from prison; and his contemporary *Dion. Halic.* (129 [=10]), on the authority of the *Annals* of a certain *Piso*, who himself had been censor, while he does indeed speak of such release, limits it to the case of slaves who had been laid under arrest by their masters (ἀναγκάσαντες μὲν τῶν θεραπέυτων, ὡς αὐτοὺς πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ὄσασσι εἶχον οἱ ὀνοπέται).

Those who find some difficulty in accepting the narrative as it stands may perhaps find themselves better able to explain its origin on the lines indicated by *W. Brandt*, by whom every detail has been discussed with great care (*Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893, pp. 94-105). *Brandt* takes the kernel of the story to be that a certain prisoner who had been arrested in connection with some insurrection, but against whom no

crime or at least no grave crime could be proved, was released on the application of the people, who intervened in his behalf because he was the son of a Rabbin (see below, § 2). The incident, even although it was not simultaneous with the condemnation of Jesus, gave occasion in Christian circles for the drawing of this contrast: the son of the rabbin was interceded for and released, Jesus was condemned. In the course of transmission by oral tradition the statement of this contrast might gradually, without any conscious departure from historical truth, have led to the assumption that the two things occurred at the same time and on the same occasion. Finally, the liberation of a seditious prisoner—in any case a somewhat surprising occurrence—seemed explicable only on the assumption of some standing custom to account for it; this assumption must presumably have arisen elsewhere than in Palestine.

The above theory presupposes that *Barababbas* stands for *בַּר אֲבָא*, 'son of the father'—i.e., here, of the

2. Name. rabbinical 'master.' (It was not till afterwards that *Abba* began to come into use as a proper name [of rabbins], explained by Dalman [*Jesus*, I, 2] as an abbreviation, like *אֲבָא* in the time of Jesus it was a title of honour [Mt. 236].)

Jerome, *in* his commentary on Mt. 27:16-18 says that in the Gospel in the Hebrews *בַּר אֲבָא* (*Barabbas*) *Barabbas* is explained as 'son of their teacher' (*בְּרֵיבֵי מְרַבְבֵי עוֹרָא*), where *עוֹרָא* apparently implies an etymology similar to that found for a solution of a Venetian MS in WH App. *Index*, viz. that *Barabbas* (only another form for *Barabbas*; see *Winer, Gram.* § 5, 1, 70) means 'son of our teacher.' In that case we must (with Syr. hr.) write *Barabbasbar*, taking the second element as being 'teacher,' and assume that *בַּר אֲבָא* was explained as *בַּר אֲבָא*, 'our teacher,' or *בְּרֵיבֵי*, 'their teacher.' The meaning, however, is not essentially changed by this, as *בַּר* (as also *בְּרֵיבֵי*), is like *אֲבָא*, a title of honour for a great teacher.

The most remarkable fact in connection with the name of Barabbas is that Origen knew MSS. and did not absolutely reject them, in which Mt. 27:16 f. read 'Jesus' (*Ἰησοῦς*) before 'Barabbas'—a reading still extant in some cursives, as well as in the Armen. vers., in Syr. sin., and partly also in Syr. hr. Whether the Gospel of the Hebrews, referred to by Jerome, also had this reading is uncertain (see WH). In this reading 'Barabbas' would be only an addition made for the sake of distinction, as in Simon Bar-jona, but not yet with the full force of a proper name.

Some support for it might perhaps be found in the fact that the first mention of the name in Mk. is preceded by *ὁ λεγόμενος*. The meaning would then be 'He who, for distinction's sake (though it was not his proper name), was called Barabbas.' Only, in that case, in Mt. the *λεγόμενος* (here without the article), since it is followed, on the reading at present in question, by *Ἰησοῦς Barabbasbar*, would simply mean 'whose name was Jesus Barabbas', and it may be so in Mk. also. In any case it is remarkable that in all the MSS in question Barabbas should have the name *Ἰησοῦς* exclusively in Mt. and there only in two verses, while *Ἰη.* 20 and 21 simply *εἶπε* *τοῦ* *Barabbasbar*, *τοῦ* *ὄνομα* *αὐτοῦ* as an antithesis. Thus we may be tolerably certain that the name Jesus as given to Barabbas has arisen merely from mistake.

A fairly obvious explanation would be the conjecture of Tregelles, that a very early transcriber had 'per incuriam' repeated the last two letters of *ἡμῶν* and that these were at a later date taken for the familiar abbreviation of the name of Jesus. If this theory be adopted we must assume further that a later copyist inserted also in v. 16 the name *Ἰησοῦς*, which he had found in v. 17; but it is specially interesting to observe that in the Latin translation of Origen the word Jesus stands in v. 17 but not in v. 16 also. Cp Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, 2:697-700. P. W. S.

BARACHEL (בְּרַכְיָאֵל, 'God blesses,' § 28; ΒΑΡΑΧΙΛΑ [BNA]), the father of Job's friend Elihu (Job 32:6).

BARACHIAH (בְּרַכְיָהוּ, בְּרַכְיָהוּ), Zech. 1:7. the reading of AV ed. 1611, and some other old editions. See BERICHIAM [4].

BARACHIAS, RV **Barachiah** (ΒΑΡΑΧΙΑΣ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 23:35. See ZACHARIAS.

BARAK (בָּרַק, 'lightning,' § 66. cp *Sol.* בָּרַק Palm. ברק, Pun. *Barcas* [the surname of Hamilcar], and the Ass. divine names *Kammam-birku* and *Gibil-birku* [Del. *Ass. HWB* 187]). B. Abinoam (Judg. 4:6-5:14; ΒΑΡΑΚ [B.], ΒΑΡΑΚ [A]). See DEBIBAL.

BARBARIAN (Βαρβαρος), primarily, one who speaks in an unintelligible manner: ¹ hence a foreigner (cp *Il.* 2:667), in which sense it is employed by Paul in 1 Cor. 14:11 Acts 28:2. This usage was not restricted to the Greeks alone: it is met with among the Romans (cp Ovid, *Irist.* v. 10:37), and (according to Herod. 2:158) among the Egyptians. In agreement with this, the people of Melita, who perhaps spoke some Phœnician dialect, are called 'barbarians' (Acts 28:2), and *ἔ* uses *βάρβαρος* to render the *קַלִּי* of Ps. 114:1—a people 'of strange tongue' (Targ. ברבאי).² The not uncommon *Ἑλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι*, accordingly, includes the whole world: cp Rom. 1:14 (also Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7:1) and the similar 'Barbarian, Scythian,' Col. 3:11; see HELLENISM, § 2.

The use of *βάρβαρος* is sometimes so extensive that the term has been used actually in referring to the speaker's or writer's own people: cp Philo, *Fl. Mos.* § 5, and Jos. (*B.*), pref., § 1, who applies the designation 'upper barbarians' to his countrymen beyond the Euphrates.³ At a later date the word gets the meaning 'cruel,' 'savage,' etc. (cp Cic. *Fontei.* 10:21, 'immanis ac barbara consuetudo'), in which sense it occurs in 2 Macc. 2:21 4:35 13:4 and in the *ἔ* of Ex. 21:11:13 (the MT בְּרִיבֵי, 'brutish').

BARBER (בָּרְבַּר, Ph. ברב, Ass. *gallabu*), Ez. 5:1-4 See BEARD.

BARCHUS (Βαρχυς [A], 1 Esd. 5:32 RV = Ezra 2:53, BARKUS).

BARHUMITE, THE (הַבְּרֻמִּי, 2 S. 23:31; ο ΒΑΡΔΙΑΜΕΙΤΗΣ [B], ο ΒΑΡΔΙΑΜ, [Mai], ο ΒΑΡΩΜ, [A], ο ΑΒΕΝΝΙ [L]). See BAHARDI-MITE.

BARIAH (בְּרִיָּהוּ, ΜΑΡΕΙ [B], ΒΕΡΙΑ [AL]), a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3:20).

BARJESUS, the Jewish sorcerer and false prophet in the train of the proconsul Sergius Paulus at Paphos, in Cyprus, who (Acts 13:6-12) withstood the preaching of Paul, and was punished with temporary blindness.

At the outset, the names present great difficulties. In 13:6 his name (*θρομα*) is expressly said to have been

1. Names. Barjesus (*Βαρjesούς*), and such a compound (son of a father named Jesus) can quite easily have been a proper name (cp Barabbas, Barnabas, Bartholomew). In v. 8, however, he is abruptly called 'Elymas the sorcerer, for so is his name by interpretation' (*Ἐλύμας ὁ μάγος, ὁ ὄνομα γὰρ ἐπισημαίνεται τὸ θρομα αὐτοῦ*). A translation has relevance only when it is a translation into the language of the readers: in any other case it would be incumbent on the author to state what foreign language he is translating into.

(a) This being assumed, we must take it that 'the sorcerer' (*ὁ μάγος*) is the translation. Elymas (*Ἐλύμας*), in that case, would be the word translated. Accordingly, the name has been identified with the Arabic '*alim*, which occurs in the Koran (7:106 [109] 26:33 and 36 [34 and 37]) as an adjective following the noun *sāhir* which denotes a sorcerer, and has thus been taken to mean 'wise,' 'able.' Less appropriate is the derivation from Aram. אַלִּים or אַלִּים, meaning 'strong.' Equate *μάγος*, however, etymologically, with *Ἐλύμας* as we

¹ Del. (*Ass. HWB*) explains Ass. *barbaru* = 'jabal.'
² akin to this are the expressions of *קַלִּי* (1 Cor. 5:12 f.) and *רַב* *תּוֹרָה* (like the Heb. בְּרִיָּהוּ, see GENIUSES, § 1) to denote those outside the Christian world. Cp the Talm. use of *בְּרַבְיָאֵל*.

³ Similarly, the Jews frequently employed אֲרַמָּאִין, Syr. *armāyā*—i.e., 'Aramean,' in the sense of 'barbarian,'—and so the Syr. translations of the NT, under their influence, retain the term to translate *Ἑλληνες, ἑθνογενῆς*. In passages of this it was felt that a word which was used in the NT to designate 'heathen' could hardly be borne by a Christian people, and the old name was modified into *arāmāyā*; cp. No. *ZDMG* 28:13, Wright, *Comp. Gram.* 15.

may, it still has to be explained how Barjesus came suddenly to be called by the other name, Elymas. The only way in which a plausible explanation could be reached would be if Elymas (in the sense indicated) could be taken as a title or cognomen assumed by Barjesus—a foreign tongue being used to heighten still further the prestige which he sought to acquire by it. It is not as a title, however, that the author employs it. On the contrary, he gives the word without the definite article, and expressly adds that the word which he is translating was the actual name (*ὄνομα*) of the bearer.

(b) It was quite sound method, therefore, to take Barjesus for the name translated, and Elymas for the translation.

Even Pesch, in 7, § 7, for *Εὐμαῖος ὁ μάγος* arbitrarily has 'this sorcerer Barshuma' (so Pesch, reads for *Βαρῖσου* in 7: 6; see below, (c)), whose name, when interpreted, means Elymas. Klostermann (*Γραμματικὴ ἀποστολῆς*, 1882, pp. 21-3), however, is able to support this view only on three assumptions, each one of which is holdier than the other. We must read, he holds, not *Εὐμαῖος*, but *Ἐτρούμος*; secondly, we must read, not *Βαρῖσου*, but *Βαρῖσουαν*, or, to be exact, the Latin *Barjesubian*; and, in the third place, the *ἰσο* so transcribed (whether we derive it etymologically from the root *ἰσο*, or, with more probability, from the root *ἰσο* which underlies *ἴσ*, *parastat*) means 'son of preparedness' or 'son of fitness,' and thus, by the same Hebrewism as we find in the name Barnabas (*γ. v.*, *βαρναβᾶς*, *εὐνοίας*).

a. As to the first of these assumptions, it has to be noted that the reading *Ἐτρούμος* is met with only in Lucifer of Calaris (ob. 371), and even there not as *Heteromus* but as *Etemomus*; D has *Ετρούμος*, which, indeed, we cannot explain, but which, from its ending, is clearly intended to be taken as a proper name; *paratus* is found only in Lucifer, one Vg. MS, and two Latin MSS, in which in many places is found the markedly divergent text of Acts which Blass takes to be Luke's earliest draft (see ACTS, § 17).

β. Next, as regards the second assumption, *Βαρῖσουαν* is found only in D; *Barjesubian*, only in the Latin translation of D; *Barjesubian* or rather, according to the one MS known to us, *Barjesubian*, only in Lucifer. The corrector of D has restored *Βαρῖσουαν*, which, as accusative, fits his reading *ὄνοματι καλοῦμενον* for *ῶ ὄνομα*, but, in spite of *ῶ ὄνομα*, is found also in A.H.L.P. and the Greek margin of the Philoxenian; *Β*, Vg., Copt., Armen., and the Philoxenian version as well as 'nonnulli' known to Jerome, read *Βαρῖσου*—that is to say, the simple Hebrew form without a Greek termination. On this Jerome (on the Hebrew names in Acts; *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, 309) remarks, 'nonnulli Barjesu corrupte legunt,' himself declaring the right reading to be Barieu or Berieu, for which, by very daring etymologising from the Hebrew, he obtains the meanings *maleficium*, or *maleficus*, or *in malo*. Perhaps, however, even Jerome's aversion to *Βαρῖσου* rests upon the very obvious dogmatic consideration put forward by Beda in the eighth century, 'non conventi hominem flagitiosum et magum filium Jesu, id est, salvatoris, appellari quem e contrario Paulus (7: 20) filium diaboli nuncipat.' The form Barjesu in Jerome can readily be accounted for as merely a clerical error for Barjesu, or as arising out of the Greek abbreviation IHY which is met with in the oldest MSS along with the more frequently occurring IY for 'Ihsou'. The explanation in the case of the readings preferred by Klostermann is much less easy. On this account, in spite of their weak attestation, one might be inclined to regard them as the true ones; but all the authorities for the reading *paratus* have the word, not in 7: 8 instead of *Εὐμαῖος*, but as an interpolation after *Βαρῖσου* in 7: 6, 'quod interpretatur paratus.' This addition is met with elsewhere only in E, in the form *ὁ μεθερμηνεύεται Εὐμαῖος*—rendered in the Latin of this MS: *quod interpretatur Elymas*. It is evident that in neither case have we more than a single authority; and how can he explain Luke's having, after all, introduced the word into his second transcript, leaving out those in 7: 6 instead? Are we really to believe that with his own hands Luke changed his good and thoroughly intelligible first text into a positively misleading after-text? Cp ACTS, § 17 (f). If, however, the addition 'quod interpretatur paratus' at the end of 7: 6 is to be regarded as a late interpolation, Lucifer also, who has it, lies open to suspicion: his form *Etemomus* in 7: 8 may be not taken from a non-Hebraistic source, but a mere conjectural adaptation to allow of the word's being rendered *paratus* and itself regarded as a rendering of *Βαρῖσου*. What etymology he was following when he preferred (or perhaps conjecturally introduced) the form *Barjesubian* is a matter of indifference. In ancient times, as the *Onomastica Sacra* abundantly show, people made out Hebrew etymologies in a most reckless way.

γ. Klostermann's proposed etymology, *paratus*, rests upon a very weak foundation, as no such word as *par* (Yâwân) can be shown to exist (the proper name *par*, ISHVAH, in Gen. 40: 7 has no importance in this connection), and the root *par* or *par* which is used in Syriac frequently for *ἀξιος*, *ἴσος*, *ὁμοῦλος*, as also for *συν-*, *ὄμο-*, *ἀξιο-*, in compounds, is never used for *ἐτρούμος*. Besides, as we have said, the codex has not *Barjesubian* but *Barjesubian*. Above all, however, Klostermann's hypothesis remains untenable as long as one is unprepared to accept the further assumption that *ὁ μάγος* after *Εὐμαῖος* (or *Ἐτρούμος*) in 7: 8 is a mere gloss to be deleted; for *ὁ μάγος* necessarily leads to the assumption dealt with under (a). This had no doubt already been perceived by the scribe of H, who wrote *ὁ μάγος* (the great) for *ὁ μάγος*, and so also by Lucifer, if the *editio princeps* (of Tilius) is right in attributing the reading *magus* to him (the only MS of Lucifer at present known has *magus*). If Lucifer really wrote *magus*, this increases the suspicion that the other variants in Lucifer are in like manner arbitrary and unauthorised alterations of the text.

(c) In order to make out Elymas to be a translation of the name of the sorcerer, stress has been laid on the remarkable Peshitta rendering Barshuma for *Βαρῖσου*.

Already, in the seventeenth century, we find Castell (*Lec. Heptagl.* s. v. *ישו*) and Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* ad loc.) interpreting *Βαρῖσου* as *filius vulneris*, and deriving Elymas from the Arabic *'alima*=*doluit* (*دلم*). Over and above the reasons to the contrary that have already been urged under (b), however, it has to be observed (see above) that a translation into Arabic would explain nothing to the readers; it would itself require to be explained. A somewhat different turn is given to the matter by Payne Smith (*Theas. Syr.* 598). Barshuma was in the first instance given in 7: 8 as a rendering of Elymas, and only later introduced by copyists also into 7: 6 in substitution for Barjesus in the erroneous belief that it was the man's proper name. But the Peshitta in its arbitrary change of text in 7: 6 (cf. *ad init.*) says precisely the opposite,—that Barshuma was the proper name, and Elymas the translation. It must, therefore, from the outset have held Barshuma to be a reproduction of the proper name Barjesus. Thus Barshuma probably means merely 'son of the name'; and 'the name' is most easily to be accounted for as a substitute for 'Jesus' from the feeling of reverence which we have already heard expressing itself in Beda (see above (b) β), a reverence similar to that shown by the Jews when they said 'the name' instead of 'Yahweh'.

(d) Van Manen, contrariwise (*Paulus* 1, Leyden, 1890, pp. 98 f. 147), holds Elymas to be the proper name, and interprets Barjesus in the Hebrew sense as meaning 'son of Jesus'—i.e., 'follower of Jesus'.

In this he assumes that the primary document here made use of by the author of Acts did not refer to the man as a Jew, or as a sorcerer, or as a false prophet; that it simply contained the information that at Paphos Paul came into opposition with one of the older and very conservative disciples of Jesus, and got the better of him with Sergius Paulus. This hypothesis admittedly departs so widely from the text of Acts that it is impossible to control it thereby.

(e) Dalman (*Gramm.* 129, n. 1 [94]) proposes a purely Greek explanation.

'Εὐμαῖος (so accented) he regards as contracted from *Εὐμαῖος* (on these contractions see NAMES, § 26 *ad fin.*). In *Ε* (except the Apocrypha) and NT, indeed, the Flamines are always *Ἐαυα*, *Ἐαυαῖται*; but with the Greeks the forms are as invariably *Ἐαυαῖος*, *Ἐαυαῖται*; so in *Tobit* 2 to Judith 14; 1 Macc. 6: 18 *Ἐαυαῖα*.

Philologically this derivation is the simplest of all; but it contributes nothing towards the solution of the riddle.

The failure of all the attempts enumerated above renders inevitable the suggestion that here the author of Acts has amalgamated two sources, one of which called the man Barjesus while sources? the other called him Elymas. Even

Klostermann, in order to explain the peculiar distribution of the names in 7: 6, seeks the aid of this hypothesis in addition to the hypotheses already referred to [above (b), beg.]. The addition, *ὄνομα γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται ὁ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* (for so is his name translated), however, would in any case be a very unskillful way of amalgamating the two sources unless *ὁ μάγος* (sorcerer), as suggested above, be deleted as a gloss. Still, if once it is agreed to assume two sources, a further and larger question arises: the question, namely, whether the addition itself be substantially right—that is to say, whether the one name be really a translation of the other. Nay, more: it is even conceivable that the two names do not denote the same person; that accounts relating to

1 So Nestle, in private letter to the present writer.

two different persons have been transferred to a single person. This inference is suggested also by the epithets applied; for, though it is not altogether inconceivable that a 'sorcerer' (μάγος) should be a 'false prophet' (ψευδοπροφήτης), the two ideas are widely different.

Of the critics mentioned in ACTS, § 11, who discuss our present passage with reference to the distinction of sources, only Spitta and B. Weiss regard 13-24 as all of one piece; Clemen and Hilgenfeld are convinced of the opposite, but make no definite suggestions as to separation of the portions; Sora and Jüngst derive 25-6/7 from a written source, nos. 1-12 from the pen of the redactor or from oral tradition. J. next further attributes to the redactor the word μάγος in 7. 6. Yet not even so are all the difficulties cleared up.

How far the narrative as a whole is to be accepted as historical becomes a serious question as soon as it has

3. Credibility of Narrative.

been traced to more than one source; but its credibility has been doubted even by Spitta, B. Weiss, and others, who defend its unity. As regards the miracle in particular, one is not only surprised by its suddenness, but is also at a loss to see its moral justification. On the other hand, a misunderstanding would account for it readily enough. A sorcerer, a false prophet—nay, any Jew (Acts 28:27)—is, in the judgment of the Christian, spiritually blind, and this is what Paul and Barnabas proved of Barjesus in their disputation with him. In being handed down by tradition this thought could easily undergo such a change as would lead to the representation that physical blindness had been brought on as a punishment by the words of Paul. On the other hand, one would expect the blindness, if it is to be regarded as merited, to be permanent, or, at least, would expect to be told of some reason for its subsequent removal, as, for example, that the sorcerer had ceased to withstand Paul and Barnabas, or even had become a convert to Christianity. It is very noticeable that the narrator shows but little interest in the subsequent history of the man. The conversion of the proconsul (not his existence; see ACTS, § 13 *ad fin.*) also is doubtful to many.

All the more does it now become incumbent to enquire whether the narrative reveals in any measure the tendencies discerned elsewhere in Acts.

4. Tendency.

(a) In the first place, and generally, it is clear that it has a place in the parallelism between Peter and Paul (ACTS, § 4), in respect alike of the miracle of chastisement, the confutation of a sorcerer, and the conversion of a high Roman officer (cp ACTS 5:1-10 8:18-24 10:1-48). It is also in harmony with that other tendency of Acts, to represent the Roman authority as friendly, and the Jews as hostile to Christianity (ACTS, § 5 (1); § 4 *ad init.*; compare very specially the Jewish exorcists in close relation to sorcery, ACTS 19:13-16).

(b) A conjecture of wider scope¹ connects itself with what is said of Simon Magus (see SIMON MAGUS). If Paul was the person originally intended in the story of Simon, then in Acts 8:9-24 we find attributed to him the one deed which used to be flung in his teeth by his Judaistic adversaries—that, by his great collections made in Macedonia and Achaia, he had sought to purchase at the hands of the original apostles that recognition of his equality with them which they had so persistently withheld. The romance of Simon Magus, however, of which we still possess large portions (see SIMON MAGUS), had for its main contents something different, viz., that the sorcerer had spread his false doctrines everywhere and supported them by miracles, but in one city after another was vanquished in dispute and excelled in miracle by Peter. Thus, apart from the repetition of the occurrence in many cities, we are

told of Barjesus in Acts 13:6-12 exactly what is told in the romance about Simon (that is, Paul), and of Paul exactly what is told in the romance about Peter. Hence the belief that in 13:6-12 we can discover the same purpose on the part of the author as we discover in 8:18-24. He was acquainted with the unfriendly allegation about Paul, did not believe it, and wished to set forth another view. In the two passages, however, the method is not the same. In 8:18-24 it is shown that Paul could not possibly have been the infamous sorcerer, inasmuch as Simon the sorcerer was a Samaritan and was quelled by Peter indeed, but before the conversion of Paul. In 13:6-12, on the other hand, it is shown that it was Paul himself who victoriously met a sorcerer of this kind. One of the reasons for this divergence is seen in the desire, already noted, to establish a close parallelism between Paul and Peter. It is believed possible also to explain on the same lines why in Acts 13:6-12 the scene is laid in Cyprus, with a Jew in the *entourage* of a high Roman officer as one of the *dramatis personae*. To Cyprus, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 7.2, §§ 141-143), belonged the Jewish sorcerer Simon, who, at the instance of Felix of Judaea, procurator (*i.e.*, highest Roman officer), had induced Drusilla to quit her husband, King Azizus of Emesa, and marry Felix. The purpose of the narrator would have been sufficiently served had he been able to say that the sorcerer in question—Simon, to wit—under whose name the Judaisers imputed to Paul so much that was shameful, had been met and vanquished by Paul himself. That, however, was impossible; the tale had already been related of Peter. Accordingly (so it is supposed) the narrator found it necessary to give another name to the sorcerer worsted by Paul.

(c) His choice of the names Barjesus and Elymas is still unaccounted for. There is, therefore, a motive for our attributing a historical character to a certain other sorcerer, Barjesus (or Elymas), as well as to a Samaritan sorcerer named Simon. Although it is not easy to believe that Peter met the Samaritan Simon, there is no reason for assuming that Paul did not meet Barjesus. Indeed, it can easily be conceded that in Acts 13:6-12, just as in Acts 8:9-24, the author was not consciously giving a false complexion to what he had heard. He believed himself able to offer a material correction. He assumed, that is to say, that what the Judaisers were in the habit of relating of Simon the sorcerer, while really intending Paul and his opposition to the 'true' Gospel, rested in actual fact upon a mistaken identification with this Barjesus (or Elymas), and that the latter was vanquished not by Peter but by Paul. It is less easy to suppose that Cyprus was given by tradition as the scene of the occurrence. Even without any tradition, the name could be suggested by Josephus's mention of the native place of the Jewish sorcerer, and the name of Paphos would naturally present itself from the fact that the Roman proconsul had his residence there.

(d) The hypothesis has received developments to a point where we have to depend on less clear indications. If the accusations in Acts against Simon and Barjesus had originally been brought against Paul, what is said of the intimate relations of Barjesus with Sergius Paulus would belong to the same class. Now, in Acts 24:26, it is said that Felix often sent for Paul and communed with him. It is assumed that the Judaisers had gone so far as to allege that Paul had purchased the friendliness of Felix with money, or even, perhaps, to insinuate that he had been negotiator between Drusilla and Felix. It is to meet those accusations (so it is assumed) that the writer of Acts alludes to bribery by Paul as merely a hope on the part of Felix, and informs us that Paul had stirred Felix's conscience by a solemn 'reasoning' with him about his sinful marriage (24:25 *f.*).

(e) There are two more explicit indications that what we now read about Barjesus was originally told of Paul. Ἐχθρός, 'enemy,' the epithet applied by Paul to Bar-

¹ See for example, Hilgenfeld, *ZHT*, 1868, pp. 365-67; De Witte-Oberbeck on Acts 13:6-12; Lipsius, *Quellen der römischen Pseudepigraphen*, 1879, pp. 28, 32, also *PT*, 1876, p. 573; Holtzmann, *ZHT*, 1885, p. 431; and very specially Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lukas* 180-190 (194). Lipsius afterwards withdrew his earlier view; see *Apokryph. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 1 (87), p. 52; cp. 51, n. 2.

jesus (13 ro), is, with or without the substantive *ἀνθρώπος*, the standing designation for Simon (that is, Paul) in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The name, 'enemy of righteousness,' fits Paul and his doctrine of the abrogation of the Mosaic law through Christ (Rom. 10.4) all the more because his Judaistic opponents in Corinth came forward as 'servants of righteousness,' that is, men of strict observance of the law (2 Cor. 11.15). In that case, the temporary blinding of Barjesus will represent what befel Paul at his conversion; even the expressions *μὴ βλέπων* (without sight) and *χειραγωγούμενος* (leading by the hand) in 9.8 f. have their parallels in 13.11. Here, then, unless the whole hypothesis under consideration be rejected, we may say, with reasonable probability, that the blindness of Paul at his conversion (whether historical or not is immaterial) was originally represented by the Judaisers as a divine visitation for his hostility to the 'true' (that is, the legal) gospel, and that it was simply passed on by the author of Acts to Barjesus the Jew.

Whatever else be the result of what has been said in the present section, one thing at least is clear: it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion unless the tendency of the author is taken into account.

According to the *πρεβόδοι Βαρνάβα*—a legendary work composed by a Cyprian about 488—Barjesus opposed the work of Barnabas when, along with Mark

6. Later legends. (Acts 15.39), Barnabas visited Cyprus for a second time. He withstood him in various ways at his entrance into the cities where he desired to preach, and at last stirred up the Jews to burn him at the stake at Salamis. (Cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2, pp. 283-286 278 297.) P. W. S.

BAR-JONA. RV Bar-Jonah, the patronymic of Simon Peter (Mt. 16.17† *Βαρ Ἰωνᾶ* [Ti. WH]). See PETER.

Bar is a Gr. contraction of *βασιλεως* (cp Jn. 1.42 *Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς βασιλεως* [Ti.], 2.9 w. *βασιλεως* [WH]; 21.16 *Σ. βασιλεως* [Ti.], 2. *βασιλεως* [WH]; Elzev. etc. present *ἰωνᾶ*; see Var. Ebb.), which corresponds to an Aram. *ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ*; cp B. Talm. *Hull.* 133 a, *Jalim. Berachot. Aram.* 142 n. 9, and see JOANNA.

BARKOS (בִּרְקֹס, § 82, *Βερκος* [L]). The B'ne Barkos, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2.53 (*ΒΑΡΚΟΥΣ* [B], -ΚΟC [A]) = *נְבִי* 7.55 (*ΒΑΡΚΟΥΕ* [BNA]), 1. om. = 1 Esd. 5.32, CHARCUS, RV BARCHUS (*ΒΑΧΟΥC* [B], *ΒΑΡΧΟΥΕ* [A]). The NETHINIM (*q. v.*) were mainly of foreign origin, and the name Barkos seems to be Aramaic and to signify 'son of the God Κος or Κaus.' The name of this god occurs in many theophorous proper names among the Northern Semites; we have Kaus-malak as king of Edom on an Assyrian inscription (Schr. *KAT* 150), Kosnathan (קוסנתן) in Euting's *Nabat. Inscr.* n. 12 l. 1, and a variety of Semitic names on Greek inscriptions from Egypt containing the same element (*Rev.-Archol.*, Feb. 1870, p. 109 ff.). Cp also the Edomite Kostobaros [Jos. *Ant.* xv. 79]. Names designating the worshipper as son of his god are common in Aramaic—e.g., the biblical BENHADAD [probably], the Palmyrene *ܒܪܒܘ*, 'son of Nebo' (cp BARNABAS, § 1) וְבִי בַרְשֵׁשׁ, 'sons of the son of the Sun-god,' the Syrian Bar-ba'smin, 'son of the lord of heaven,' Barlāhā, 'son of God,' etc. W. R. S.

BARLEY (בָּרֵיךְ, פִּטְעֵרִים, קריסה, קריסאי [BAL], Ex. 9.31 Lev. 27.16 Dt. 8.8 Judg. 7.13, etc.) was in biblical times one of the most characteristic products of Palestine (Dt. 8.8), regarded as one of the necessities of life (Joel 1.11). It comes second in the series of grains

1. Common use.

[*κοστωβαρος* may perhaps be a scribal error for *κοστωβαρος*—i.e., קוסטר, which finds a striking parallel in the name KAUS-gahri, an Edomite king mentioned on an inscription of Esarhaddon (cp Schr. *loc.*)]

The less common singular form is used for the growing crop. The name, which Hebrew has in common with Aramaic, but not with Arabic, is derived from a root meaning 'to be rough' or 'bristling.'

mentioned in Ez. (46) as ingredients to be used in bread-making—wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt (cp BREAD). It may be inferred from a variety of passages, such as Ru. 2.17 Jn. 6.9,13, that barley was, even during the times when it was cultivated along with wheat, the staple food of the poorer class (cp FOOD). Such a reference as that in 1 K. 4.28 (58) shows us how largely it was used to feed horses and cattle.¹ It may also be gathered from the part played by the barley-cake in the dream of the Medianite, overheard by Gideon (Judg. 7.13), where it stands as a type of the Israelite peasant army, that as in other countries, so in Palestine, the cultivation of barley preceded that of wheat, and was the earliest stage in the transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life.² (Cp Pl. *HN* xviii. 72, 'antiquissimum in cibus hordeum.') This, on the whole, more probable than the view of Jos. (*Ant.* v. 6.4), which has been very generally accepted, that barley-cake represented the *feebleness* of Gideon's three hundred, and we are entitled to conclude that there was a time when barley was the staple food of all classes among the Israelites. The fact referred to in Ex. 9.31 f., that in Egypt barley ripens some time earlier than wheat, is supported by the testimony of Pliny (*HN* xviii. 106) as well as of modern writers (see references in Di. *ad loc.*).

In the single case in which the use of barley is prescribed in an offering under the ritual law (see JEALOUSY,

2. Ritual. ORDEAL OF, § 2), it is somewhat difficult to determine the reason. Some (e.g., Bahr, *Symbolik*, 2.445) have regarded it as expressive of the sordid nature of the alleged offence and the humiliation of the accused³ (a wife suspected of adultery). A reason which has recently found more acceptance is that in the case of a simple appeal to God for a judicial decision a less valuable offering was sufficient than was requisite when a suppliant besought God for the bestowal or continuance of his divine grace⁴ (Di. on Nu. 5.11, etc.). The prohibition to mingle oil or frankincense with the offering will, of course, receive a similar explanation.

Two-rowed barley (*Hordeum distichon*), which may be presumed to be the feral form, is a native of W. Asia. It may have been cultivated by

3. Variety. Semic races; but it is not represented on Egyptian monuments. The kind most frequently cultivated in antiquity was six-rowed barley (*Hordeum hexastichon*). This occurs on the most ancient Egyptian monuments and on the coins of Metapontum six centuries B.C. It was no doubt derived by cultivation from the two-rowed kind (cp De Candolle, *Orig.* (2) 294-297, and authorities quoted there).

The word 'gerah' (Ex. 30.13) is defined by Rabbinical writers as equal to sixteen barley-corns⁵; but see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BARN (בִּרְנֵיךְ), Hag. 2.9; see AGRICULTURE, § 10. Also for Job 39.12 (בִּרְנֵי) and (AV BARNFLOOR) 2 K. 6.27, RV correctly 'threshing floor.'

BARNABAS (ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΣ [Ti. WH]; § 48), otherwise JOSEPH (or JOSES).

According to the author of Acts (4.36), the name Barnabas (= υἱὸς παρακλησεως) is derived from the Aram. *ܒܪ ܢܒܐ* (son) and the same root as the Heb. *בָּרַךְ*, *פְּרֹפְרֵת*—the

1. Name. duty of *παρακλησις* ('address, exhortation'), according to 1 Cor. 14.3, and also according to Acts 15.31 f., being one of the duties of the *προφήτης*. When more

¹ So in the *Physiologus* (Land, *Anecd. Syr.* 4.24 f., cited by Lew. 277) barley is called the food of cattle as opposed to wheat the food of man.

² Cp, especially, the parallel cited by Budde (*ZDPV* 18.93) from Radloff's *Aus Sibirien*, 1.329. Cp also Moore on the passage.

³ It is noteworthy that barley formed part of the price paid by Hosea to redeem his adulterous wife (Hos. 3.2); but this may be a mere coincidence.

⁴ See, especially, the full discussion by Nowack (*Arch.* 2.249 ff.), who agrees with Dillmann's view, and points out that the offering in question is neither a sin-offering nor a guilt-offering in the ritualistic sense.

closely examined, however, this etymology is not without its difficulties. It combines words from two different languages, and its assumption fails to account for the form $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$. Klotzmann (*Ursprung des Apostelnamens*, 1882, pp. 8-14) seeks to derive the meaning $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$ from the Aramaic $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha$, *Baris quietus*, but finds in it no further reference than to the satisfaction which Barnabas caused to the apostles by becoming a convert to Christianity. Dalman's etymology (*Gram. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramaisch.*, 1894, p. 149), which makes $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$ a rendering of $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta$, this last being an abbreviation (not elsewhere met with) of a proper name $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta$ or $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta$, takes us very far from the form to be explained. Deissmann comes nearer the sound when (*Bibelstudien*, 179-181 [1881]; *Neue Bibelstudien*, 15-17 [1891]) he compares the Barnebo ($\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta$) of a Palmyrene inscription of the year 114 A.D. (see De Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*, tom. 7), and the Semitic $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$ (son of Nebo) on a North Syrian inscription of the third or fourth century A.D. (In Is. 46:1, as also in $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$, $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$, $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$, Nebo is translated into Greek with α instead of ϵ , and the termination $\alpha\epsilon$ may possibly have been substituted for $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ with the view of disguising the name of the heathen divinity. (For examples of such a custom, see Winer, *Gramm. d. N. Testaments Sprachlehre*, § 13 274.) On this theory, the rendering $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$ is merely a piece of popular etymology. Nestle (*Ursprung des N.*, 1896, p. 19 f.) is inclined to take the Syr. $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta$, which signifies $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$, as the starting-point of the etymological interpretation; but he refrains from explaining more minutely the structure of the form.

If Joseph really did first receive the surname of Barnabas from the apostles, this seems to have been on account of his distinction as a speaker. In this respect, however, the author of Acts (13:15, 16, 14:19) invariably subordinates him at least to Paul. Many Jews, with a view to their dealings with Greeks and Romans, assumed in addition to their Jewish name a Greek (or Latin) or at least Greek-sounding surname (e.g., Acts 13:12-25, 13:19, Col. 4:11, and $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$); and it may at least be asked whether this cannot perhaps have been the case with Barnabas also (see NAMES, §§ 48, 84).

According to the Epistle to the Galatians (our primary source), Barnabas was a companion of Paul in his missionary journeys for at least some time before the council of Jerusalem. In the council he joined Paul in supporting the immunity of Gentile Christians from the Mosaic Law (Gal. 2:19), which makes it all the more surprising that he afterwards retreated from the position he had taken long before, that a Jewish Christian was at liberty to eat at the same table with a brother Gentile freed from the law (Gal. 2:13). As in the case of Peter, so also in that of Barnabas, the reproach of hypocrisy hurled at both by Paul on this account may safely be toned down into one of inconsistency (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3). In point of fact, Barnabas had shaken off the Mosaic law; but he had never thought out all the bearings of the step so fully as to be able to vindicate it when the venerable and sacred duty of observing the whole law was so authoritatively pressed upon him. From this date it was, of course, no longer possible for him to work along with Paul on the same lines; and thus the dispute at Antioch more than sufficiently explains why the two separated. The mention of Barnabas in 1 Cor. 9:6 only proves that at that time also he was a prominent missionary, and that he held to the Pauline principle of supporting himself by his own labour; it is no evidence that he was personally known to the Corinthians, or that he had again become one of the companions of Paul.

In the Acts of the Apostles the separation of Barnabas from Paul is explained as due not to a difference on a matter of principle, but to a personal

3. In Acts. question; Barnabas wished to take John Mark—a near relation of his, according to Col. 4:10—as companion on a second journey planned by Paul and himself; but Paul objected, because on a previous occasion (Acts 13:13) Mark had left them in the lurch

(Acts 15:36-39). Even if this be accepted as a historical explanation (and we have no means of controlling it), it cannot be said to have been the chief one (see above, § 2); as to which Acts (see ACTS, §§ 4, 6) is scrupulously silent. In virtue of the intermediate position,—as between Pauline and Jewish Christianity,—which was held, as we have seen, by Barnabas, he is admirably fitted for a mediating rôle in Acts. Although a native of Cyprus, he is regarded as a member of the church of Jerusalem (13:5f.; on the sale of his estate, see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, §§ 1, 5); it is he who negotiates Paul's admission to that church (9:27); it is on that church's commission that he inspects the church which had been founded by dispersed Christians at Antioch in Syria (11:22-24); it is he who fetches Paul to Antioch from Tarsus and introduces him to his field of work (11:25f.), and he also is the apostle's travelling companion when the collection for the poor Christians there is being brought to Jerusalem (11:30, 12:25); as in this case, so also in the so-called first missionary journey, undertaken along with Paul through Cyprus and the south of Asia Minor, his name is placed first, at least till 13:7, and then again in 14:14 and even 15:22-25. All this is not easy to reconcile with Paul's well-known independence as shown in his letters; but the journey in Acts 11:30, 12:25 must also on other grounds be pronounced unhistorical (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1), and the rest of what is related in Acts 11 is inconsistent with the order $\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\beta\alpha\sigma$ in Gal. 1:21, as is the rest of what we read in Acts 9 with Gal. 1:15-20 (cp ACTS, § 4, and, for the doubtfulness of the contents of Acts 13 f., and the probability of a Barnabas source there, §§ 13 and 10). But, although the object of the narrative in Acts is inconsistent with history in as far as it seeks to suggest that the missionary activity of Paul among the Gentiles was no departure from the views of the primitive church,—that on the contrary it was authorised and even set on foot by it,—we may without hesitation accept as historical (see ACTS, § 4) not only the co-operation of Barnabas with Paul shortly before and at the Council at Jerusalem, which is vouched for by the Epistle to the Galatians, but also the part which he took in the first missionary journey (Acts 13 f.), and even perhaps in Paul's introduction to Jerusalem (of course according to Gal. 1:18 f.) at his first visit to that city three years after his conversion. We may also accept in all probability the second journey of Barnabas to Cyprus in company with Mark (Acts 15:39). From this point his name disappears from the NT.

Our later notices of him are of little value. According to Clem. Al. (*Strom.* ii. 20, § 116; cp Eus. *HE*

ii. 14), he was one of the Seventy of Lk. 10:1; **4. Later notices.** in the frankly anti-Pauline *Clem. Homilies* (i. 9-16), which date from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century—or rather, in the sources from which these Homilies were drawn—he was a personal disciple of Jesus, Palestinian by origin, but Alexandrian by residence, a strict adherent of the law; according to *Hom.* i. 8, ii. 4, Clement meets him in Alexandria, but in *Clem. Recog.* (17) the meeting was in Rome. According to this presumably earlier (but none the less unhistorical) representation, he proclaimed the gospel in Rome even during the lifetime of Jesus, and therefore before Peter. In *Hom.* 1:7 this statement is made only of some person who is left unnamed, and later means were found for the complete suppression or any such tradition, so full of danger to the authority of Peter and his alleged successors. From the fifth century onwards its place was taken by the statement that Barnabas was founder and bishop of the Church of Milan—a statement, however, accompanied by the clause, 'after he had been the first to preach the gospel in Rome.' It was upon this allegation that the archbishops of Milan afterwards based their claims to metropolitan authority over the

1 In *Die Worte J.*, 32 (98), Dalman comes over to Deissmann's view, which is also ably defended by G. B. Gray, *Exp. Times*, Feb. 1890, p. 252 f. Cp also Arnold Meyer, *Jesus Muttersprache*, 47 f. (96).

whole of Northern and part of Central Italy. In the interests of Roman supremacy (which had originally been helped by it), the allegation was violently disputed by Roman theologians of the eighteenth century.

In complete independence of the Roman and Milanese tradition, there arose, after 431 A.D., the legend that Barnabas had been the missionary to his native island of Cyprus, and had suffered martyrdom at Salamis, where he was buried. On this plea the Cyprian church, between 485 and 488 A.D., obtained from the Emperor Zeno its independence of the Patriarchate of Antioch. The implied assumption is that Barnabas was an apostle in the full sense of the word.

Ecclesiastical writers often substitute him for Barsabbas (Acts 1:23; cp BARSABAS, § 2), perhaps on account of the name Joseph, common to both (the Sahidic and Philonenic versions have, on the other hand, *Joses* in both cases, and there are isolated authorities for Barnabas alone), but perhaps in order to bring him nearer the apostolic circle. This object is effected in a more pronounced way by *Clem. Recog.* (1:66), which identifies him with Matthias (Acts 1:26). There is an isolated notice in the (Gnostic) *Actus Petri Vercellenses* to the effect that Barnabas was sent along with Timothy to Macedonia before Paul's journey to Spain. Cp. Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2, pp. 270-320 (especially 310), 260, 373.

Tertullian's claim of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews for Barnabas is quite inadmissible. It is difficult to attribute to a born Levite (Acts 4:36) such grave errors about the temple (or tabernacle) as occur in Heb. 9:3 f. 7:27; or to any member of the primitive church of Jerusalem any such declaration as that in Heb. 2:3, that he had first received the gospel at second hand through hearers of Jesus. Nor is such an origin consistent with the thoroughly Alexandrian character of the Epistle. Even, however, if we must refrain from basing any argument on the statements about Barnabas in Acts 4:36, we are still confronted by a decisive fact: the man who at a critical moment was so much subject to the Mosaic law (Gal. 2:13), could not have spoken of its abolition and even of its carnal character, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks in 7:12:18:16. Doubtless the Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to Barnabas because it was supposed that the λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως of Heb. 13:22 could only have come from the υἱὸς παρακλήσεως of Acts 4:36.

That Barnabas should have written the anonymous epistle which since the time of Clement of Alexandria has borne his name, and on that account has been included among the writings of the 'apostolic fathers,' is still more inconceivable than his authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It goes far beyond Paul in its assertion of freedom from the law. As to its date, see under ACTS (§ 16). P. W. S.

BARODIS (ΒΑΡΩΔΙΣ [BA]), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETHIIM) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA, ii. §§ 9 8 c. 15 a), one of the eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5:34 (om. 6^b) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of Ezra 2:57 = Neh. 7:59.

BARREL (בַּר יָדְרִיָּא [BAL]; 1 K. 17:12:14:16:18:33). See COOKING UTENSILS, § 2; POTTERY.

BARRICADE (בְּרִיָּקָה), 1 S. 17:20 RV^{mg}. See CAMP, § 1.

BARSABAS or **BARSABBAS** (§§ 48, 72). The etymology is doubtful. *Βαρσαβας* has been derived

from בָּר ('son') and אֲבָהּ or אָבָה ('Sheba,' 1. Name. —which, however, as far as we know, is always the name of a country, never of a person), from בַּר and צַבָּה (= 'warrior'; cp Nu. 31:53), or from בָּר and אָבָה ('old man's son'). *Βαρσαββας* ([Ti. WH] the better attested form of the name) suggests 'child of the

Sabbath.' Dalman (*Gram. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 143) instances analogies to show that אָבָהּ or אֲבָהּ could by contraction become אָבָהּ, though אֲבָהּ בָּר is what we should more naturally expect in such a case.

1. Joseph Barsabbas, surnamed Justus (Ἰούστος [Ti. WH]), was nominated, though not chosen, for the 2. Joseph. vacancy in the apostolate caused by the death of Judas. The account of the election in Acts 1:15-26 could not be held to be historical if we regarded the number twelve for the original apostolate as having been fixed, and invested with special dignity, only after the controversy as to Paul's equality in privilege with the apostles of Jerusalem. But even were we to set aside the reference to the δώδεκα in 1 Cor. 15:5, as being unparalleled elsewhere in the Pauline writings, we should still be at a loss to explain why Paul never vigorously protested against an innovation—if innovation it was—so arbitrary and so derogatory to his own position. Occasion enough for doing so presented itself in Gal. 2 and 2 Cor. 10-13. We must, accordingly, ascribe to Jesus himself the choice of twelve of his disciples who stood in peculiarly close relations to their Master. But in that case it was very natural that these should seek to keep up their number—that of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Whether the election was in Jerusalem is more open to question. On the arrest of Jesus all the disciples, according to Mk. 14:50 Mt. 26:56, had taken to flight, and that they should have returned to Jerusalem so soon is not likely. The view of Lk. and Jn., according to which they are present in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection of Jesus (and remain there), cannot be reconciled with what we are told by Mk. and Mt.; the explanation is that the third and fourth evangelists found the statement of the first and second incredible. According to this last, Jesus, in Jerusalem, through the women, sends the disciples, who are also in Jerusalem, to Galilee, in order that he may there show himself to them. The kernel of historical fact, however, is not as Lk. and Jn. have it, but the reverse: namely, that the apostles were not in Jerusalem at all, but in Galilee, and thus in Galilee received the manifestations of their risen Lord. It may even be questioned whether they were again in Jerusalem and able to come forward publicly and unopposed so early as at the following Pentecost (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL).

In a still higher degree must the discourse of Peter in Acts 1:16-22 be regarded as entirely the work of the author (see ACTS, § 14).

Instead of Ἰωσήφ in Acts 1:23, there is some (though inferior) authority for Ἰωσῆς, a reading due perhaps to a conjecture that the 'brethren of Jesus' named in Mk. 6:3 were of the number of the Twelve; the same conjecture, if in Acts 1:23 the reading Ἰωσήφ be retained, appears to find support in the fact that in Mt. 13:55 the brother of Jesus in question is called, not as in Mk. 6:3 Ἰωσῆς, but according to the best MSS Ἰωσήφ. The assumption, however, is quite inadmissible (see CLOPAS, §§ 4, 5).

According to Papias (Eus. HE iii. 39 9), Justus Barsabbas drank deadly poison with impunity. From the fifth century onwards he is named as one of the seventy of Lk. 10:1; in the list of these preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* (Bonn ed. i. 400) he is identified with Thaddæus = Lebbaeus; in that of Pseudo-Dorotheus (ib. ii. 128), with Jesus Justus (Col. 4:11), to whom the see of Eleutheropolis is assigned. In the *Passio Pauli* (attributed to Linus, but really dating from the 5th or 6th cent.) 'Barsabbas et Justus,' in another redaction 'Barzbas Justus,' and in a third ὁ Βαρσαββας Ἰούστος, are enumerated among servants of Nero who, converted by Paul, are cast into prison and condemned to death by the emperor, but afterwards released after an appearance of the risen Paul to the latter. The identification of this Justus with the biblical Barsabbas seems to have

by the Jewish exiles to Jerusalem (114), which they cite at full length in the following section (115-38), is or is not identical with 'the book' written by Baruch. Moreover, the historical situation described in the narrative (13-13) does not agree very well with the subsequent portion, since the narrative assumes the continued existence of the temple, whereas 226 implies its destruction. Finally, the discourse which occupies all the latter half of the book begins quite abruptly and stands in no definite relation to what precedes: it presupposes, indeed, the dispersion of Israel; but to Baruch and to the special circumstances of the *Babylonian* captivity there is no allusion.

To these general considerations may be added several difficulties of detail. The date given in 12 is so obscurely worded that several modern commentators (*e.g.*, Ewald and Kneucker) have felt obliged to emend the text. Even if the omission of the month be explained, we still have to decide whether 'the fifth year' means the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity or the fifth year after the burning of Jerusalem; and to both views there are serious objections. Chap. 18 disturbs the sense, and if it be genuine must originally have stood in some other place.

Though the Book of Baruch never formed part of the Hebrew Canon (for which reason Jerome excluded it from his Latin translation of the Bible), it

3. Origin. was regarded as authentic by many of the Christian fathers, from the second century onwards. Sometimes, owing to the place which it occupies in the LXX, it is cited as a part of Jeremiah. Even in quite recent times, it has been maintained by Roman Catholic theologians that the book is a translation of a genuine work of the well-known Baruch, the friend and secretary of the prophet Jeremiah. All competent critics, however, have long ago concluded that it dates from a very much later period, and belongs to the large class of Jewish books which were put forth under false names. Its origin and history remain, however, in some respects obscure. That 115-38 and 39-59 are by different authors is generally acknowledged: both in substance and in style there is a marked contrast, the language of the former section being simple and full of Hebraisms, while that of the latter is highly rhetorical. The dates of the various parts, however, and the question whether the whole or any part was originally written in Hebrew are matters about which critics differ.

Ewald ascribed the first half (11-38) to a Jew living in Babylonia or Persia under one of the latter Achaemenian kings, and regarded the rest of the book as having been written soon after the capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter (320 B.C.); 432 Ewald explained as a reference to the deportation of Jews to Alexandria. Very few critics, however, are now in favour of so early a date. Kneucker thinks that the work, in its original form, was composed in the reign of Domitian, and consisted of only the heading (*i.e.*, 112 in part, 3), and the discourse contained in 39-59; the confession of sin (115-38) was, according to Kneucker, probably written a little earlier (in any case after the year 73 of our era) as an independent work, and was subsequently inserted into the Book of Baruch by a scribe, who himself composed 14-14. Schürer, on the contrary, whilst admitting that the middle of chap. 1 does not harmonise very well with what precedes and follows, thinks it on the whole probable that all the first half of the book (11-38) is by the same author, whom he places soon after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), the second half being by a different hand but of about the same period. With regard to the original language, Ewald, Kneucker, and others believe the whole to be a translation from the Hebrew, whilst Berthold, Hävernick, and Nöldeke regard the Greek as the primitive text. Fritzsche, Hilgenfeld, Reuss, and Schürer maintain the theory of a primitive Hebrew text in the case of the first half only. In favour of this hypothesis, it may be mentioned that on the margin of

the Syro-Hexaplar text of Baruch there are three notes by a scribe stating that certain words in 117 and 23 are 'not found in the Hebrew' (cp APOCRYPHA, § 6 (3)).

As to the question of historical credibility, it is obvious that if, with the majority of critics, we ascribe the book

4. Historical value. to the Roman period, its value as a record

of facts is reduced to nothing. Whether, for example, the statements about Baruch's residence in Babylon, the river *Σοδδ*, and the priest Jehoiakim are based upon any really ancient tradition it is impossible for us to decide. The author of the first half borrows largely from Jeremiah and from Daniel; in the second half we find many reminiscences of Job and of the latter part of Isaiah; and it may be that sources now lost also were employed. It is particularly important to observe that the closing passage (436-59) bears a striking resemblance to one of the pieces in the so-called 'Psalms of Solomon' (Ps. 11—see the edition of Ryle and James, pp. lxxii-lxxiv.), which probably date from about the middle of the first century B.C. Since there is every reason to believe that the Psalms of Solomon were originally composed in Hebrew (cp APOCALYPTIC, § 83), the close verbal agreement seems to indicate that the author of this part of Baruch used the Psalms of Solomon in their present Greek form.

The most important of the MSS containing the Greek text of Baruch are A, and the Marcianus (D). In B the book is missing. Fritzsche's edition of the Apocrypha

5. Text and comm. (*Librorum apocryphorum testamento*, 1872) does not accurately represent the B text, but

Baruch; but trustworthy information about this MS may be obtained from Swete's *Apocrypha*, B, in the preparation of which the photographic reproduction of B was used.

The ancient versions are—(1) the old Latin, contained in the editions of the Vg.; (2) another Latin version, first published at Rome in 1688 by Joseph Maria a Carlo Tommasi; (3) the Old Syriac, ed. by Paul de Lagarde in his *7. tome des livres apocryphes*, 1892; (4) the Syro-Hexaplar, as the Syriac translation of Origen's Hexaplar text (contained in the *Coexa* Ambrosiana), which was reproduced in photo-lithography by Ceriani in 1871; (5) the Ethiopic version, taken from the text—ed. by Dillmann (Berlin 1874) in the 5th vol. of his *Vertrag*; (6) the Armenian, as in the Armenian version of the text which is contained in the Armenian Bible published at Venice in 1825; (7) the Coptic, edited by Brugsch in *Z. A. S.*, xii.

Of modern commentaries the most valuable are those of Fritzsche (in *Kurzgef. Handb.*, 1851), Reusch (*Erklärung des Buchs Baruch*, 1883), Ewald (*Propheten des alten Testaments*, iii, 1867-68), Kneucker (*Das Buch Baruch*, 1879), and Gifford (in Wace's *Apocrypha*, 1888). The best general account of the book will be found in Schürer (*Gal.*, 1886-90, ii, pp. 723-726, ET). The reader may consult also Berthold (*Einführung*, 1812-19, pt. iv), Hävernick (*De libro Baruch commentatio critica*, 1843), Hitzig (in *ZWT* 3 262-272), Hilgenfeld (*ibid.*, 5 199-203, 22437-454, 2412-422), Nöldeke (*ATLische Lit.*, 1868, p. 214 B.), Reuss (*Gesch. d. biblischen Schriften*, 1853, 1860), and the article on this book in Smith's *DB*, (2) 1893—an article valuable chiefly on account of the additions made by Prof. Ryle.

In many MSS and printed editions the apocryphal *Epistle of Jeremiah* is appended to Baruch, and it is reckoned in the Vg. as the sixth chapter of the book. The Book

6. Appendices. of Baruch is not to be confounded with the *Apocrypha of Baruch* (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 5 ff.). The work known as 'The Rest of the words of Baruch,' extant in Greek, Ethiopic, and Armenian, seems to be a Christian imitation of the Apocalypse of Baruch.

We possess, moreover, a third apocalypse of Baruch extant in Greek and in Slavonic, and a fourth extant only in Ethiopic. The Greek text of the former has been published by James in his *Apocrypha of the ancient sacred scriptures* (1871) (*Texts and studies*, vol. 5, no. 1), where some information will be found also about the Ethiopic apocalypse (lii). A. A. B.

BARZILLAI (בַּרְזַי: ΒΕΡΖΕΛΛΑΙ[Ε]) [B̄N̄A]L̄. The meaning can scarcely be 'iron,' for such a name would be without a parallel. According to Nestle (*ZDPV* 1555; cp Kampfmeyer, *ib.* 9), the name is Aramaic ('son of —?'); but the latter part of it is still obscure.

1. A wealthy Gileadite of Rōgglim, who befriended David in his flight from Absalom at Mahanaim (2 S. 17:27). He refused David's offer to live at the court at Jerusalem, but entrusted to him his son CHIMHAM

(*q.v.*; 2 S. 19.32ff.). David on his death recommended the sons of Barzillai to Solomon (1 K. 2).

2. A Gileadite (see (3)), Ezra 2 61 (Ἐφραθάι[ε] [B], -λααί [A]) = Neh. 7 61b (-λααί [A]) = Est. 5 38 b (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, RV ΖΩΡΑΒΕΛΕΥΣ, RV 96b ΠΡΩΤΟΖΕΛΕΥΣ; φασῆδατοι; φασῆδατοι [A], φασῆδατοι [A]).

3. A man who married one of the daughters of (2) and changed his name to Barzillai.¹ In post-exilic times the b'ne Barzillai were among those deposed from the priesthood because they were unable to prove their pedigree. In 1 Esd. 5 38 the original name of the founder of the family is said to have been JADDUS, AV ADDUS (ἀδδους [B], ἰδδ[.], [A])—i.e., Jaddua (cp Jos. Ant. xi. 8.4; ἰδδους);—but in the parallel passages he is simply called Barzillai; Ezra 2 61a (φασῆδατοι [B], φασῆδατοι [A]) = Neh. 7 61a (φασῆδατοι [A]), and so 1. in 1 Esd. 5 38 (φασῆδατοι). The same passage gives ΑΒΕΛΙΑ as the name of his wife.

4. A man of Abel-meholah (not far, therefore, from Gilead), whose son ADRIEL (*q.v.*) also has been thought to bear an Aramaic name (2 S. 21 9).

BASALOTH (Βαδαλωθ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 52, BAZLU'ITH, *q.v.*

BASCAMA (Βασκάμα [ANV]; Βασκά, Jos. Ant. xiii. 6), an unknown place, in Gilead, where Jonathan the Maccabee was put to death by Trypho (1 Macc. 13 23). Furrer's identification (ZDPV 12 151) with *Tell-Bitauk* on the W. Goramāyā (to the E. of the extreme N. of Lake Tiberias) is precarious (see Buhl, *Pal.* 241). Equally unsubstantiated is the identification with BEZEK, i.

BASE. For בִּסְנָה, בִּסְנָה, *m'k'hōnāh*, the word employed to denote the structure upon which each of Solomon's towers rested (1 K. 7 27 f., 29 29, 31 7 f., 32 f.; 2 K. 16 17 21 17 = Ch. 411, μεγάρων [sing. and pl.], Jer. 27 13 14 15 om. BR, μεγάρων [Theol.]; Jer. 52 17 Βασε [BNQT]), see LAVER; also for 77. *hōn*, Ex. 31 6 etc., RV [AV 'hōn]. For 77. *hōn*, Ex. 27 21 27 17 RV [AV 'haft'], see CASHIERICK, § 2, n. 3; and for 22. *gōb*, Ezek. 43 13, see ALTAH, § 11.

BASEMATH (בִּסְמַת), Gen. 36 3 RV; AV BASHE-MATH.

BASEMENT (הַבַּיִת), Ez. 41 3 RV. See GARBATHA, PAVEMENT.

BASHAN (בָּשָׁן), always in prose [except 1 Ch. 5 23], and sometimes also in poetry, with the art. בָּשָׁן: the

1. **Name**. appellative sense of the word, to judge from the Arab. *buthainat*^m, was probably 'fertile, rich and stoneless soil': see Wetzstein, in Del. *Hib.* 2^o [App.], 550 f.; ὄμβρ. βασαν or ἡ βασανείρις, the name of the broad and fertile tract of country on the E. of Jordan, bounded (somewhat roughly) on the S. by the Yarmūk and a line passing through Edre' and Salchah (mentioned as border cities in Dt. 3 10), on the E. by the imposing range of extinct volcanoes called the Jebel Haurān, on the W. by Geshur and Ma'acah (see Josh. 12 5), and on the N. stretching out towards Hermon (cp Dt. 33 22: see further, on the limits of Bashan, Guthe, *ZDPV*, 1890, pp. 231-4). The name (in its Gk. form *Baravaia*,² and its Arabic form *Bathaniyeh*³) was, however, afterwards restricted to the southern portion of the area thus defined, other parts of the ancient 'Bashan' being distinguished as TRACHONITIS (*q.v.*)—i.e., the remarkable pear-shaped volcanic formation in the NE. now called the Lejā—Auranitis (probably the Jebel Haurān and its environs in the SE.), and Gaulanitis (which, however, may have included parts of Geshur and Ma'acah, beyond the limits of Bashan proper) in the West. The principal part of the Bashan of the OT must have been the broad rolling prairie now called by the Bedawīn *en-Nukra*, a word properly denoting the 'hollow hearth' dug by the Bedawī in the middle of his tent, and applied to this great plain because, though it is

some 1800-2000 ft. above the level of the sea, it forms a depression between the hilly Jaulān (across the Nahr er-Rukḡād) on the W., the Zumleh range on the S., and the Jebel Haurān and the Lejā on the E.:¹ the S. and SE. part of *en-Nukra* also bears the special name of HAUKAN (*q.v.*).

Bashan, as defined above, is distinguished geologically from the country S. of it. The Yarmūk forms a natural

2. **Character**. dividing line, on the S. of which the limestone comes to the surface, while on the N. it is covered by volcanic deposits. Jebel Haurān, on the SE., is simply a range of extinct volcanoes; volcanic peaks extend from N. to S. in Jaulān, along the edge of the Jordan valley, on the W.;² and there are isolated volcanic hills in other parts of the country. The Lejā, that strange 'petrified ocean' NW. of the Jebel Haurān, which measures some 25 m. from N. to S. by 19 m. from E. to W. (see TRACHONITIS), owes its origin entirely to streams of basaltic lava emitted from the Garārāt el-Kibilyūh, a now extinct volcano at the NW. corner of the Jebel Haurān. The soil both of the slopes of the Jebel Haurān and of the Nukra is a rich red loam,³ formed by the lava scoria, which has become disintegrated under atmospheric action. The soil thus constituted is celebrated for its fertility: the best corn grows upon it, and in summer time the plain is covered far and wide with waving crops. The country is, however, in general almost entirely destitute of trees: only on the slopes of Jebel Haurān, especially in its central and southern parts, are there abundant forests of evergreen oak⁴ (cp the allusions to the 'oaks of Bashan' in the OT: Is. 2 13 Zech. 11 2 Ez. 27 6, also Is. 33 9 (ἄ ἡ Γα[ε]λάα), Nah. 1 4). In ancient times, also, it must have supplied rich pastures: the strong and well-nourished herds of Bashan are mentioned in Ps. 22 14 [c.] (ἄ ὀμις) Am. 4 1 Ez. 39 18 (ἄ ὀμις) Dt. 32 14 (ἄ ταιῶν); cp also Mic. 7 14 Jer. 50 10 (ἄ ὀμις). The lofty conical summits of the volcanoes forming the Haurān range (cp Porter, 183, 186, 190, 227, 250) are no doubt the 'mountains with peaks,' which the poet of Ps. 63 16 f. [15 f.] pictures as looking enviously at the comparatively unimposing mountain of Zion.

The principal towns of Bashan mentioned in the OT are the two royal cities of 'Og (Dt. 14 Josh. 12 4 βασι

3. **Towns**. [B]), 'ASHTAROTH, now probably either Tell 'Ashtērā or Tell 'Ashari, in the middle of *en-Nukra*, and EDIR'ē, now Der'at, on its S. border, GO'AN (Dt. 4 43), somewhere in the W., and SALCHAH (Dt. 3 10), now Salchad, a frontier-fortress in a commanding position overlooking the desert in the SE. corner of Bashan, S. of Jebel Haurān. Bosra, between Edre' and Salchah, though not mentioned till 1 Macc. 5 26 ff. (βασορ [ANV*]; but see BOSOR), was, no doubt, an important place: the site is still marked by extensive remains belonging to the Roman age. 'Threescore fenced cities, with high walls, gates and bars,' forming the kingdom of 'Og, are likewise mentioned in Dt. 3 4 (cp 1 K. 4 13) as situate in the 'region of Argob,' in Bashan. The position of Argob, and, consequently, the positions of those cities as well, are uncertain (see ARGOB, 1); but there are remains of many ancient towns and villages in these parts, especially in the Lejā, and on the sloping sides of the Jebel Haurān; according to Wetzstein, for example (*Hauran*, 42), there are 300 such ancient sites in the E. and S. slopes of the Jebel Haurān alone.

The dwellings in these deserted localities are of a remarkable character. Some are the habitations of Troglodytes, being caverns hollowed out in the mountain-side, and so arranged as

¹ The adoption of the family name of the wife suggests that she was an heiress.

² See Schürer, *OT* 1 353.

³ Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 83-88, and in the app. to Del. *Hib.* 2^o 553-558, where it is shown also that the modern 'ard el-Bathaniyeh,' or 'Land of Bathaniyeh,' is the name of a comparatively small district N. of the Jebel Haurān and E. of the Lejā, which can never (as was supposed by Porter and others) have formed part of either Bashan or the province of Baravaia.

¹ Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 87 n., *Hib.* 352; GASM, *HC* 536 f. See the excellent map of this district published in the *ZDPV*, 1890, Heft 4, chiefly on the basis of Südehl's survey.

² Schumacher, *The Jaulān*, 18-20.

³ Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 40 f. Cp the map at the end of the volume.

⁴ Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, 2^o 186, 190, 260, 262, etc.; GASM, *Geog.* 613 f. The mountainous region of Jaulān, W. of the Rukḡād, is also well wooded.

clerks' (see SCRIBE). For bastardy, in its religious connection, cp COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 10.

BAT (בַּתּוֹבָה, lit. 'night-flier'?) ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙC: *vespertilio*.¹ Lev. 11 19 Df. 14 18 Is. 2 20; also Bar. 6 21). The bats form a well-defined and very numerous order of mammalia, termed by naturalists the *Cheiroptera*. The position of the name at the end of the list of unclean birds, and immediately before the list of reptiles, accords with the universal opinion of antiquity that the bat, in Aristotle's words, 'belonged both to birds and to beasts, and shared the nature of both and of neither';² nor is it in any way surprising to find them included, apparently, amongst birds, for bats alone amongst mammals have developed the faculty of true flight, and have become so modified by their aerial habits that their power of progressing on the ground is markedly inferior to that of most birds and insects. They show, in fact, a strong aversion to being on the ground, and, as a rule, at once try to leave it, by crawling up some wall or tree from which they can take their flight.

The nature of their food (either insects or fruit) makes it necessary for those bats which inhabit temperate climates either to migrate at the approach of winter or to spend the cold months in a long winter sleep, for which purpose they often collect in large colonies in caves, ruins, or disused buildings. As a rule the bats of the Old World choose the latter alternative, and this seems to be the case with many of those found in Palestine. When food again becomes abundant, they as a rule sleep during the day suspended head downwards by their feet, and leave their homes only to search for food at the approach of twilight. The majority of the bats of Palestine (and they are very numerous) inhabit caves, caverns, tombs, ruins, and disused buildings of all kinds, where they can avoid the light, a fact referred to in Is. 2 20 f.

As many as seventeen distinct species of bats, belonging to four different families and eleven different genera, have been described by Canon Tristram. Two or three of these may be mentioned by name. The only representative of the fruit-eating bats (*Megachiroptera*) is *Acanthopteryx (Cynomops) agassiziana*, a species which is elsewhere arboreal in its habits, but in Palestine is found living in large colonies in caves and tombs. A further peculiarity of this species is that individual specimens from different localities vary markedly in size, those from Kurn in the plain of Acre being much smaller than those from the hills near Tyre, which resemble in size the variety found in Cyprus and Egypt. This species is very commonly found inside the Pyramids of Egypt and is believed to be the one so often figured in Egyptian frescoes.

The horse-shoe bat *Rhinolophus ferrum-equinum* is the commonest bat in Palestine, swarming in immense numbers in the caverns along the Jordan and the Red Sea. It has a wide distribution, extending from England to Japan and all over Africa. It collects in large colonies (180 have been found together) in caves and ruins for its winter sleep, and these colonies are peculiar as they are composed of one sex. Another British bat very common in the hill country about Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and the Sea of Galilee, is the long-eared bat, *Plecotus auritus*, usually found in caverns. It is always very late in leaving its resting-place, not appearing till twilight has changed to night; but it continues to hunt for the insects on which it feeds the whole night through. N. M.—A. E. S.

¹ According to Schultens, *Clar. Dial.* 322, from the root which appears in Ar. as *afala* 'to be dark' (of night), and *qay* 'to fly'. It must, however, be said that compounds are very rare in Hebrew; and the modification of form involved in this case is improbable. It might be thought, from the absence of the word in the cognate languages (in the language of the Targums it is simply borrowed from Hebrew), that it is a loan-word which came in from a non-Semitic source; but there is much to be said for the view that it is connected with Aram. *artel*, 'naked' (from the character of a bat's wings), as suggested by Law (see Ges. HWB¹), or with the root *qay*, which in Hebrew has the sense of being covered or darkened.

² The *Heshtia* has the same meaning in Leviticus and Deuteronomy the curious rendering 'peacock', but in Is. 2 20 Bar. 6 21 employs the proper Syriac word for 'bat'; the Arabic version has 'bat' in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but like the Targum goes astray in a mistaken paraphrase of Is. 2 20.

³ *De Part. Animal.* 413. For other references see Bochart, *Hierozoicon*.

BATH (בַּת), deriv. uncertain; cp BDB. s.v., Is. 5 10. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BATH-RABBIM (בַּת־רַבִּימַי, 'daughter of multitudes.' [BDB]; ΟΥΡΥΔΡΟC ΠΟΛΛΑCΙC [BDB]; *filia multitudinis*; Cant. 7 4 [5]f.). The eyes of the bride are likened to the 'pools in Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim.' With true insight, Grätz in 1871 recognised the impossibility of the reading Bath-rabbim; he suggested Rabbath-Ammon. Certainly this is possible; and NW. of Heshbon, in a lateral valley of the Wady Heshlan, old reservoirs have been found. We cannot, however, suppose that these reservoirs were so famous as to be celebrated in a popular song beside Carmel and the Tower of Lebanon. 'Heshbon' as well as 'Bath-rabbim' must be wrong. Winckler's suggestion 'Helbon' (*IGF* 1 293 f.) fits in with the mention of Lebanon, but has no other recommendation. Considering that there is deep-seated corruption in the next verse (see HAIR, GALLERY, 2), we are justified in making an emendation which might otherwise seem too bold. The most famous pools in Palestine, outside of Jerusalem, were no doubt those known as the Pools of Solomon (see CONDUITS, § 3). In the long green vale of 'Ar'ūs, unusually green among the rocky knolls of Judaea, Solomon, according to post-exilic belief, 'planted him vineyards, and made him gardens and paradises . . . and made him pools of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared' (Eccles. 2 4-6). Probably it is this scenery that has suggested several descriptive passages in Canticles (Stanley; Del.); it was worthy to be mentioned beside Carmel and Lebanon. Read בַּת־רַבִּימַי, and (with Wl.) עַיִן for עֵינַי, and render

Thine eyes are like Solomon's pools
By the wood of Beth-ceren.

Beth-ceren, 'place of a vineyard,' was probably the name of some part of the garden-land referred to in Eccles. 2 4-6. See *JQR*, April 1880, cp BETH-HACEREM.

BATHSHEBA (בַּת־שֵׁבַע, 'daughter of the oath' (?), § 48; in 1 Ch. 3 5 בַּת־שֵׁבַע, where the pointing should be corrected to בַּת־שֵׁבַע, in $\text{S}^{\text{B}}\text{AL}$, by a strange confusion, ΒΗΡCΑΒΕΕ = Beersheba), wife of Uriah the Hittite, afterwards wife of David and mother of Solomon 2 S. 11 2-12 24 (BETHSABEE [A] 1 K. 1 7 (BETHSABEE in 1 11 15). Some think that she was a granddaughter of ABILHONIM 1 2 2-3.

When David first saw Bathsheba, Joab was engaged in the siege of Rabbath Ammon. The king himself was reposing, after his years of hardship, at Jerusalem. The story (which is omitted in Chronicles) is that, walking one evening on the flat roof of his palace, David saw a beautiful woman bathing in the court of a neighbouring house. He asked who she was, and, learning that her husband Uriah was away with the army, 'sent messengers and took her' (2 S. 11 4). To avert the shock which an open act of adultery would have caused to the ancient Israelitish sense of right, he devised the woful expedient related in 2 S. 11 6-25. First he had Uriah sent to him, ostensibly with a message from the camp. He dismissed him to his house with a portion from the royal table; but Uriah remained with the guard of the palace: he scrupled, if Robertson Smith may be followed (*Rel. Sem.* 455, 484), to violate the taboo on sexual intercourse applied to warriors in ancient Israel. The next night the king plied him with wine; but still Uriah was obstinate. Driven desperate, his master sent the brave soldier back to Joab, bearing a letter ordering his own destruction. Uriah was to be set in the place of danger and then abandoned to the foe. The cruel and treacherous plan was carried out, and when Bathsheba's mourning for her husband was over, David made her his wife.

The story of the rebuke of Nathan, of the revival of the king's better self, and of the sickness and death of

BATHSHUA

the child of Bathsheba, is well known. It is a question, however (see Schwally, *ZATW* 12 153 ff.; Bu. *SBOT* 89), whether, in the original form of the narrative, 2 S. 12:15 did not follow on 11:27, which means treating the most edifying part of the story as a later amplification (see DAVID, § 11). Considering what we know of the gradual idealisation of the life of David (which culminates in Chronicles and the titles of the Psalms), this appears far from impossible. The story gains in clearness by the omission. At any rate, Wellhausen is right in regarding 12:10-12 as an interpolation in the narrative of the colloquy between David and Nathan. It was suggested by an intelligent reading of the subsequent history. David's evil example was imitated in exaggerated form by Amnon; and Amnon's sin was fruitful in troubles, which culminated in Absalom's rebellion, and darkened all David's remaining years.

We meet Bathsheba for the last time, just as David's end was at hand, in the full glory of a queen-mother. Solomon rises to meet her, bows down before her, and sets her on a seat at his right hand. She gained her object, and it is interesting (if Nathan really took the part assigned to him in 2 S. 12:1-15) to notice that Nathan was one of her chief supporters.

W. E. A.

BATHSHUA (בַּת־שֵׁוּא) § 48. 1. See BATHSHEBA. 2. The words בַּת־שֵׁוּא rendered 'daughter of Shua' in Gen. 38:2-12 (*שוא*, omitting בַּת) [ADEL.] are treated in RV of 1 Ch. 2:3 (*r. θυγ. σάως* [13^a]; *r. θ. αυας* [B¹]; *σους* [L]) as a proper name, Bathshua. See *SHTA*.

BATHZACHARIAS (ΒΕΘΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ [A]). 1 Macc. 6:32 f. See BETHZACHARIAS.

BATTERING RAM (כִּרְוִים [plur.]), Ez. 4:2 21 22 [27] f. See WAR.

BATTLE AXE. The rendering is now very happy, as well at once be seen.

1. מַרְבֵּץ *marbēz* Jer. 5:20 (διασκορπίζεις σὺ [BNAQF]); or מַרְבֵּץ (Prov. 25:18 *ρόπαλον* [PINA-A] - *παλον* [N¹]). EV's rendering 'maul' introduces an arbitrary distinction. Better, 'battle hammer,' or 'club' (cp. מַרְבֵּץ). In Ezek. 9:2 מַרְבֵּץ (מַרְבֵּץ) should possibly be corrected into סַחַתוֹ *ṣaḥto*, 'his destroying weapon' 1 (Che.); 'battle axe' (RVmg.), 'slaughter weapon' (EV), 'a weapon of his breaking in pieces' (AVmg.) are all difficult to justify.

2. כִּנֵּר *kiner* Ps. 35:3 RVmg. The usual rendering (Del., Bā., etc.), accepting MT's vocalisation [כִּנֵּר] and vers. (is 'stop the way' (סִוֵּךְ *siwēk*). This involves a double ellipsis—'shut up [the way], [going] against my pursuers'. It is improbable, however, that כִּנֵּר means 'battle axe'; *ἀσπίς* may mean the battle axe used in upper Asia; but this does not justify the inference of critics (Drus., Grot., Kenn., Ew., Dri., We., etc.). The text needs emendation (see JAVELIN, 7).

BATTLEMENT. For מַעֲקֵה, *ma'eqeh*, Dt. 22:8 EV, see HOUSE, § 4. For מַעֲקֵה, *ma'eqeh*, 2 Ch. 26:15 Zeph. 1:16 36 RV; and מַעֲקֵה, *ma'eqeh* (plur.), Is. 54:12 *SBOT*, RV pinnacles; (cp. *מַעֲקֵה* Ps. 81:2 [B¹], etc.) see FORTIFICES, § 5. מַעֲקֵה, *ma'eqeh*, in Dan. 9:27 RVmg. is rendered 'battlement.' It is better to read *ḥanne* (see *Hevan, ad loc.*).

BATUS (ΒΑΤΟΣ). I. k. 166 AVmg.; RVmg. BATH. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BAVAL (בָּוַל). Neh. 3:48, RV *Bavval*. See BINNUI (3).

BAY (בַּי), Zech. 6:37. See COLOURS, § 17.

BAYITH (בַּיִת), Is. 15:2 RV; AV *BAJITH*.

BAY TREE (אֲרֵזָה) 2 Ps. 37:35, or, more plausibly, as

1 מַשְׁחָה, 'destruction,' we know; but מַשְׁחָה, 'breaking in pieces,' is unattested elsewhere. Co. recognises that the closing words of Ezek. 9:1 are no part of the true text, but represent a variant to the equivalent words in v. 2.

2 [Ⓞ] has no rendering of אֲרֵזָה in this passage, since for אֲרֵזָה it reads לִבְנֵי לִבְנֵי (ὡς τὰ κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου [BART]). Aq., Symm., and Editio Sexta all render in the sense of 'indigenous tree'; and neither Pesh. nor Targ. supports the rendering of AV or that of RV.

BDELLIUM

RV, 'a tree in its native soil.' The word בְּדֵלְיָן, 'native born,' however (from the root בָּדַן, 'to arise,' 'spring forth' [Barth, 152 c.]), should be applied to a tree, whence Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 194 ff.) supposed the phrase to mean ἀνήρ ἐπιχώριος.

As Hi., Gr., Che., Bā., We., Dr. agree, the right reading is אֲרֵז 'cedar.' On the (probably) corrupt words בְּדֵלְיָן (Dr. 'putting forth his strength') and אֲרֵז (Dr. 'spreading'), see Che. *Psalms* 61.

BAZLUTHI (בְּזֻלְתִּי, 'stripping'?; ΒΑΖΑΛΩΘ [NA]). The b'ne BAZLUTHI, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii § 9) Ezra 2:52 (*βασαδωε* [B], *βαδωνωθ* [L]) = Neh. 7:54 *Bazlith* (*βασαωθ* [B], *βαζουαθ* [I.]) = 1 Esd. 5:31 BASALOTH (*βασαλεμ* [B], *βααλωθ* [A], *βαλονωθ* [L]).

BDELLIUM (בְּדֵלְיָן; Gen. 2:12 ἀνθραξ [AEL]; Nu. 11:7 κρυσταλλοο^c [BAFL]), appears in Gen. 2:12

1. *Bēdhōlah* along with gold and onyx or beryl (see = βδέλλιον. ONYX) as a characteristic product of the 'appearance' (so RV, lit. 'eye,' not COLOUR [g.v., § 3], as AV) is likened to that of manna—a comparison the appropriateness of which is obvious if, as is in all probability the case, the OT *bēdhōlah* is the resinous substance known to the Greeks as βδέλλιον, μάδελκον, βολχόν² (Dioscor. 1:80) or βδέλλα (*Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, §§ 37 39 48 f.).

Peiser identifies בְּדֵלְיָן with Bab. *bidlā*, a spice obtained in Babylonia, and often mentioned in contract-tablets (*ZATW* 17 347 f.); this is important in connection with the Edens story (see PARADISE). As Glaser has shown (*Sitzber.* 2 264 ff.), bdeillum was distinct from storax (against Hommel, *GBA* 6:1 n. 1). Bochart, identifying Havilah with the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain, in the Persian Gulf, naturally explained בְּדֵלְיָן as meaning pearl (*Hieros.* ii. 55). This view, however, lacks the support of any ancient version, and, though upheld by several Jewish authorities (cp. Lag. *Or.* 2:44), has no solid foundation. The renderings of *ἄνθραξ* and *κρυσταλλοο* point to some kind of precious stone; but, as Di. remarks, ἄνθραξ, 'stone,' is prefixed to בְּדֵלְיָן, the word following, and not to בְּדֵלְיָן. The Pesh. *bēdhūllā* (in both places) seems to be due to a mere scribe's error: *r* for *d*. It cannot be supposed to be a genuine Aramaic word.

Bdeillum is described by Dioscorides (*I.c.*) as δάκρυον δένδρον ἀραβικοῦ³; the best sort being 'bitter in taste,

transparent, gelatinous (γαρροκολλῶδες, 2. Descriptions lit. 'like bull's hide glue'), oily throughout (βδέλλιον. out and easily softened, unmixed with chips or dirt, fragrant when burnt as incense, resembling onyx⁴;

4 he speaks also of a black sort found in large lumps, which is exported from India, and of a third kind, brought from Petra. Pliny (*NH* 12:9) gives some further details: the best sort grows in Bactriana (N. Afghanistan), on a 'black' tree 'of the size of an olive, with a leaf like the oak and fruit like the wild fig'; it also grows in Arabia, India, Media, and Babylon, that of India being softer and more gummy, while that brought through Media is more brittle, crusted, and bitter. The author of the *Peripl. mar. Erythr.* speaks of it as growing largely in Gedrosia (Beluchistan) and Barygaza (Gujerat), and as exported westwards from the mouth of the Indus. In the older classical literature bdeillum appears to be mentioned only in Plautus (*Curc.* 101),⁵ in a list of perfumes.

Two of the kinds of bdeillum described by Dioscorides are generally identified by the authorities 3. Various with the two substances described as follows, kinds. which are still met with in commerce:—

1 In both places of *λοιωτό*, i.e., Aq., Symm., and Th., have βδέλλιον, so Vg. *bdeillum*. Cp. Jos. *Ant.* iii. 16.

2 The exact form of these two words is uncertain. Pliny (12:9) has *maddacon, brochon*. On the connection of this group of names with *bēdhōlah*, see Del. *Par.* 16 f., 101. Pott in *WZKM* 7:98 ff.

3 The reading of this word is uncertain.

4 Perhaps a 'mail' or 'hoof.'

5 Tu mihi stacte, tu cinnamon, tu rosa, Tu crocinum et casia⁵, tu bdeillum.

1. *Ordinary Bellidium* (African).—'The drug is exported from the whole Somali coast to Mokha, Jidda, Aden, Makulla, the Persian Gulf, India, and even China' (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacog.* (2) 145). Hanbury says he had it sent him for sale in London from China; but in matters of this kind the immediate port of origin is often substituted for the ultimate source.

Dymock (*Pharmacog. Ind.* 1310) says: 'From Berbera also comes *Bellidium*. Further on he explains that 'to a certain extent' it 'resembles myrrh,' but that it is darker . . . less oily . . . strongly bitter and has hardly any aroma' (*l.c.* 310). According to Mohammedan writers (*l.c.* 312), 'Good bellidium should be clean, bright, sticky, soft, sweet-smelling, yellowish, and bitter.' Its botanical source is *Balsamodendron acrotaum* (see *Kew Bull.* 1868, p. 91 f.).

2. *Indian Bellidium*.—Dymock (*l.c.* 310) describes this as somewhat resembling the African drug; 'but the colour is lighter, often greenish.' Dioscorides, therefore, must have had a very dirty sample—a not infrequent experience still. Its source is *Balsamodendron Mukul*, a plant the botanical distribution of which—NW. India, Beluchistan, and possibly Arabia—exactly agrees with the statements of the old authors. The only difficulty is the description of Pliny, which it does not fit very well, as it is a small tree; but Pliny's statements cannot be pressed from the botanical point of view: Lemaire (*Flora de Virgile*, 125) calls Dioscorides 'bien préférable à Plin.'

As to the third kind of bellidium spoken of by Dioscorides, Dymock (310) conjectures that it was 'probably a kind of myrrh.' N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BEACON (בֵּיתֵי, perhaps for בֵּיתֵי from בֵּית, see ASH; ΙCΤΟΣ [ΒΝ:ΑΟQΓ]), or rather, as in EV⁹⁸, MAST (cp Is. 33:2 Ez. 27:5), employed in Is. 30:17 as a simile of nakedness and desolation. The reference is to the poles, etc., erected in prominent places for signalling purposes; cp ENSIGNS (§ 2).

BEALIAH (בְּיָהוּ, § 35, 'Yahwé is Lord'), a Benjamite, one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12:5 (בְּאֲלִיאִה [BN]; ΒΑΔΑΙΑ [A], ΒΑΛΑΙΑC [L]). See DAVID, § 11 a iii.

BEALOTH (בְּיָהוּ, § 35). See BAALATH-BEER.

BEAN, or rather **Bēan** (RV), **The children of** (ΥΙΟΙ ΒΑΙΑΝ [ANV]; *BEAN* [VG]; *حلل*; ΒΑΑΝΟΥ. Jos. Ant. xii. 81), an otherwise unknown tribe or community, who in the pre-Maccabean period were a 'snare and offence' to the Jews 'in that they lay in wait for them in the ways.' Their robber castles or 'towers' lay, apparently, somewhere between Idumæan and Ammonite territory. This would suit the Bean of Nu. 32:3 (see BAAL MEON). In one of his warlike expeditions against the unfriendly surrounding peoples after the reconsecration of the temple, Judas the Maccabee utterly destroyed the children of Bean and burnt their towers (1 Macc. 5:4 f.; cp 2 Macc. 10:13 ff.).

BEANS (βῆλε, κγᾰμος [BAL] 2 S. 17:28 Ez. 4:6) are twice mentioned as material for food, along with wheat, barley, and lentils; in the second passage Ezekiel is instructed to make bread of a mixture of wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt. The Hebrew name is found also in post-biblical Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Beans are the seeds of *Vicia faba* (Linn.), the cultivated plant—not certainly known in the wild state, but in all probability a domesticated form of *Vicia narbonensis*²—which is a native of the whole Mediterranean region and extends eastward to N. India. It was the *κῆσμος* of the Greeks, which is mentioned as far back as the Illud (*κῆσμος μελανόχρομος*, 13 376). Virechow found the seeds in the excavations at Troy, and the plant was cultivated in Switzerland and Italy in the age of bronze. Beans are, without doubt, one of the earliest articles of vegetable food among the European races of mankind. (p FOOD, § 4. COOKING, § 7. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.)

¹ Flückiger and Hanbury say (*l.c.* 146) that it is regarded both in London and in India 'as a very inferior dark sort of myrrh.'

² On this point see Sir Joseph Hooker in the *Botanical Magazine*, 7220.

BEAR. 1. (בַּר). The name, common to Heli., Aram., Ar., and Eth., is from a root signifying to move slowly and softly,¹ and thus befits the bear, which has a stealthy tread.

The Heb. word is generally masc., even when the she-bear is intended; thus 'a bear robbed of her whelps' is always בַּרְיָהּ; on the other hand, the pl. בָּרִים takes a fem. verb in 2 K. 2:24, and the sing. is apparently fem. in Is. 11:7. ² renders ἀρκος [BAV], but in Prov. 17莫名其妙ly μερμερα [BVA] (connecting probably with בָּרַח, 'to be anxious'; Eth. has ἀρκος. In Prov. 28:15 ἔσται ἡ ἀρκος [BMA twice], easily explained when we remember that the Aram. form of בָּר, wolf, is *abb*).

The animal is frequently mentioned in OT (in the Apoc. in Wisd. 11:17 Ecclus. 25:17 [ANV]; but ἀρκος in 14:15 and 17:3) and once (Rev. 13:2).

2. **Allusions**.—In NT. No difficulty arises in connection with any of the OT passages; the attacks of the lion and the bear on David's flock (1 S. 17:34, 36), and of the she-bears³ on the children who mocked Elisha (2 K. 2:24), accord with the ravenous habits of the animal; 'a bear robbed of her whelps' (2 S. 17:8 Prov. 17:12 Hos. 13:8) or 'a ranging bear' (Prov. 28:15) is naturally regarded as the most dangerous possible object to encounter; one of the signs of profound peace in the Messiah's kingdom is that the cow feeds side by side with the bear, its natural enemy (Is. 11:7). The *roaring*, or rather *moaning*, of the bear is well expressed by the verb בָּרַח (Is. 59:11. ἔσθραQ στενάζω), which is applied also to the howling of a dog, the cooing of a turtle-dove, the sighing of a man, and the moaning of the sea. The stealthiness of a bear's attack is mentioned in Lam. 3:10. By the likening of the second (probably the Median) kingdom in Dan. 7:5 to a bear—which 'was raised up on one side, and three ribs were in his mouth between his teeth; and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh,'—the extreme destructiveness of the Median conquests is probably indicated (see further Bevan's *Danid*, in loc.). In Am. 5:19 'as if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him,' we have, as Bochart remarks, a Hebrew equivalent to the classical

'Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdin.'³

In the combination of the 'feet of a bear' with the body of a leopard and the mouth of a lion in Rev. 13:2, we have an instance of the characteristic re-combination of elements borrowed from OT apocalyptic. The hyperbolic treatment of old history in later Jewish literature is illustrated by the mention in Wisd. 11:17 of wild beasts, such as lions and bears, among the plagues sent upon the Egyptians, and by the statement about David in Ecclus. 47:3 that 'he played (Heb. . . . לַיְשׁוּם שָׂחַ, 'he mocked at . . .') among lions as among kids, and among bears as among lambs of the flock.'

Finally, we notice the interesting reading of ἔσθρα in Ecclus. 25:17:

A woman's wickedness altereth her visage
And darkeneth her face as doth a bear (ὡς ἀρκος).

If this reading be correct, the verse will allude to the *tristitia* or moroseness often attributed to the bear, which several ancient writers speak of as expressed in its countenance. On the whole, however, it is more probable that ἔσ³ (supported by the Syr. and Ar. versions) is right in reading

And maketh her face dark like sackcloth (ὡς σάκκος).

The Syrian bear, sometimes called *Ursus syriacus*, is not specifically distinct from the brown bear, *Ursus*

3. **Natural history**.—*Ursus*, although somewhat lighter in colour and smaller than the typical varieties. It has a wide distribution,

¹ The other meaning of the Ar. verb, 'to have a bristly skin,' is probably, as Ges. thinks, secondary, and derived from the noun *dubb*.

² It was a common opinion in antiquity that she-bears were fiercer than the males; thus Pliny (11:49), 'Mares in omni genere fortiores præterquam pantheris et ursis.'

³ Cp also Is. 24:18 Jer. 48:44.

have shown their perplexity in the former passage by giving three alternative renderings.

Of pillows we hear nothing in 'OT. In Mk. 4:38 we have *προσκεφάλαιον* (cp Ezekiel 1:18) **Ⓢ**. AV 'pillow'; but it was an extemporised pillow; RV better, 'cushion.'

AV—even sometimes RV—does indeed assume the use of pillows. Thus (a) **Ⓢ** *רִמְנוֹתַי* (with suffix) is rendered 'bolster' by AV in 1 S. 19:13, 16, 27:11, 16, and by RV in 1 K. 19:26; and 'pillow' by AV in Gen. 28:11, 18. The word, however, denotes properly 'the parts about one's head,' and is thus rendered by RV everywhere (e.g., 1 S. 19:13, 'at the head thereof'), and once even by AV in 1 K. 19:26. The Heb. word finds its exact parallel in the *רִמְנוֹתַי* (with suffix), 'the parts about (one's) feet' (Ruth 3:14). (b) For *רִמְנוֹתַי* in 1 S. 19:13, 16, EV has 'pillow,' while RVmg. offers 'quilt' or 'network' (so Ew., cp *רִמְנוֹתַי*, a sieve); but see § 3. (c) The 'pillows' of the prophetesses (so *Ⓢ* *προσκεφάλαιον*; cp Vg., Pesh., Targ.) in Ez. 13:18, 20 are purely imaginary. *רִמְנוֹתַי* appears to mean some kind of magical amulet carried by the prophetesses; cp Ass. *kasit*, 'to bind,' *kasitu* (Del. in Baer, *Ezek.* xii. f.).

It is impossible to separate the subject of beds from that of couches or divans. Amos, as a dweller in the

6. Divans. country, directs his scorn against the luxury of the rich grandees 'that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch, and on the silken cushions of a bed' (Am. 3:12 b, RV). The rendering of RV is indefensible; Damascus and damask have no connection (see DAMASCUS, § 6 n.). The passage has been cleared up with an approach to certainty by critical conjecture: it should run thus, 'that sit in Samaria on the carpet (*רִמְנוֹתַי*) of a couch, and on the cushion (*רִמְנוֹתַי*) of a divan.'¹ From another passage, which also can be restored very nearly to its original clearness (see DAVID, § 12 n.), we learn that the couches of the great were richly adorned. The selfish grandees are described as those 'that lie upon couches (or beds, *רִמְנוֹתַי*, of ivory,' Am. 6:4). Such couches were sent as tribute by Hezekiah to Nineveh (*KB* 2:97, l. 36), and the Amarna Tablets (5:20; cp 27:2028) speak of 'beds' (*iršu*) of ivory, gold, and wood sent to the king of Egypt. So too in Esther (1:6; cp 1 Esd. 3:6) we read of couches adorned with gold and silver, and covered with rich tapestry and deckings from Egypt (cp Prov. 7:16). Some of these couches would of course be used as beds. Such, at any rate, was the gorgeous bed (*κλῆθρον*) in the tent of Holofernes. The description of it contains the first mention of a 'canopy' (*καὼσάτωρ*, Judith 10:21, 13:9, 16:19, originally a fly-net)—one of the results of Greek influence; HELLENISM, § 15.

BEDAD (**בִּדַד**; **βαρδδ** [BADEL]), the father of Hadad I., king of Edom, Gen. 36:35 1 Ch. 1:46 (**βαδραμ** [L]). The name is seemingly a corruption of Bir-dadda—*i.e.*, probably, Bir is Dadda (two names of the storm-god best known as Rammān): cp with this Bir-zur, Panammu inscr. from Zenjirli, 1, 3). Waiti, the 'king of Arabia' conquered by Āšur-bāni-pāl, had for his father Bir-dadda (*KB* 2:222 f.), a name which answers to the Assyrian name Bir-rammān (the eponym for 848 B.C.). Hommel (*Beitr. z. Ass.*, 1897, p. 270) derives from Be-(Had)dad—*i.e.*, by Hadad;—cp BAANA, BE-ESHTERAH. T. K. C.

BEDAN (**בִּדָן**; **BADAN**, or [Cod. Am.] **BENEDAN**).

1. In an address ascribed to Samuel we find Bedan mentioned between Jerubbaal and Jephthah as one of the chief deliverers of Israel (1 S. 12:11 MT). No such name occurs in the Book of Judges, however, and the form of the name is suspicious.

Ew. supposed that the initial letter had been dropped, and that we should read Abdon (**בִּדְוֹן**, Judg. 12:13). Abdon, however, is one of the six 'minor Judges' introduced into the

¹ Cp Amos, § 5 n.; Che. *Expositor*, vi. 6: 366, *JQR* 10:572, and on *רִמְנוֹתַי*, 'mat., rug.' 'carpet' see *Int. Is.* 126n. For *רִמְנוֹתַי* Grätz and Nowack give *רִמְנוֹתַי*, 'on the covering of.' But *רִ* is non-existent; in Judg. 4:18 it is corrupt (see above).

historical scheme of Judges at a later time. The Targ. fancifully understands the name as ben-Dan—*i.e.*, Samson.

The mention of Sisera in v. 9 entitles us to expect Barak, whose name is actually read by **Ⓢ** (**בָּרַק**, H. P. Smith), Pesh. 'So We., Dr., Klo., Bu., Moore, H. B. Smith. 2. A Manassite, 1 Ch. 7:17 (**בַּדָּאן** [B], *ḥaw* [AL]); perhaps a corruption of Abdon (**בִּדְוֹן**). See MACHIR.

BEDEIAH (**בִּדְיָה**), more probably a textual corruption for **בִּדְיָה**, 1 Ch. 8:21 f. [so Gray, *HPV* 285, n. 11, who cites **Ⓢ**¹ and Pesh.], than an abbreviation for **בִּדְיָה** [so Olsh. 277 b, 4, followed by BDB], a Levitical name in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, l. § 5 end) **Ⓢ** *בִּדְיָה* (**בַּרְדִּיָּה** [B], **בַּדְדִּיָּה** [AL]), **Ⓢ** [N]; *Ⓢ* *Ⓢ* = 1 Esd. 9:34 **ΠΕΔΙΑΣ**, RV **ΠΕΔΙΑΣ** (**ΠΕΔΙΑΣ** [B], **ΠΑΔΕΙΑΣ** [A], **ΒΑΔΔΙΑ** [L]). By reading **ΒΕΡΑΙΑ** (7, 7.) as above, we gain a second name in which creation (**בְּרִיאָה**) is referred to by the distinctive exilic and post-exilic term. See CREATION, § 30.

BEE (**בִּיָּה**); **ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ**; Dt. 1:44 Judg. 14:8 Ps. 118:12 Pr. 6:8 **Ⓢ** Is. 7:18 Eccles. 5:7 [**Ⓢ**²] 11:3 4:10 **Ⓢ** 14:19¹ has for its Hebrew name a word derived from a root meaning to lead (or to be led) in order. Thus it means properly a member of a swarm (cp *examen* from *ex-ago*). Besides the familiar incident of Samson finding a swarm of bees in the lion's carcase (recalling Vergil's story of Aristæus and other classical allusions, see below), we have in the OT two references to the angry assaults of bees on those who meddle with their hives (Dt. 1:44 Ps. 118:12 [MT];² cp 4:10 **Ⓢ** Eccl. 14:19), and a likening of the Assyrian power to a bee summoned by the sound of a hiss to settle on the land of Israel³ (Is. 7:18). In Prov. 6, at the close of the exhortation to the sluggard to learn from the ant and her ways, **Ⓢ** has the following addition to the Hebrew text:—

Or go thou to the bee
And learn how diligent she is,
And how noble (*σπουδή*) is the work that she doeth;
Whose labours kings and private men use for health,
And she is desired and honourable in the eyes of all:
Though she be weak in strength,
By honouring wisdom she is advanced.

We may compare the words of the son of Sirach (11:3).

The bee is little among such as fly,
But her fruit is the chief of sweet things.

The common bee of Palestine is *Apis fasciata*, Latr.; some authorities regard it as a distinct species, others as a sub-species of the cosmopolitan honey-bee *Apis mellifica*. In favour of the latter view it is stated that when crossed with races of the same species it breeds freely; but, on the other hand, it differs in size and colour from the English bee, being smaller and lighter, and beautifully striped. The colonies are large and very many, Palestine being a country well adapted for the needs of insects which flourish in the sun and feed on flowers.

Bees are found wild, making their hives in crevices of the rocks and hollow trees, etc.; and, even at the present day, many of the Arabs make a living by collecting wild honey and bringing it into the towns for sale. Bee-keeping is much practised in the East (where honey is largely used in cooking), the hives, according to Canon Tristram, being tubular structures 3 or 4 ft. long, and some 8 in. in diameter, roughly made of sun-dried mud. The ends of the tube are closed with a tile perforated with a hole for the access of the bees. Many of the hives are piled up together and covered with boughs for the sake of shade. When the combs

¹ This *Ⓢ* word is a *nomen unitatis*; the collective appears in Arab. as *dīb* or *dāb*, a swarm of bees, also probably in emended text of 1 S. 14:26, *בִּדְוֹן*, its bees (for *בִּדְוֹן*); so **Ⓢ**, We., Dr., Bu., H. P. Smith.

² **Ⓢ** has 'as bees about wax,' which Bā., Che.(b) adopt; but *Ⓢ* comes from *בִּדְוֹן* and *בִּדְוֹן*, a rival reading to *בִּדְוֹן* in cod. **Ⓢ** Eccles. 5:7 a corrector has added *ὡς μελισσῶν ἐκτρέφοντες*.
³ The ancients believed that it was possible to summon bees by sounds, such as the beating of metal; see Verg. *Georg.* 4:65, and the other passages cited by Bochart (*Hieroz.* 4:20).

but this particular one is improbable.¹ 'Lord of flies' (could we assume that this was the original meaning) was itself, as a title, bad enough; nor would the people, who feared the demons so much, have ventured to speak too disrespectfully of the archdemon (cp Ashmedai or Asmodeus, which to a Hebrew ear meant the 'destroyer'—not a disrespectful title); lastly, on Lightfoot's theory the name ought to be Beel-zebel: it is shown elsewhere that a late editor detected the new Hebrew word *zebel*, 'dung,' in the name I-zebel (JEZEBEL). Lightfoot's theory, then, must be abandoned, as Baudissin holds. But Baudissin's own theory (adopted from Hitzig) is not really more satisfactory. He thinks that Baal-zebul is simply a euphonic modification of Baal-zebul, the consonant which closed the first syllable being repeated at the close of the second part of the word.²

This, however, leaves Baal-zebul unexplained, for Baudissin's theory of the name is scarcely admissible.

See Selden, *De Dis Syris*, 26; Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on Mt. 12.24 Lk. 11.15; Movers, *Die Phönizier* ('41), 1.260 f.; Richm's article in *HWB*⁽²⁾. The latter revives an old theory of Storr and Döderlein that *bē'el d'habāi* in Aramaic might mean either 'lord of flies' or 'an enemy.' ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρώπου (Mt. 13.28) = διάβολος. This is doubtless plausible. We must at least admit that the common people cannot without instruction have attached a meaning to *-zebul*. But how has Beelzebul (half Hebrew, half Aramaic) fixed itself in the Gospel tradition? Pesh. too retains Beelzebul. Baudissin's article in Herzog, *PRE*⁽³⁾ (learned and thorough) adopts the ordinary view, as far as Baal-zebul is concerned.

T. K. C.

BEER (בַּעַר, 'well', § 101). 1. (τὸ φρέαρ [BAFL]).

A station of the Israelites, apparently between Heshbon and the Arnon (Nu. 21.16 [JE]). See NAHALIEL; WANDERING, § 8; and cp, below, BEER-ELIM. The interest of Beer is not geographical but literary. The discovery of the well was commemorated (the narrator gives us to understand) by a song. The song with its context runs thus, according to MT,—

And from there to Beer: that is the well whereof Yahweh said unto Moses: Assemble the people, and I will give them water. Then sang Israel this song;

Spring up, O well; greet ye it with a song.

Well, that the princes have dug,

The nobles of the people have bored,

With the sceptre—with their staves.

And from Midbar (EV the wilderness) to Mattanah; and from Mattanah to Nahaliel; and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.

The historical character of this statement has generally been assumed. Ewald, however, is on the road to a very different theory when he remarks that such a well-spring would become a source of joy to the labourers who thenceforward used it (*Hist.* 2.204). He sees, in fact, that it is essentially a popular song. Robertson Smith, too, finely speaks of 'the exquisite song in which the Hebrew women as they stand round the fountain, waiting their turn to draw, coo forth the water which wells up all too slowly for their impatience.'³ We should not expect the origin of such a song to be remembered; nor is there anything in the words to suggest the occasion ascribed to it in JE. More probably it arose in the dry country of the south of Judah, where springs were the most valued possession (cp Judg. 1.15 Josh. 15.19 Gen. 26.19 ff.). The 'princes,' 'nobles,' and 'captains' (for בַּמְּסָקִים we read מְסָקִים; cp Judg. 5.9-14) referred to are the sheikhs of the clan. When

¹ בַּעַר, the present writer thinks, has no connection with זֶבֶל, 'dung.' It is pointed in imitation of עֲבָרִים, 'abominations,' and should really be read עֲבָרִים, 'heaps of stones,' i.e., altars of stone. Cp, however, *Idol.*, § 2 (B).

² Hitzig (*Kl. Proph.*, by Steiner, 207) compares בַּעַר to Αἰβάριον (Habakkuk); Baudissin adds Bāb el-mandel for Bāb el-Mandeb. ³ 'The Poetry of the OT,' *Brit. Quart. Rev.* Jan. 1877; cp *PRE* 135. The expression 'coo forth' was suggested by Herder. The fountain is credited by primitive races with personality.

a fresh well has been found, the sheikhs go through the symbolic form of digging for it with staves, and the poets of the clan greet the well with a song.

Does MT give us the whole of the song? Can Midbar be used as a proper name? Surely not. And, when we examine the MSS of G, we find some justification for the hypothesis of Budde, that the text of the itinerary originally ran, 'And from there to Beer; and from Beer to Nahaliel and from Nahaliel to Bamoth,' and that an editor who knew the song of the well, and desired to do it honour, inserted it between the first and the second items in the list, with the additional line, 'Out of the wilderness a gift' (see MATTANAH). See Budde, *New World*, March 1895; *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1895, p. 491 ff.; Franz Del. *ZK* II, 1882, p. 449 ff.

2. A place to which JOTHAM [I] fled from his brother Abimelech, Judg. 9.21 (בְּעָרָה [B], בְּעָרָה [A], בְּעָרָה [L]). In OS (238.73; 106.20) it is identified with a village called Bera, 8 m. N. of Eleutheropolis. The context, however, gives us no data for determining the site of the 'well' in question.

BEETHO (בְּעֵתוֹ) and even Beersheba have been suggested. Kh. el-Bireh, W. of 'Ain Shems, is considerably more than 8 m. N. of Beit Jibrin.

T. K. C.

BEERA (בְּעֵרָה, 'well'; בְּעֵרָה [i]. בְּעֵרָה [A], om. L.), b. Zophah, in genealogy of ASHER (1 Ch. 7.37).

BEERAH (בְּעָרָה, 'well'), a Reubenite prince, son of Baal, carried off by Tighath-pileser, 1 Ch. 5.6 (בְּעָרָה [B], חָרָה [A], בָּרָה [L]). He is identified by the rabbins with Beeri, the father of the prophet Hosea.

BEER-ELIM (בְּעֵרִים בְּנֵי אֵילִים [Bā. Gi.], 'well of terebinths' (?) or 'of sacred trees'; φρέαρ τοῦ αἰλ[ε]ῖου [11:ΝΑΙΟΥ]), a place apparently on the northern border of Moab, answering to EGLAIM on the south (Is. 15.8). It is generally identified with the BEER of Nu. 21.16. Some identify it also with the Alema of 1 Macc. 5.26; but see ALEMA.

BEERI (בְּעֵרִי, 'belonging to the well' or 'BEER,' § 76; cp above).

1. A Hittite, the father of JUDITH (i. i.), Esau's wife, Gen. 26.34 (Beer [AD], Βαυρ[EL], Βαυρ[LI]). It is impossible to reconcile this description with that of Adah in the genealogy in Gen. 30.2, for which see BASHMETH, 1.

2. The father of HOSEA, Hos. 1.1 (6 Beeri[EL], [BAQ]).

BEER-LAHAI-ROI (בְּעֵרִי לְחַיִּי רֹאִי), a well in the Negeb, famous in Hebrew tradition as the scene of Hagar's theophany (Gen. 16.14), and no doubt connected with a sanctuary (St. *ZATUV* 1.349 [81]). Beside this sacred well was the abode of Isaac (Gen. 24.62 25.11).

1. Name. The name is mentioned only by J; E, who gives nearly the same account of the theophany (21.8-21), speaks simply of 'a well.' According to RV, Beer-lahai-roi means 'well of the living one who sees me.'

2. The Versions (16.14): ὄψαρον ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ [16:10] [AD], 26.25.11: φ. 278 ὄψαρος [ADL1]; Pesh. in all three בְּעֵרִי לְחַיִּי רֹאִי (בְּעֵרִי לְחַיִּי רֹאִי). This rendering, however, is inconsistent with that given of El Roi in 16.13, 'A God that seeth'; we should expect, not רֹאִי, but רֹאֵי 'I', and, even apart from this, 'I' cannot be equivalent to רֹאֵי, 'God' (the phrase רֹאֵי 'I' is late). Probably, therefore, we should render with We. (*Prot.* 4.330; ET 265), 'living is he who sees me,' and explain this by the light of Hagar's words in v. 13, which, as they stand, are unintelligible, but may, by the correction of רֹאֵי into רֹאֵי, and the insertion of רֹאֵי between רֹאֵי and רֹאֵי (the resemblance of these three words accounts for the omission of one), be interpreted thus: 'Have I seen God and remained alive after my vision (of God)?' El Roi (lit. 'God of vision') will then mean 'the God who is seen' (cp Gen. 22.14).

These explanations of El-Rōi and Beer-lahai-roi are too plainly not original. According to analogy, לְחַיִּי (wrongly vocalised *lahai*) ought to be a noun in the construct state. Instead of *lahai* we should doubtless

1 Cp לְחַיִּי in MT of 1 S. 8.13: read לְחַיִּי אֱלֹהִים with B^{AL}.

vocalise *lāhī*, 'jaw-bone'; *roi* (?) is some animal's name, not known in the later Hebrew, and perhaps of Arabic origin. The name misread Lahai-roi should, therefore, be rendered 'Antelope's (?) jaw-bone.'

Another explanation is proposed by Hommel (*AHT* 200). Adhering to the point as regards the syllable *haz*, he compares the S. Ar. name *Luhā'atāh*. He does not account for *roi*? Should *roi* be *lūri* (see REU)? Samson's Lehi, however, supplies a more obvious clue.

Lāhī, 'jaw-bone,' was a name given to any prominent crag, from a fancied resemblance to a jaw-bone. See *Lāhī*; and cf. *Omegathos* (ὄρον γαθός), a promontory on the coast of Laconia, and 'Camel's jaw-bone' (an Arabic name, Yāḳūt, iv. 353.9 ff.; cp We. *Vakidi*, 298, n. 2).¹

According to E, the well was in the wilderness of Beersheba (Gen. 21.14); J, more precisely, states that it

2. Site. Kadesh and Bered' (v. 14). Jerome knew of a 'well of Hagar' (*OS* 10.13); does he mean the traditional well in the *Hādī el-Muwēlīh*? This strangely formed wady is at the foot of mountains of the same name, and Palmer thinks that there was once a large city here ('perhaps one of the "cities of the south"'). One of the wells has special sanctity, and is connected by the Bedouin with Hagar. Two caves appear to be ancient. The smaller, at the upper end of the wady, on the right hand, was apparently a Christian chapel; the other, on the opposite side, seems to have served as the hermitage (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 2 354). As to the 'jaw-bone' rock no positive statement can be ventured. On the geographical statement in 7. 14, see BERED, i. To the suggestions there made it may be added that the 'way to SHUR' (7. 7.) would be one of the regions called by the Assyrians Musri. According to the original tradition Hagar seems to have fled, not to Egypt, but to a N. Arabian district called by a name which was confounded with Mizraim (Egypt). This, and not Egypt, was really her native country; this too was the country from which, according to E, she took a wife for her son Ishmael (*21. 14*). See We. *147*, 307. See HAGAR, § 1; ISMAEL, § 2; MIZRAIM, § 2; MORIATH. T. K. C.

BEEROTH (בְּרֹתַי); **Βηρωθ** [BNAI], a city of Benjamin.

In Josh. 18. 25, *βηρωθ* [B], *βηρωθ* [B], 2 S. 4. 2 [A omits]; gentilic **Beerothite** (βηρωθίτης; *βηρωθίτης* [BAL], 2 Sam. 4. 2 5. 9; *βηρωθ*, [BA], *βηρωθ*, [L], 2 Sam. 23. 7; 7. 27, 1 V. *βηρωθίτης*, 1 Ch. 11. 19; 2 *βηρωθ*, [L], 2 *βηρωθ*, [B], 2 *βηρωθ*, [L]).

According to Josh. 9. 17 (*βηρωθ* [B], *βηρωθ* [B² om.]), it belonged originally to the Gibeonite confederation; and, according to 2 S. 4. 3, there was at one time a migration of its inhabitants to Gittaim (see ISHBAAL, 1). Men of Beeroth are mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EGZA, ii. § 6, § 6. 1; EGZA 2. 2; Neh. 7. 29 (*βηρωθ* [B], *βηρωθ*, [L]) = 1 Esd. 5. 19 (*βηρωθ* [B], *βηρωθ* [L])). It is named by Eus. (cp Reland, 618-19), and is now represented by the modern *El Bireh* (which still owes its name to its abundant supply of water), a village of about 800 inhabitants, in a poor district, about 9 m. N. from Jerusalem, on the Shechem road. Tradition assigns it as the place where Joseph and Mary missed Jesus from the company of returning pilgrims (Lk. 2. 43-45).

BEEROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN, RV **Beeroth Bene-Jaakan** (בְּרֹתַי בְּנֵי יַאכָּאן), 'wells of the b'ne Ja'ākān', a halting-place in the desert, Dt. 10. 6 (*βηρωθ υἱων Ἰακωβ* [BAL]), where it is mentioned before MOSEROTH.² This notice is *pre-Deuteronomistic*, and belongs to a fragment of E's list of stations

¹ So first We. *Prol.* l.c.; cp Moore, *Judges*, 347. It seems a natural inference that *El-roi* originally referred to an antelope (cp *Bali*, *Gnomus*, 2 *BHT* 7).

² The Samar. text has for this verse: 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Moseroth and encamped among the b'ne Ja'ākān.'

which has been inserted by the editor (Bacon, *Tripl. Trad.* 207 f.; cp Meyer, *ZATW* 1. 143; Dr. *Isaac*, 120). In Nu. 83. 31 f. the same name occurs (shortened into *BENE JAAKAN*; 77: 12; *βαναα* [B]; *βανα* [L]) - (-)ακαβ [F]; *banū*, [L]) after Moseroth; but the list of stations in Nu. 33. is of late editorial origin (cp Kue. *Hex.* 98, 102). The spot probably lay somewhere on the edge of the Arabah. Cp *JAKAN*, and *WANDEKINGS*, § 8.

BEERSHEBA (בְּרֵשֶׁבַע בְּרֵי יְצַבְּ, § 107 - i. e., 'well of seven,' rather than 'seven wells' - see below, § 3; *Βηρσαβέ*

1. References. [BAL]: in Josh. 15. 6 *βηρσαβέ* [L]; in Gen. 21. 14 *φραρ ορκισμω* [ADL], 26. 33 *φ. ορκω* [ADL], it is taken as meaning 'well of the oath'.¹ One of the Simeonite towns in the southern territory of Judah (Josh. 19. 2), on the border of the cultivated land, came to be regarded, for the greater part of history, as the remotest point of Canaan in that direction; whence the phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' (2 S. 17. 11), which, after the fall of the N. kingdom, became from 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23. 8), or 'from Beersheba to Mt. Ephraim' (2 Ch. 19. 4 *βηρσαβέ* [B]), and in the post-exilic period 'from Beersheba to the valley of Hinnom' (Neh. 11. 7 *βηρσαβέ* [B], *βερ.* [A]) = *βηρσαβέ*, [L], *βερ.* [A]). Yet Beersheba, though the practical, was not the ideal, border of the Holy Land. This ran along the 'river of Egypt,' the present Wādī el-'Arīsh, nearly 60 m. SE. of Beersheba.

An account of the origin of the name and the planting of the sacred tamarisk of Beersheba is given in the story of Abraham (Gen. 21. 22 ff. E); but another story belonging to another document (J) assigns the origin of the well and its name to Isaac (Gen. 26. 26-33). It was the scene of more than one theophany in patriarchal times. It was an important sanctuary frequented even by N. Israel in the time of Amos (5. 5 *φραρ τῶν ὀρκων* [BAU]), who refers with disapproval to those who swear by the life of the divine patron² of Beersheba (8. 14). It was in Beersheba that the two sons of Samuel are said to have exercised their judgeship (1 S. 8. 2), and a day's journey thence into the wilderness is placed the incident of the 'juniper' tree in the life of Elijah (1 K. 19. 3 *βερσαβέ* [A]). Beersheba was the birthplace of the mother of King Joash (2 K. 12. 1 [2] 2 Ch. 24. 1). In post-exilic times it was inhabited by men of Judah.

The ruins at Beersheba belong apparently to early Christian times. The *βηρσαβέ* mentioned in a Roman garrison (103. 22 23. 100). In the time of Jerome the place was of some importance; later, it became unimportant; but by the fourteenth century it had become deserted and ruined.

It is represented by the modern *Bir es-Sabā'*, on the W. es-Seba', 28 m. SW. from Helron (Rob. *BR* 1. 300

2. Identifi- cation. virtually comes to an end with Beersheba, and the country to the south of it is usually barren, there are, for nearly 30 m. S. of Beersheba, ruins of old villages gathered round wells; they evidently date from Roman times.

On Josh. 19. 2, 'Beersheba and Sheba,' see SHEMA (i.). [WRS (*Rel. Sem.* 181) remarks 'The sanctuary of Beersheba properly consisted of the "Seven Wells" which gave the place its name.' Among the Arabs a place called 'Seven Wells' is mentioned by Strabo (16. 4. 24). Robertson Smith has also given abundant evidence of the sanctity attaching to the groups of seven wells among the Semites. Even today seven wells or cisterns seem to have the power of undoing witchcraft (*ZDP* 7. 106). This view is due to Stade (*Gesch.* i. 127), who thinks that the postposition of the numeral was Canaanitish; but, as in the case of Kirjath-arba (see HEBRON, i.), the theory is doubtful. 'Well of Seven' is not inexplicable; 'Well of (the) Seven

1 The Hebrew verb 'to swear' means literally 'to come under the influence of seven things.' See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 181 ff.

2 Mt gives 'way' (*cutus*); see *ANAN.* § 20.

gods' is intrinsically a probable meaning. Few persons, it is to be hoped, go to Beersheba looking for seven wells. Gautier affirms that there are now only three, though there may once have been more (*Souvenirs de Terre Sainte*,¹ 147; but cp his letter in *Exp. Times*, 10328 (Apr. '99). Trumbull (*Exp. Times*, 889 [Nov. '96]) also states that he saw three wells, but adds that at some distance he saw the remains of a fourth and a fifth. He admits that there may once have been more than five. Cp also Dr. *Exp. Times*, 7507 f. (Sep. '96). For descriptions of Beersheba as it is to-day, see Kolb, *BR 1* 204; Gœnir, *Judée*, 227 228; S. Gourné, *Rev. biblique*, 1895, p. 265.]

BE-ESHTERAH (בְּעֵשְׁתֵּרָה) in Josh. 21:27 (ΒΟCΘΑΡΑ [B]). Cp. [1.], ΒΕΘΑΡΑ [A]), perhaps an abbreviation for בְּיַת עֵשְׁתֵּרָה, 'house of Astarte' (cp Ges., Nestle, *Fig.* 114, etc.). Hommel, however (*Beitr. f. Ass.*, 1897, p. 268), explains 'by Ashtar'; cp the S. Ar. אַשְׁתָּר, 'by Ahtar (i.e., Ashtar)'. Gray (*HPV* 127) also is against the supposed abbreviation of *bēth* into *be-*. See ASH-TAROTH.

BEEBLE, KV CRICKET (בְּרֵכָה; ΟΦΙΟΜΑΧΗΣ¹ [BAPL]; Lev. 11:22f.). By the word so rendered is almost certainly intended a species of locust or grasshopper; the name is one of four used in the verse to denote 'winged creeping things that go upon all fours, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth.' The Hebrew name has passed into Aramaic, post-biblical Hebrew, and Armenian; in Arabic *harjalia* means 'a troop of horses' or 'a troop of locusts' (cp Joel 2:4), and the connected verb means 'to proceed in a long train,' as do locusts. 'Beetle' is at all events a wrong rendering; for the *Coloptera* have, as a rule, legs ill adapted for 'leaping upon the earth,' and are seldom or never eaten; whereas certain kinds of crickets, as of locusts, are fried and eaten by Eastern nations. It is impossible, however, to identify the species (if any) referred to. Cp also LOCUST, § 2.

BEGGAR, BEGGING. See ALMS, § 4.

BEHEADING. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

BEHEMOTH and LEVIATHAN. Two real or supposed animals grouped together in Job 40:15-41, but nowhere else in the canonical books (see however below).² *Bēhēmōth* (בְּהֵמוֹת) 1. Mention of Behemoth.

is no doubt an intensive plural form, and means 'a colossal beast.' It occurs (a) in Job 40:15-24, probably (b) in Is. 30:6, but hardly (c) in Ps. 73:22.³

In (a) the animal so called is described at length. This description is followed by a sketch of Leviathan, and most critics have thought, specially on the ground of the 'hyperbolic' expressions, that the two pictures are later insertions in the speeches of Yahwē (see JOH). Whether the expressions are truly called 'hyperbolic,' we shall see presently. Almost all modern critics, whether they separate Job 40:15-41 from the main body of the speeches of Yahwē or not, have thought that *Bēhēmōth* is a Hebraised form of an Egyptian word for the hippopotamus (*he-che-mū*, 'water-ox'), but there is no philological basis for this opinion.⁴ In (b) Is. 30:6 בְּהֵמוֹת אֲשֶׁר אֵין עִלָּיהֶן אֵין מִתְּחִילָה is probably to be rendered 'Oracle of the monster (*bēhēmōth*)

of the south land.'⁵ This is the heading of a short fragmentary passage of prophecy, and refers to the description of Egypt at the end of 5:7 as 'Kushah the quelled one' (see KAHAR, II, § 8). 'The south-land' (Negeb) is here, as in Dan. 8:11, 5*f*., a designation of the second of the two empires which endangered Palestine, —i.e., Egypt,—the other being *Shaphan*, 'the northland' (Jer. 10:15 Zech. 2:6 [10])—i.e., in a large sense, Babylonia. So Del. The heading in v. 6 may be very late.

Delitzsch finds *Bēhēmōth* also in (c) Ps. 73:22, 'As for me, I was senseless and ignorant, I was a *Bēhēmōth* toward thee' (Del., Nowack). This rendering is correct, if the text is sound, and if the speaker is an individual. If, however, the speaker is to be understood collectively, we may perhaps render, 'I was (like) the beasts toward thee.' So Bā; but the absence of the particle of comparison is a difficulty. If we compare 49:10 [11] 92:6 [7] it becomes plausible to read, with Grätz, מְבֵרָתִי, 'I was devoid of understanding toward thee.'

Leviathan (לִוְיָתָן, *liwythān*), 'wreathed'—i.e., 'gathering itself in folds'; or perhaps of Bab. origin) is a designation of a mythic serpent in

2. Of Leviathan. all the passages in which it occurs, unless Job 41:1 be an exception.² See also LEVIATHAN. It is found (a) in Job 41:1 (40:25), 'Canst thou draw up³ Leviathan with a hook, (and) press down his tongue with a cord?'; (b) Job 38, 'Let those who lay a ban upon the sea⁴ curse it, (those) who are appointed to rouse up Leviathan'; (c) Is. 27:1, 'In that day shall Yahwē punish Leviathan the fugitive serpent, and Leviathan the coiled serpent, and he shall slay the dragon in the sea'; (d) Ps. 74:14, 'Thou didst slatter the heads of Leviathan, and gavest his [carcase] to be food for the jackals'; (e) (b) Ps. 104:26, 'There do the dragons move along, (there is) Leviathan whom thou didst form to be its ruler.' To these references, two supplied by apocryphal writers may be added: (f) En. 60:7-9, cp 24 f.; (g) 4 Esd. 9:49-52; cp Apoc. Bar. 29:4.

In the present article we shall desert the zoological explanation of *Bēhēmōth* and *Leviathan*, leaving the field open to another writer to represent the

3. Both more generally received opinion (see HIPPOPOTAMUS, CROCODILE). Strong reason **mythical monsters** will have to be shown for not interpreting these strange forms with some regard to mythology. No one would assert that the author of Job had an altogether distinct mythological conception; but modern commentators who disregard the mythic basis of the descriptions make a serious mistake.

It was natural in 1887 to look for illustrations of the Job passages, (d) and (e), to Egypt,⁷ though reference should have been made, not to the fantastic griffins on certain wall-paintings, but to the idealisation of the ordinary monsters of the Nile in the mythic narratives of Rē' and Osiris. 'There are supernatural as well as natural hippopotamuses and crocodiles, and it is a specimen of these which the poet has given us. The descriptions are hyperbolic and unpleasing, if referred to the real monsters of the Nile; they are not so if explained of the "children of defeat," with the dragon Apopi at their head,⁸ which the poet, by a fusion

¹ The alternative explanation, 'Oracle of the beasts of the south'—i.e., of the desert which adjoins the south of Judah—is less natural. Why 'the south' instead of 'the desert'? And why are serpents called בְּהֵמוֹת, 'beasts' ? מִתְּחִילָה would have been more in place. Cp *S. 707* on Is. 30:6.

² B renders Leviathan as follows:—in (f) δράκοντα (Aq. Sym. *Aspidochelone*), in (c) τὸν μέγα δράκοντα *Aspidochelone*, Th. *Aspidochelone*, in (f) τὸν δράκοντα (Aq. Sym., Th. *Aspidochelone*) [twice], in (g) τὸν δράκοντα (Aq. *Aspidochelone*), in (h) δράκοντα.

³ צִוְיָתָן for MT לִוְיָתָן. The final letter of v. 24 (now מִמֶּנּוּ, 'his snout') and the first letter of v. 25 became effaced. Ewald (*Lehrb. d. Hebr. Spr.* 791) makes an elaborate attempt to account for the absence of the interrogative particle (ה) in MT, based on the theory that the Arabic word for crocodile (*timāh*) existed in the Hebrew vocabulary of Job. Similarly Budde; Duhn leaves the point undecided. Against this, see Che. *Exp.positor*, July 1897.

⁴ Read פֶּתַח לַיָּם, with Gunkel, to restore parallelism; cp Ps. 74:13 f. 104:25 f. 18 27 f.

⁵ Reading מְבֵרָתִי מִכֹּל מִשְׁכָּל מְבֵרָתִי, Cp Fox.

⁶ Reading מְבֵרָתִי for the scarcely possible מְבֵרָתִי, 'ships'; and correcting מִן מְבֵרָתִי into מְבֵרָתִי, Cp Che. *Ps.* 73.

⁷ Che. *Job* and *Sol.* 56, where the first recent critical protest was made against the dominant theory. Cp the fantastic forms described in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 84.

⁸ See Maspero, *op. cit.* 159.

¹ Ἀσπίς according to the order in ΘΙΑΡΑ; ἄρακίς is mentioned in hexapla MSS as a rendering by ἄρακίς.

² It will be seen that on one strongly supported theory there are parallels to this combination.

³ The versions render *Bēhēmōth* as follows:—in (a) θηρία [LXX f. κτηνῶν [Aq. Thoma]], in (b) τῶν τετραπόδων [LXX], κτηνῶν [Aq. Sym. Th.], in (c) κτηνῶν [LXX, Sym.].

⁴ So independently WMH (Egyp., § 9). The objections are as follows:—(1) The final *th* in *Bēhēmōth* is unaccounted for (Lepsius). (2) The Egyptians had several names for the hippopotamus (e.g., *rer*, 'a beast that rolls itself in the mud'); but the texts nowhere mention *he-che-mū*. (3) The form, if it existed, would be *mū-che* (F. C. Cook). It is strange that Jablonski, who died in 1757, and could know only Coptic, and that imperfectly, should be consulted in preference to Birch, who, after supposing himself to have found the old Egyptian original of *Bēhēmōth* in *bekhama*, discovered afterwards that the name was really *kheb* (Renouf, *Exp.positor*, July 1897). Cp REMPHAN. On an analogous attempt to justify the interpretation of *Leviathan* as a crocodile, see col. 520, n. 3.

historically most justifiable,¹ identifies with the monsters of Babylonian origin called elsewhere Rahab and his helpers (Job 9:13). And even in the uncorrected but still more in the corrected text there are expressions and statements which are hardly explicable except on the mythological theory.² How, for example, can the hippopotamus and the crocodile be said to be, not merely dangerous to approach, but beyond the range of hunters? There is evidence that even in early times the Egyptians were skilled in attacking and killing them. How, too, can the ordinary hippopotamus be called 'the firstling of the ways of God' (Job 40:19), and the ordinary crocodile be said to be feared by all that is lofty, and to be king over all the sons of pride³ (Job 41:34 [26])?

The Babylonian elements in Behemoth and Leviathan, however, are more important than the Egyptian. They have been pointed out, though with some exaggeration, by Gunkel, who also noticed how much the text of the accounts of Behemoth and Leviathan has suffered in transmission. It may be hoped that by the light of the mythological interpretation the corruptions may be partly removed. For example, Job 41:9-11 [1-3] may be plausibly emended thus (see *JQR*, April, 1897):—

Surely thy self-confidence proves itself vain;
From divine beings thy power all families know.
An angel shudders when he would arouse him;
Who then taunted the gods would dare to meet him as a foe?
Who ever contemplated him and came out safer?
Under the whole heaven, not one!

The un-emended form of this passage, it is true, does not favour a mythological interpretation; but it is very difficult to give it any plausible meaning, whereas the emended text is in perfect harmony with all that we hear of Leviathan elsewhere. One more proof of the helpfulness of the new theory may be given. No passage has puzzled interpreters more than Job 40:19 *b*. The RV renders thus, 'He (only) that made him can make his sword to approach (unto him)'. הרבו, however, should be רבצו (Giesebrecht). The real meaning is, 'that was made to be ruler of his fellows' ('הרבו עניו')—i.e., Behemoth is the king of all land animals. Take this in connection with Job 41:25 [33]⁴ and Ps. 104:26, and it would seem that Leviathan was regarded as lord of the ocean, and Behemoth of the dry land. The former notion was borrowed from the Babylonians; the latter perhaps from the Egyptians.⁵

Thus the Behemoth and Leviathan passages in Job represent a fusion, from every point of view most natural, of Babylonian and Egyptian elements. The dragon is primarily Babylonian: it is Tiamat (= תהום; see CREATION, § 2 *f*). Behemoth may be ultimately identified with Tiamat's consort Kingu. Being ignorant of the mythic monsters in question, the poet naturally filled up the gaps in his knowledge from two monsters of the Nile which the Egyptians regarded as representatives of the evil god Sit.⁶

Coming now to (*f*), Is. 27, we note that the writing belongs to a prophetic passage which has a strong apocalyptic tinge, and stands at the head of the period which produced the apocalypse of Daniel.⁷ Nowhere perhaps in the OT is the phraseology more distinctly

mythical. 'Leviathan the fleeing serpent' finds its explanation in the carving on a seal representing Marduk with a dagger pursuing the dragon which flees before him in the shape of a serpent, and 'Leviathan the coiled serpent' is the mythic phrase for the ocean which surrounds the earth.⁸

In (*g*), Ps. 74:14, a psalmist gives a somewhat different view of Leviathan. To him the destruction of Leviathan is past. This is, of course, the original view represented in the Babylonian Creation-story (see CREATION, § 2). The passage should most probably be read thus:—

Thou didst shatter the head of Leviathan,
And gavest up his [carcase] as food for the jackals.

There is no reference to the unburied corpses of the Egyptians (Ex. 14:30); 'the people inhaling the wilderness' is an impossible rendering of a corrupt text (see FOX). We have here simply an amplification of a mythic detail in the story of Tiamat (see the Babylonian Creation-tablet iv. l. 104; the same detail which explains a fine passage in the latter part of Isaiah (Is. 51)).

Taken by itself (*h*), Ps. 104:26, it must be admitted, gives no confirmation to our mythological interpretations. Leviathan appears as one of the monsters of the sea, and we are told that Yahweh himself 'formed' him as its ruler. The writer may know nothing of mythology. He has heard this said, and repeats it.

We now turn to (*i*) and (*j*), the apocryphal passages. The former (Enoch 60:7-9) runs in Charles's translation from the Ethiopic version (155):—'And in that day will two monsters be parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the depths of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is called Behemoth, who occupies with his breast (?) a waste wilderness named Dendäin, on the east of the garden. . . . And I besought that other angel that he should show me the might of these monsters, how they were parted on one day, and the one was placed in the depths of the sea and the other in the mainland of the wilderness.'

The latter (4 Esd. 6:49-52) is as follows:—'Et tunc conseruasti duo animala, nomen unius uocasti Behemoth, et nomen secundi uocasti Leviathan. Et separasti ea ab alterutro, non enim poterat septima pars ubi erat aqua congregata capere ea. Et dedisti Behemoth unam partem que siccata est tertio die, ut inhabitet in ea, ubi sunt montes mille; Leviathan autem dedisti septimam partem humidam; et seruasti ea ut fiant in deuoracionem quibus uis et quando uis.' (Behemoth becomes uehemoth in cod. M and Enoch in codd. SA [so AV].)

It is needless to pause long on the purely Jewish elements in these descriptions.⁹ That Behemoth was created on the fifth day was an inference from Gen. 1:21; the reference to the 'thousand mountains' comes from a faulty reading in Ps. 50:10 (where ארץ should be אל) combined with an absurd interpretation of ארצות in the same passage. The chief points to notice are these: Behemoth and Leviathan are not two great water-monsters, but have their habitation, the one on the dry land, the other in the deep;³ the Dendäin of Enoch may possibly be the Babylonian *danninu*, which is a synonym of *irsitiu*, 'the earth,' and is literally 'the firm.'⁴ According to Gunkel, the female monster Leviathan is Tiamat, and the male monster Behemoth is Kingu, Tiamat's husband (on whom see Creation-tablet iv. ll. 119-122). In the Babylonian story these monsters met their fate at creation; in Enoch the assignment of their respective dwellings is an incident of the judgment at Noah's flood; in 4 Ezra again it is a detail of creation. It is not safe, however, to dogmatise too freely on the sources of the apocryphal writers. Their notions were probably a strange compound, in which there were exegetical inferences side by side with corrupted statements of Oriental tradition. One of these statements appears to have related to the habitation of Behemoth—at least, if we may accept Zimmern's explanation of Dendäin, which Dillmann and Charles

¹ Hommel (*Der bab. Urspr. der Apok. Kultur*, 1892, p. 40) connects Apopi or Aepw with Bab. *abûn*, 'storm-flood.' Apopi is the Tiamat of heaven. His head is split by the conquering Re' into two parts; Tiamat's body is so treated by Marsik.

² Reading ארץ לניבא, with Budde (improving slightly on Gunkel). The 'sons of pride' (if ארץ is correct) may be a phrase equivalent to 'Rahab's helpers.' If so, mythic monsters are referred to.

³ לביית is probably a corruption of לביית (Che.). Leviathan was made to be lord of living creatures (i.e., those of the ocean-depth, tēhôm, just mentioned).

⁴ Che. *Expositor*, July 1897.

⁵ Cp Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*. Pinnaich (*De Is. et Ostr.* 56) well knew the connection of the two Nile-monsters with Typhon or Sit.

⁶ Che. *Inte.* I, 150 *f.*, 155 *f.*; Lyon, *JBL*, 1895, p. 131, quoting Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, ed. Sayce, p. 90.

¹ Cp the mythological serpent in one form of the Babylonian Deluge-story (see DELUGE, §§ 6-9).

² For details on the late Jewish fancies, see Drummond, *Jewish Apocrypha*, 282-285; Weiser, *Jud. Ethik* 110, 202-203, 204.

³ C. H. Fox, *Judaism and Christianity*, 190.

⁴ So Zimmern, in *Schöpf.* 63; cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 161, *Del. Ass. III* B 225.

unconvincingly connect with בָּקָהּ (comparing Dudaël, Enoch 104, which is certainly not a mere fiction of the author). The view here taken is, of course, quite consistent with Charles's theory (*Bar.* 53) that the writers of 4 Esd. 6:30-7:25 and Bar. 27-30 both used the text of an earlier work which contained the story of the six days of Creation. This lost hexahemeron, just as much as 4 Esd. 6:38-64, represents not a homogeneous tradition, but a medley of notions derived from different sources, Jewish and Oriental.

On the subject of this article consult Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 47-69; Di's, Bu's, and Du's commentaries on Job; Che. 'The Book of Job,' etc., *Expositor*, July, 1897, and 'The Text of Job,' *JQR*, April 1897. See also DRAGON, § 47, RAHAB, i. and cp HIPPOPOTAMUS, CROCODILE. On the oscillation of mythic and semi-mythic statements between the dragon and the crocodile as the enemy of the Sun-god, cp Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges* (extrait de la rev. archéol.), 1877, pp. 8, 25.

T. K. C.

BEKAH, RV Beka (בִּיקָהּ), Ex. 38:26. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BEL (בֵּל; 𐤁𐤋𐤏 BHAL[OC], 𐤁𐤋), Ass. *bīlu*, like 𐤁𐤋 (Baal), is a simple appellative meaning 'lord' quite as often as it is a proper name (see PHœNICIA). In the Assyrio-Babylonian pantheon it is borne by two deities (see BABYLONIA, § 26), the younger of whom, identified with Marduk (see MERODACH), finds mention in writings of the Babylonian and Persian periods (Is. 46:1 Jer. 50:2 [77:2], 51:44 (S omits)).

The extent of the cultus of this god in later times appears from the many proper names compounded with Bel in Phœnician, and more especially in Palmyrene inscriptions.² Jacob of Serug states that he was the god of Edessa (*ZDGG* 29 131).

BEL AND THE DRAGON. See DANIEL, ii. § 21, and cp §§ 19, 19.

BELA (בֵּלָה; that which is swallowed up?': cp Jer. 51:44; ΒΑΛΛΑΚ [ADL], -ΑΛΛΑ [E in Gen. 14:2]), one of the five royal cities in the vale of Siddim at the time of the invasion of CHEDORLAOMER (*q.v.*, § 2), Gen. 14:28, where the name receives the geographical explanation, 'that is Zoar.' In fact, in Gen. 19:20-23 we hear of a small city near Sodom, the name of which was called ZOAR (*q.v.*), to commemorate the escape of Lot from the catastrophe of Sodom and the other 'cities of the plain.' The writer of the explanation in Gen. 14:28 evidently means us to suppose that the original name of Zoar was Bela. The author of Gen. 19 (J), however, does not appear to have known this. In 13:10 the same writer speaks of Zoar as bearing that name before the catastrophe of Sodom, and a comparison of the phraseology of 25:30 makes it probable that the etymological myth in 19:20-22 does not really presuppose a change of name. It is probable that, had the name of Bela been known in the comparatively early period when Gen. 19 was written, an etymological myth would have grown up to account for it.—Therefore that region is called Bela, because the ground opened her mouth and swallowed it up' (cp Nu. 16:30).

Such a myth did, as a fact, spring up, but long afterwards, and not as a fruit of the popular imagination. In the Targum of Jonathan the phrase 'the king of Bela' (Gen. 14:2) is paraphrased as 'the king of the city which consumed its inhabitants.' The same interpretation was given by R. Meir and his contemporary Joshua b. Karcha (Bacher, *Die Agado der Tannaiten*, 38), and is repeatedly given on the authority of 'the Hebrews' by Jer. (*Quart.* in Gen. 14:2 19:20; *Comm.* in Jer. 15:5); it has also naturally enough found a place in the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. 42). Hommel (*AHT* 195-198) boldly identifies Bela with the ancient city of Malkā, which he surmises to have been in the trans-Jordanic region; but his authority for giving

this situation to Malkā is a tablet which refers not to Malkā but to Melkart (Johns, *Expos.*, Aug. 1898, p. 160).

It is remarkable that no name is given to the king of Bela. When we consider the (probable) corruptness of other names in the passage, it is reasonable to suppose that the name, being uncouth, early dropped out of the text. To supply 'Bela,' with Bishop Hervey (Smith's *DB*³), is unnatural. T. K. C.

BELA (בֵּלָה). 1. (ΒΑΛΛΑΚ [ADEL], -ΛΕΚ [E in Gen. 36:33]). The first Edomite king, son of Beor (or perhaps Achbor; see BAAL-HANAN [1]), of the city of Dinhabah (Gen. 36:32 f. = 1 Ch. 1:43 f.). It is singular that a diviner famous in legend was called 'Bil'am (Balaam) son of Beor.' With Nöldeke (*Untersuch.* 87) and Hommel (*AHT* 153) we may venture to identify Bela' and Bil'am, and all the more confidently if Bil'am belonged to a region adjoining Edom (see PETHOR). Obviously the temptation which the name presented to an imaginative narrator must have been irresistible. Targ. Jon. and Targ. 1 Ch. 1:44 had already suggested the identification. The list which contains the name Bela ben-Beor is regarded by Sayce as a piece of an Edomite chronicle. It comes before us, however, as a thoroughly Hebrew document, and is correlated with the history of the b'ne Israel (Gen. 36:31-39; probably JE). Certainly it is no sport of the idealistic imagination; a true interest in the fortunes of a kindred people prompted its preservation. It may be incomplete, or it may have had some lacunae filled up ignorantly, not to speak of the undeniable corruptions of the text. Let us take the list as it stands, and see what we can gather from it.

The list contains eight names (or rather seven, for Baal-hanan has come in through a scribe's error). Four kings have their fathers' names given;¹ six are distinguished by the name of their city, and one is described as of a certain region (HUSHAM). The names both of the cities and of the persons (or apparent persons) are not all correct. DINHABAH, MATRED, and MEZEHAB are corrupt, and the corruptions efface the important fact that Bela (whose city was not Dinhabah but Rehoboth; cp *v.* 37) and Mehetabel came from the N. Arabian land of Musri or Musur (see MIZRAIM, § 2 b). It will be noted that one of the names occurs twice (in *v.* 39, 'Hadar' is certainly a wrong reading): it is properly the name of a god—of the Aramæan god Hadad. From this name, and from two other items—'Bela the son of Beor' and 'Saul of Rehoboth by the river'—Bishop A. C. Hervey inferred (Smith's *DB*,³ *v.* 5, 'Bela') that there had been an Aramæan conquest of Edom. The references to Bela and Saul, however, are not really in point (cp BALAAM, § 3), and all that the doubly attested HADAD, 3 [i. 2]—together with BEDAD—can be held to suggest is that Aramæan influence was early felt as far south as Edom.

More important is the historical notice connected with the name of Hadad, son of Bedad (see also HUSHAM). It tells us of the early occupation of what afterwards became the land of Moab by the Midianites, whom the Edomites under Hadad defeated. We can understand this notice in the light of Gideon's defeat of the same plundering hordes, described in Judg. 7. To make the two events contemporary, with Kautzsch in Riehm's *HWB*³ (art. 'Midian'), seems needless and hazardous.

Of most interesting as well as most certain result, however, is the antiquity of regal government among the Edomites; and, from the fact that there is no trace of dynasties, and from the continual references to the cities of the respective kings, we may probably infer, with Winckler, that the kings were of the type of Abimelech, or at the most of Saul, and that their rule, except in time of war, was little felt save by their own tribe. It is true that this will not apply to Saul of Rehoboth of the River, for this place seems to have

¹ The evidence of some proper names, however, may seem to show that Bel was not unknown in Canaan at an earlier date (see ASHBEI, BILDAD, EBAL, and cp, doubtfully, Balaam and Reuben).

² Whether the Palm. בֵּל is a bye-form of בֵּל = בַּל, as Hoffmann supposes (*Auszüge aus d. Syr. Act. Pers. Mänt.*, 1880, p. 21, n. 159), is uncertain.

³ BAAL-HANAN (*q.v.*) was perhaps really the father of Hadad II.; ben Achbor is a variant to ben Beor which has attached itself to the wrong name.

a primitive element in Babylonian mythology (see CAINITES, § 6).

Hommel, while accepting this identification, proposes a modification of the theory. He thinks that the Assyriobabylonian phrase quoted above was simply translated לְבַשְׂתִּים by the Canaanites, from whom the name was borrowed again by the Babylonians as Belili (*Exp. Times*, 8 472). This is plausible; but we should like to know how far this theory would lead us.

In *Exp. Times*, 9 40 ff., Baudissin returns to the subject. He still maintains the derivation of *Belshazzar* from בְּלִשְׁזָר and בְּלִשְׁזָרָה, and thinks that some of the occurrences of the word may possibly be due to editorial manipulation, and that the word (explained as 'worthlessness' = 'wickedness') does not look very ancient. He also quotes a communication of Jensen, which Cheyne in his answer regards as favourable rather than otherwise to the new theory, though Jensen himself expresses his agreement with Baudissin. See *Exp. Times*, ix, x, and also Che. *Psalms*, (2) on Ps. 184 5 (1) (popular etymology from בְּלִשְׁזָר, 'to swallow up'), however, is intrusive, cp König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 1 492). § 1. W. H. 10; § 2 f., 1. K. c.

BELLOWS (בְּלִשְׁזָר), properly 'instrument for blowing'; ΦΥΓΗΤΗΡ), mentioned only in EV of Jer. 6 29¹ in connection with lead-smelting; see METALS, § 2.

In Egypt bellows were used as early as the time of Thotmes III. A leather bag was fitted into a frame from which extended a long pipe to the fire. Two bags were used, upon each of which the operator placed a foot, pressing them alternately, while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string that he held in his hand (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 312 f.). In one illustration Wilkinson notes that when the man left the bellows they were raised as if full of air, thus implying a knowledge of the valve. The earliest forerunner of the bellows seems to have been a mere reed or pipe, which was used by smiths in the age of Useratesen (2 234, illustration 413, fig. 3).

Whether hand-bellows were used by the Hebrews for domestic purposes is quite unknown; for a description of a primitive kind still used in Egypt see Wilkinson (ii. 313).

BELLS, in the modern sense of the word, though used as ornaments at the present day in Syria, do not seem to have been known to the ancient Hebrews. The words so rendered require examination.

1. בְּעִיטִים, אֲרֻמֹתַי (√ = to strike), used of the golden ornaments which, alternately with POMEGRANATES (p. 21), were worn upon the lower part of the Ephod (EX. 28 34 f., 35 22, 26; compare also in the Heb. of Ezech. 45 9 and 94, and see Cowley and Neubauer *ad loc.*). Their purpose is related in Ex. 28 35.

2. בְּעִיטִים, מֵעִיטֹת (cp בְּעִיטֹת, 'cymbals'), upon which were inscribed the words, 'Holy unto Yahweh,' were worn by the horses in Zechariah's prophecy (Zech. 14 20, AVMG. 'bridles'; so ὄκαλαίος and Vg. *fr. mem.*).

In both cases small discs or plates are meant, the בְּעִיטִים being possibly similar to the בְּעִיטִים or crescents (see NECKLACE) of Judg. 8 26.

BELMEN (RV **Belmain**) is mentioned, in connection with the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes, in Judith 4 47. The readings are BELMAIN [A], ΒΑΙΛ. [B], ΔΒΕΛ. [N]; Syr. ܒܠܡܝܢ (Abel-melohab); Vet. Lat. *Abelmann*. Belmen would thus appear to be the same as the **Belmain** [B] (ΒΕΛΒΑΙΩΝ [BA]) ΔΒΕΛ. [N], Syr. ܒܠܡܝܢ, Vg. *Belma*, Vet. Lat. *Abelme*) of Judith 7 3, which, obviously, is regarded as lying near Dothan, and therefore cannot be the Abel-maim of 2 Ch. 16 4, nor perhaps the BAALHAMON of Ct. 8 11. The place meant is probably Bleam (modern *Bir Bel'ameh*), a town of strategical importance. In Judith 8 3 this place is probably intended by BALAMON, RV BALAMON (בַּלְמוֹן [BNA]), Syr. ܒܠܡܝܢ, and if we might assume that the translator had a correct text and understood it rightly, we should be justified in restoring בַּלְמוֹן for בַּלְמוֹן in 4 4. Certainly none of the readings in 4 4 can be accepted as reproducing the original name. T. K. C.

BELSHAZZAR, or as, following the Greek form, he

1. ⚙, however, not inaptly, finds a reference to the 'bellows of the smith' in Job. 82 19, where אִתֵּי שֶׁטֶף, 'new bottles,' is rendered φ. χαλαίους (reading אִתֵּי שֶׁטֶף).

is called in Baruch 1 11 f., **Balthasar**, RV **Baltasar** (בַּלְטַצָּר, or, less correctly, בַּלְשַׁזָּר; BAALTACAP [⚙ Theod.], which is also used as the equivalent of בַּלְשַׁזָּר, Belteshazzar,¹ see DANIEL ii. §§ 2 13), was, according to the Book of Daniel, a son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The length of the reign of Belshazzar is not given; but we read in Dan. 8 1 of 'the third year' of his reign. In Dan. 5 30 f. [31 f.] it is stated that he was slain, and that on his death the empire passed into the hands of Darius the Mede. All references to Belshazzar in other authors, including that in the apocryphal Book of Baruch (1 11 f.), appear to have been suggested by the passages in Daniel; and, since it is now recognised that the Book of Daniel was composed in the second century B.C., the narrative is open to question.

Till quite lately it was the fashion to follow Jos. (*Ant.* x. 11 e) in identifying the Belshazzar of Daniel with the last Babylonian king, Ναβονόδωτος, whom Jos. elsewhere calls Ναβούνηδος (in a citation from Bérössus; see c. *Ap.* 1 20); in Herod. 1 77 188 this king appears as Λαβόννητος, and in Abydēnus (quoted by Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 9 41) as Ναβαρννίδωτος. Against the identification of Belshazzar with Nabonnedus it was urged that the latter, according to Bérössus, was not even a relation of Nebuchadnezzar, but 'a certain Babylonian' who usurped the throne in consequence of a revolution; nor was Nabonnedus slain, like the Belshazzar of Daniel, on the overthrow of the Babylonian empire, but is stated to have been sent to the province of Carmania (the modern Kirmān). These objections were so serious that a few writers, in their anxiety to defend the narrative of Daniel, identified Belshazzar with Evil-merodach (2 K. 25 27).

The discovery of the Babylonian inscriptions has refuted both of the above-mentioned theories, and has at the same time confirmed the opinion that the narrative in Daniel is unhistorical. An unhistorical narrative, however, is not necessarily a pure fiction, and in this case it appears probable that the author of Daniel made use of a traditional story. It is now known that Nabonnedus, the Nabū-nā'id of the inscriptions, who reigned from 555 to 538 B.C., had a son called Bēl-sar-usur (*i.e.*, 'Bel, preserve thou the king'), a name of which Belshazzar is evidently a corruption. In a celebrated inscription Nabū-nā'id offers up a prayer in behalf of 'Bēl-sar-usur, the exalted (or, my first-born) son, the sprout of my body (*lit.* heart)'; see Schr. *COT* 2 131, and also *KB* 36 96 f. Moreover, in certain contract-tablets, dating from the first, third, fifth, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth years of Nabū-nā'id, Bēl-sar-usur, the son of the king, is expressly named. Several other tablets of the same reign speak of a 'son of the king'; but whether in all these cases Bēl-sar-usur is meant cannot be determined, since Nabū-nā'id appears to have had at least one other son.² It is, however, generally believed that Bēl-sar-usur must be identical with the prince mentioned in an inscription of Cyrus, which informs us that in the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of the reign of Nabū-nā'id, 'the son of the king' was at the head of the army in Akkad—*i.e.*, Northern Babylonia. Unfortunately, this very important inscription is mutilated, so that we learn nothing of the years twelve to fifteen of Nabū-nā'id, and in the account of the sixteenth year only a few words are legible. Of the seventeenth and last year of Nabū-nā'id there is a long account; but it would seem very doubtful whether 'the son of the king' is mentioned

¹ [Baltasar] ⚙ Th. (Aa⁷ mg.) in Dan. 17 and in ⚙ Dan. 2 26 4 5 6 16 thrice 9 1 8 1.

² Darius Hystaspis tells us in one of his inscriptions (Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinschr.* (2) 30 f. [81]) that early in his reign a rebellion was raised at Babylon by an impostor who professed to be 'Nabukadragara, son of Nabunita'—*i.e.*, Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabū-nā'id. This proves, at least, that at the time in question Nabū-nā'id was believed to have had a son named Nebuchadnezzar. See Che., *Jew. Rel. Life*, Lect. i.

again.¹ In any case, it is implied that Nabū-nādī, not Bel-sar-usur, was at this time commander of the army in Akkad (see *TSAI* 139-179, *KB* 3 6 126-132, and O. E. Hagen, 'Keilschriftkunden zur Gesch. des Königs Cyrus in der *Beilage zur Assyriol. Zeitschrift* (ed. Delitzsch and Haupt) 2:14-225 [94]). We possess, moreover, another inscription of Cyrus, describing the conquest of Babylonia at considerable length and expressly mentioning King Nabūnādī, but without any reference to a 'son of the king' (see *JRAS*, new series, 1270-97, *KB* 3 3 120-127, and *Beilage zur Assyriol. Zeitschrift*).

Hence there is nothing to prove that Bel-sar-usur played any important part at the close of his father's reign, and it is even possible that he may have died some years earlier.

Thus it will be seen that, apart from the similarity of name, the historical prince Bel-sar-usur bears but a very slight resemblance to the Belshazzar of Daniel. The one is the son of the usurper Nabūnādī; the other is the son of Nebuchadrezzar. The one is, at the most, heir to the throne; the other is actually king, for documents are dated from the year of his accession (Dan. 7:1 8:1). Moreover, if the ordinary rendering of Dan. 5:7 16:20 be correct, Belshazzar is represented as sole king, for a man who can of his own authority make any one he pleases 'third ruler in the kingdom' must clearly be supreme in the state. Since, however, the word translated 'third ruler' occurs nowhere else, and is of very doubtful meaning, it would be unsafe to press this argument.

In order to prove that Bel-sar-usur reigned conjointly with his father, it has sometimes been asserted that king Marduk-sar-usur, who is mentioned on certain Babylonian tablets, must be identical with Bel-sar-usur; but Assyriologists now admit that king Marduk-sar-usur reigned before Nabūnādī, and identify him with Nergal-sar-usur (550-555 B.C.; see *TSAI* 6:108, and Tiele's *BAG* 476 n. [1886-88]). It has likewise been urged that, though Bel-sar-usur was not a son of Nebuchadrezzar, he may have been a grandson of Nebuchadrezzar through his mother; but the theory that Nabūnādī married a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar rests upon no evidence whatever.

It remains, therefore, altogether uncertain how the story in Daniel really originated; but, besides the similarity of the names Belshazzar and Bel-sar-usur, there is at least one reason for thinking that King Belshazzar was not invented by the author. Herodotus, as has been mentioned, calls the last Babylonian king Labynētus, representing him as the son of an earlier Labynētus, the famous Nebuchadrezzar. Further, in a Chaldaean legend related by Abdyōnus, the last king of Babylon seems to have figured as a son of Nebuchadrezzar (see Schr. 'Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebuchadrezzar's', in the *JPT*, 1881, pp. 618-629). The date of the historian Abdyōnus is indeed doubtful; but he can hardly have borrowed either directly or indirectly from the Book of Daniel, so that the agreement of these three accounts in wrongly describing the last Babylonian king as a son of Nebuchadrezzar must be due to their having followed some popular tradition. See also ASHFENZEL, SHAFERZER, A. A. B.

BELT (בֵּלְתָי) Job 12:21† RV, AV 'strength.' See GIRDLE, 3.

BELTESHAZZAR (בֶּלְתֶּשְׁצָר). See DANIEL, ii. § 13.

BELTIS (Is. 10:4 corr. text). See GEBAL.

BEN (בֵּן, § 64), a Levite, enumerated between Zechariah and Jaaziel (1 Ch. 15:8†). ¹ renders 'Zax. υἱὸς Ierμ'; but ² has, no doubt rightly, omits. The name is wanting in the parallel list in 1 Ch. 15:20. Cp JAAZIEL.

¹ The passage which Schrader in 1800 translated 'the wife of the king had died' is supposed by Pinches to mean 'the son of the king died' (see Smith's *DBD*, 1893, article 'Belshazzar'), while Hagen renders 'he (i.e., Gubaru) slew the son of the king' (he is careful, however, to indicate that the word 'son' is doubtful). It is therefore obvious that no argument can be built upon the clause in question.

BEN-ABINADAB (בֶּן־אַבְינָדָב), 'son of Abinadab, so AV), the name of one of Solomon's prefects, 1 K. 4:11 RV AV ¹ (ἸΟΥ ΑΒΙΝΑΔΑΒ [A] ΑΒΙΝΑΔΑ [L]). ² is corrupt, but perhaps ΧΕΙΝ ΑΜΑΔΑΝ represents the name [Swete reads—ΧΕΙΝ ΑΝΑ ΔΑΝ.]; see SCHWARTZ. Klostermann, however, suggests אבירי, 'Abiner'; and ³ and ⁴ are easily confounded, and the final ב in אבירי may be really the preposition ('in') prefixed to 'all Naphthodor,' or 'all the height of Dor' (EV), words which define the extent of the prefecture.

BENAIHAH (בְּנֵיחַיָּה in Nos. 1 f. 4 f. 11, and בְּנֵיחַיָּה in Nos. 1-3, 6-11; 'Yah hath built up,' § 31 [see BANI]; BANAIAC [BANI], BANEAQ. BENIAC [BANI] [BANI] 165).

1. (בְּנֵיחַיָּה; but in 2 S. 20:1; 1 Ch. 11:22 בְּנֵיחַיָּה; Jehoiada), a 'valiant man' (see ISH-HAI, THE SON OF), only second, on David's roll of honour, to 'the three.' He was a Judahite of KABZEEL, and commanded the so-called CHERETHITES and PELETHITES (2 S. 8:18; βαρυται [A], βαρυται [A], 20:23 1 Ch. 18:17), and David set him over his bodyguard (שֹׁמְרֵי 2 S. 23:23). He gave valuable support to Solomon against ADONIJAH (1), and after executing the sentence of death on Joab, was appointed to the vacant post of general (1 K. 1:32-35 2:14 [om. ²] 35 βαρυται [A] 44 [om. ²]). Three (or at any rate two) special exploits were assigned to him in popular tradition (2 S. 23:23 f. = 1 Ch. 11:22 f. [αβαρια B]). On the first two see ARIEL, 1; a correction of the text is indispensable. The other feat consisted in his slaying a 'Misrite' (2 S. 23:21)—i.e., a man of Musr or Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 2). This hero is twice mentioned in a list of no value in 1 Ch. 27 (5 f. 34). Each time there is an inaccuracy. In v. 5 (RV) Benaiiah's father is described (by an obvious confusion of names) as 'the priest'; in v. 34 'Jehoiada son of Benaiiah' takes the place of 'Benaiiah son of Jehoiada.' Cp JEHOIADA, 2, and see DAVID, § 11 (c) i.

2. One of David's thirty, a Pirathonite; 2 S. 23:30 (בְּנֵיחַיָּה; ² corruptly τὸν Ἐδραθαιου [B], om. AL); 1 Ch. 11:31 27:14 (בְּנֵיחַיָּה; See PIRATHON).

3. A Simeonite chief (1 Ch. 4:36 [om. ²]).

4. A Levite singer of the second grade, one of those who played with psalteries set to ADAMOTH (q.v.); 1 Ch. 15:23 24 (Βαναι [BANI] B); 2.

5. An overseer in the temple in the time of Hezekiah (1 Ch. 31:1).

6. An ancestor of JAHAZIEL [A]; 2 Ch. 20:14 (om. ² B). 7-10. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), viz.—7. One of the b'ne PAROSI (q.v.). EZRA 10:25 (αβαρια [A]) = 1 Esd. 9:26, BANIAS, RV BANNAK (βαρυται [A]). 8. One of the b'ne PAHATH-MOAB (q.v.), EZRA 10:30; in 1 Esd. 9:31 perhaps NAIDUS (ναῖδος [B], νακ [A], BANIAS, and ναῖδος [L]). 9. One of the b'ne BANI, EZRA 10:35; in 1 Esd. 9:34 MANDAI, RV MANDAI (μαδαῖα [B], μαδαῖα [A], βαρια [L]). 10. One of the b'ne NEMO (q.v., iv.) (βαρια [L]), EZRA 10:43 = 1 Esd. 9:35 BANNAK (βαρια [L]).

11. Father of PIRATHAI (q.v., 4), Ezr. 11 (βηριχ; 1 Esd. 9:32, 6 τὸν βαρυται).

BENAMMI (בְּנַמִּי) Gen. 19:38. See AMMON, § 1.

BENCH (בֶּנְךָ), Ezr. 27:6† AV. See SHIP.

BEN-DEKAR, RV Ben-doker (בֶּן־דְּקָר); one of Solomon's prefects, in charge of NW Judah (1 K. 4:9, ἸΟΥC ΠΗΧΑC [B], . . . γαβ [L], γ. ΔΑΚΑΡ [A]). The name is improbable; nor is ²'s Ben-Rechab any more probable. It is reasonable to hold that, as in other cases, the father of this prefect was an influential officer of the crown. The prefect's real name has certainly dropped out. Klostermann suggests that we may restore thus: 'Eliohoph, son of Shisha the secretary' (v. 3). Ben-dekar is not impossibly a corruption of Beneberak [q.v.]. The locality suits.

BENE-BERAK (בְּנֵי־בֵרַק), a Danite city, the modern *Ibn Ibrak*, about an hour SE. from Joppa (Josh. 15:45; BANAI BAKAT [B], BANHBAPAK [A]).

¹ In the list given at the end of ch. ii. by ² he is described as ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσχυρίας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, ἐπὶ τῆς 2 S. 12:31, for which, however, ² has μαρτυρία.

bane et borach [Vg.]; **בְּנֵי יַאֲכָן**. It appears in Ass. (upon an inscription of Sennacherib) as *banaibarba* (cp *K. 1 T² 1721*). Jerome mentions a village *Bareva*, which was situated near Azotus. The name (properly a clan name) may be paraphrased, 'Sons of the storm-god' Rammān or Rimmon' (who was sometimes called Rammān-birku; see BARAK), and is thus of interest as a survival of the old Canaanitish religion.

BENE JAAKAN (בְּנֵי יַאֲכָן), Nu 33³¹.† See BEEBOTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN.

BEN-GEBER (בְּנֵי גֵבֶר), 1 K. 4¹³ AV^{mg.} RV, AV GEBER, 1.

BEN-HADAD (בְּנֵי חָדָד), §§ 43-49; γιος ἀδερ [B.M.] γ, ἀδερ [V] in 2 K. 13²¹; אֲדָאֵד [A] in 2 K. 13²¹; ?(ב)ג, or rather Bir-'idri; ♂ is at least a witness

1. Name. To the letter R at the end of the name. The divine name Bir was confounded by a Hebrew scribe with the Aramaic *bar*, 'son,' and translated into Hebrew as Ben (= ♂ *uōs*), and DR was miswritten DD; hence arose the wrong form Ben-hadad. The name in Assyrian is (*ilu*) IM-'idri, where the ideograph IM is most naturally read Rammān (the Assyrian thunder-god; cp EN-RIMMON), but may of course be read (and probably was read also) Bir or Bur (cp the name Bir-dadda, and see BEDAD). The meaning is 'Bir is my glory.' See Wi. *ATUnters.* 68 ff., who controverts Schr. and Del.; but cp Schr. *KAT²* 200, Del. *Calver Bib. Lex.* 97, and Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 76-78.

The name Ben-hadad is used as a general name for the Kings of Damascus in Jer. 49²⁷; but as this passage

occurs in a very late oracle, made up of borrowed phrases, the use is of no historical significance. In fact, Amos, from whom the author of Jer. *l.c.* borrows the phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad,' means most probably by Benhadad (Am. 14) the first king of Damascus who bore that name; he speaks, in the parallel line, of 'the house of Hazael.' Hazael was certainly a historical person; he was the successor of Benhadad I. (others say Benhadad II.). Consequently, Benhadad—in Amos's phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad'—cannot be a merely typical name, as in the imitative passage, Jer. 49²⁷. There are two (some, however, say three) Benhadads in the Books of Kings, just as there are (really) two Hazael (see HAZAEL).

1. BEN-HADAD I., son of Tab-rimmon, was the ally of ASA [q.v., 1], king of Judah, against Baasha, king of Israel (1 K. 15¹⁸ ff.). He was an energetic king, and constantly involved in warfare, not only with Ahab of Israel, whom he appears to have besieged in Samaria (2 K. 6 ff.), but also with Shalmaneser II. of Assyria. In 854, at the head of a Syro-Palestinian league which included Israel, he opposed Shalmaneser, not without success. For, though Shalmaneser claims to have been victorious at Karkar (near Hamath), he certainly had to return to Assyria to prepare for a more decisive campaign. Again in 849 and in 848 Shalmaneser, though nominally victorious, had to return. Convinced that he had no ordinary opponent, the Assyrian king entered on his next campaign with a much larger force than before. Bir-'idri, however, had taken his precautions, and again it was only an indecisive victory that was gained by Shalmaneser. On the relations between Benhadad and Ahab, in which there was apparently a change for the advantage of Israel, see AHAB, § 4 ff. Benhadad is sometimes referred to, not by name, but as 'the king of Syria'; see 1 K. 22 2 K. 5 68 ff. Some unnecessary trouble has been produced (1) by the supposition that the period between 'Benhadad's assistance to Asa and 'Benhadad's death (which

occurred between 846 and 842) was too long to be assigned to a single king of Damascus, and (2) by the reading of the name of the opponent of Shalmaneser II. as Dad-'idri, which, again, is supposed to be equivalent to Hadad-ezer. On the first point it is enough to remark (after Wi.) that Tab-rimmon may (Rezon and Hezion not being identical) have been for a long time a contemporary of Baasha and Asa, so that only about forty years may have elapsed between Benhadad's war with Baasha and his death. On the second point, it may be doubted whether the reading Dad-'idri is tenable; the equation IM = Rammān (or Bir) appears to have been made out (see above); and even were it otherwise, it could hardly be held that 'idri is 'the Aramaic form of *eser*' in דררור (Sayce, *Crit. and Mon.* 316), for a *y* would have made the alteration of 'idri into דרר impossible. 'Idru ('idru), whence 'idri ('my . . .'), seems in fact to be derived from 'adaru, 'to be wide, grand' (ארר; cp Heb. ררר). On the narrative of the death of Benhadad (2 K. 87-15), see HAZAEL.

2. BENHADAD II. By this king is here meant, not the contemporary of Ahab (often wrongly so designated), but the son of Hazael (possibly the

3. Benhadad II. (probably = Mari). The oppression of Israel, begun by Hazael, was continued by this Ben-hadad

(2 K. 13). But was his name really Ben-hadad? Rammān-nirari III. (see ASSYRIA, § 32) mentions a king of Damascus named Mari, whom he besieged in his capital, and compelled to pay tribute. This event must have occurred between 806 or 805 and 803. Now Benhadad II. is represented as a contemporary of Jehohaz, son of Jehu, who probably reigned (see CHRONOLOGY, § 34) from 814-798. It is difficult to suppose that another king named Mari' came between Hazael and Benhadad. More probably Mari', and not Benhadad, is the right name of the son of Hazael. This king may have sought to compensate himself for the blow inflicted by Assyria, by exercising tyranny over Israel. (For a different view of the Benhadads see DAMASCUS, § 7.) T. K. C.

BEN-HAIL (בְּנֵי חַיִל, 'son [man] of might'), one of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 Ch. 17). The name, however, is suspicious. Bertheau quotes Ben-hesed ('son of lovingkindness'), 1 K. 4¹⁰ (MT); but the reading there is doubtful (see BEN-HESED, § 3). ♂ BAL and Pesh. read ררר for ררר (*roōs uōs rōw dnatōw*; but ♂ adds *rōn uōn adl*); cp Gray, *HPN* 65 n. 2. If the story of Jehoshaphat's commission is only 'ideal,' we may surmise that the name Ben-hail is equally unhistorical.

BEN-HANAN (בְּנֵי חָנָן—i.e. 'son of a gracious one'—a patronymic; γιος φανα [B], γ. ἄναν [A], -NN. [L]), a son of SHIMON (q.v.), a Judahite (1 Ch. 4²⁰).

BEN-HESED (בְּנֵי חֶסֶד, 'son of kindness'; an impossible name, see below), the third in the list of Solomon's prefects (1 K. 4¹⁰, AV 'son of Hessed'; γιος ἐσθαθ [B], . . . ἐσθ [A], μαχει γιος ἐλα[θαρ] [L]).

His prefecture included, at any rate, Socoh; but which of the different Socohs? If we look at the sphere

1. Prefect of Hebron? of the prefect whose name precedes his in the list, we shall think of one of the two southern Socohs mentioned in Joshua, either that in the mountains near Hebron, or that in the Shēphēlah, SW. of Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, we consider the sphere of the two prefects whose names follow his, a northern Socoh, which is possibly referred to in early Egyptian name-lists (see

1. Del. *Calver Bib. Lex.* 97) conjectures, as the original form of the name of Benhadad II., Bin-Addu-'idri, which he interprets 'the son of Addu (= Rammān) . . .'. Pinches has, in fact, found the names Bin (O)-Addu-natan and Bin (O)-Addu-amar, which occur on tablets of King Nabūnād. See, however, Wi. *ATUnters.* 69, n. 1.

1 Pesh. seems to point to the reading בעל ברק, 'the lightning

Baal.'
2 Cp the obscure name Boanerges.

came gradually to be distinguished from the rest of the highlanders of Ephraim by the special name of Benjaminites, 'men of the south', the S. part, as being the smaller (cp 1 S. 9.21), receiving the distinguishing epithet.

It is not difficult to conjecture how this would naturally come about. The plateau of Benjamin, if it is,

2. Land. Joseph, is hardly divided physically from Judah. Indeed, although no mean country (*στενωτάτος δὲ ὁ κλημένος οὐρανὸς ἢν διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀμετρού*: Jos. Ant. i. 5.22), it differs materially in its physical features from the northern part of Ephraim, being sterner and less fruitful—in fact, more Judean. Moreover, valleys, running down to the Jordan (Süwēnit, Kelt) and to the sea (Merj ibn 'Omēr), exposed it to attack from the E. (Moab) and from the W. (Philistines), while a line of strong Canaanite fortress-cities (Gibeon, etc.) constituted an additional source of danger to its highland peasants. That these southerners had a certain traditional fierceness¹ (Blessing of Jacob)² was, accordingly, only a natural result of their position and history. We cannot be surprised, then, that they won the right to a special name and place.

It is thus hardly necessary to assume, with Stade (*ZATW* 1 348 [81]), some specific attempt or series of attempts to overcome by force the Canaanites of the cities (Jericho, Ai), perhaps under the leadership of the clan of Joshua, in order to account for the origin of a separate tribe: the general situation might be sufficient.

Mixture of race may, however, have helped to differentiate the tribe, although at least the Canaanite

3. Population elements took a very long time to become thoroughly amalgamated, as we see from the story of Gibeon (Josh. 9; St. *GVI* 161), and still more from the hints about BEREBOTH (*q.v.*, i.),³ which appears to have retained its distinctively Canaanite population at least till the time of Saul: indeed, even the radical policy of the latter seems to have been only partly successful (see ISHBAAL, 1). If the name CHEPHIR-HAAMMONAI (*q.v.*) indicates the presence of immigrants from across the Jordan we must look for the explanation to much later times (Josh. 18.24 P). The position of Benjamin on the marches of Joseph, however, doubtless provided opportunities for mixture also with other tribes.

Benjamin is, e.g., explicitly brought by E. (Gen. 35.15) into connection with tribes called BENONI (*q.v.*), while the first appearance of one or both of them is connected in some way (at least etymologically) with the disappearance of RACHEL (*q.v.*). If Simeon really temporarily settled in this neighbourhood before making his way south (cp ISRAEL, § 7), it is at least worthy of note that in a Simeonite list we find a clan name, JAMIN 2 (1 Ch. 4.24), and a place name Bilhah (v. 27; see BAALAH, 2). Nor is it impossible to find suggestions of some connection with REUBEN: a famous landmark on the borders of Benjamin is connected with his name (though the genuineness of the text is perhaps not beyond question),⁴ as also BILHAH (*q.v.*), the handmaid of Rachel. In Bilhan, on the other hand, to which the Chronicler in his first genealogy assigns a prominent place (1 Ch. 7.10), we cannot surely see the remains of a Bilhah clan (see BILHAH), for the name may have been taken from the Horite genealogy, as Jewish was taken from the Edomite (below, § 9 ii. a). Historical probability is certainly in favour of the idea that, after Dan failed to establish himself, Benjamin eventually spread westwards—although some of the apparent actual traces of this are not to be trusted (see HUSHIM, Gen. 46.23 [Danite; see, however, DAN, § 6] compared with 1 Ch. 8.11 [Benjamite]; ATJALON 11, Josh. 19.42 [Danite] compared with Judg. 1.35 [house of Joseph] 1 Ch. 8.13 [Benjamite; see BERIAH, 3]). The confused connection with Manasseh, however, that seems to

result from the present text of 1 Ch. 7.15 compared with v. 12 is perhaps due merely to corruption of the text. (Shupham and Hupham may have had no place in the original system of the Benjaminite list, 1 Ch. 7.6-11, and being perhaps supplied on the margin (see below, § 9 ii. a) may, by some confusion, have made their way into the text also in Manasseh, v. 15 (cp *De. ad loc.*)) What connection with Moab is intended in 1 Ch. 8.4 the present condition of the text makes it impossible to divine (the clause may be a gloss; see below, § 9 ii. β). CP PAHATH-MOAB. Nor perhaps can we venture to interpret historically the suggestion of the Chronicler with regard to a later transference of clans from Benjamin back to Ephraim (see BERIAH, 2, 3). Clan names common to Benjamin and other tribes are not rare.

The memory of the derivative or at least secondary character of Benjamin still lived in the earlier days of

4. Age the monarchy, as we see from 2 S. 19.20 [21] (cp also 20.1 with 20.21) and (apparently) from Judg. 1.22,¹ and seems to be reflected in the patriarchal story (JE) which tells how, last of all, Benjamin was born in Canaan.² That the differentiation of Benjamin was relatively ancient, however, we should be prepared to believe from the fact of the other branches of Joseph being called not brothers but sons.³ Reference in the Song of Deborah is too obscure (not to speak of its perplexing connection in some way with Hos. 5.8) to be of much use as positive evidence; while the story of Ehud, if it is perhaps hardly necessary, with Winckler (*Gesch.* 1 138), to regard the single explicit reference to Benjamin as an interpolation (see below, § 5), may perhaps reflect the conditions of an age when no very clear line was drawn between Benjamin and the rest of Joseph (Judg. 3.27)—the men of the south and the men of the more northern highlands. At all events, by the time of David Benjamin was, owing to the energy of Saul, a distinct political element to be reckoned with, although we must not forget that, e.g., in the story of the first appearance of Jeroboam, the 'house of Joseph' is an administrative unit (1 K. 11.28).⁴

The peculiar condition of the legends relating to this tribe provokes an attempt to explain it. This

5. Legends. must take account of two inconsistent tendencies—a tendency in favour of the tribe (Judg. 3.15 1 S. 4.12 1 K. 3.4.9.2), and a tendency against it (Judg. 19-21). When we bear in mind the central position of the tribe, and the abundance and importance of sanctuaries within and near its bounds (see below, § 6), it cannot surprise us that there were many traditions of incidents in which the tribe played a part. It is, however, remarkable that some of them have no special reference to sanctuaries.

We can hardly suppose this due to contending political interests (those of Ephraim and Judah) leading to a sort of diplomatic flattery of the boundary tribe with a view to securing its adhesion—just as there evidently was rivalry of a less peaceable kind (e.g., 1 K. 15.17.22). A. Bernstein, who worked out this view in great detail in his able, if unequal, essay *Ursprung der Sage von Abimelech, Isaak u. Jacob*, 1871 (see especially 61), does not take account of the stories unfavourable to Benjamin outside of Genesis; and it seems clear that Benjamin was naturally a part of the northern kingdom (1 K. 12.21 belongs to a much later date than 7.20). The later history of the tribe, especially after the fall of Samaria (see below § 7), would go a long way towards accounting not only for the preservation but also for the mixed character of much Benjamin tradition. If we wish any further explanation, it seems reasonable to seek it in a natural interest, friendly or otherwise, in the great tribal hero, the mysterious Saul and his house.

The interest in the tribe is undeniable.

Israel will run any risk rather than that of losing Benjamin (Gen. 42.38 J); the narrative delights in detailing the various signs of special affection on the part of Joseph; and even Judah offers himself as surety for him (Gen. 43.9 J) or, according to E, Reuben the first-born offers his two sons (Gen. 42.37). On the other hand, all the tribes led by Joseph reprove and chastise Benjamin, but relent and find a substitute in Jabesh Gilead

¹ The historical figures belonging to the tribe, too, have a certain passionate vehemence (Saul, etc.).

² For a suggestion of a possible original connection between the metaphor employed in the Blessing and the constellation Lupus right opposite Taurus (= Joseph), see Zimmern's art. 'Der Jakobsegen u. der Tierkreis,' *ZA* 3 168 [92].

³ A late editor may be following trustworthy tradition when he adds CHEPHIRAH in his list (with which cp Ezra 2.20 = Neh. 7.25 29 = 1 Esd. 5.17.19).

⁴ 'Sun (29) of Reuben' may be a corruption of 'stone (29) of Reuben,' which may be not an alternative name of the stone, but an alternative reading for BOHAN (*q.v.*).

¹ St., however, supposes that the account of Benjamin has been lost (*Gesch.* 1 138).

² P, however, ignores this (Gen. 35.26).

³ Nöldeke (in a private communication) thinks that at an early time Benjamin was a powerful tribe, and that the rise of the story of its late origin (as also Judg. 19-21) is to be accounted for simply as the result of the crippling of its power by David.

⁴ It has been argued by St. from 1 K. 4.48 [19] that it did not include Benjamin (*ZATW* 1 115 n.); but could we argue from 4.8 that it did not include Ephraim?

(Judg. 19-21) — a story that is strangely parallel to Joseph's accusing Benjamin (obscurely), the others entering, and Judah offering to become substitute (Gen. 44 33). What historical substratum may underlie this Gibeah story we have not the means of determining. Its late-datedness and its untrustworthiness in its present form appear in its practically wiping out the tribe that was not so very long after able to give its first ruler to a united 'Israel' (see also below, § 7, end, on post-exilic interest in Benjamin).

Benjamin was in a sense at the centre of the religious life of the land. What the religious history of

6. Religious position. ASATHOTH (cp 2, 1) may have been we can only guess; but there were sacred massébas and trees that bore the names of DEBORAH (Gen. 35 8 Judg. 4 5) and RACHEL (Gen. 35 20 Jer. 31 23),¹ and KAMAH, GEBÁ, GIBEÁH, MIZPÉH, GIBEON, GILGAL,² not only were Canaanitish sanctuaries but also continued to be of importance as such in Israel; indeed, Geba, which (or perhaps it was the neighbouring Gibeah) one writer calls 'Gibeah of God' (1 S. 10 5), was perhaps selected by the Philistines as the site of their *nešib* because of its sanctity (1 S. 13 and especially 10 5; cp SAEL, § 2 n. 1) as well as because of its strategic position.³

More important still, perhaps, Bethel itself, the famous royal sanctuary (Am. 7 13), where, according to the story, Israel encamped after crossing the Jordan (see BOCHIM), is said by P to have belonged to Benjamin (Josh. 18 22). No doubt the Chronicler afterwards (1 Ch. 7 28) assigns it to Ephraim; but (though it may well have been a border town with connections on both sides) that is perhaps only because he could not conceive of Benjamin, a tribe that he regarded as belonging to the southern kingdom, extending so far north. At all events, there was reason enough for the words used of Benjamin in Dt. 33 12 (cp Dt. *ad loc.* and see below, § 8).

¹ The beloved of Yahwé, he dwelleth secure;
He loveth, Yahwé's sanctuary him all the day,
And between his shoulders doth he dwell.

It seems, therefore, not unfitting that this tribe, martial though it was, should for all time, whatever view we take of the character of Saul, be associated with two of the greatest names in the history of Hebrew thought and religion, representatives of two of the greatest of religious movements: Jeremiah, who was a native of a Benjamite town, and Paul, who at least believed that he was sprung from the same tribe (Rom. 11: Phil. 3; cp Test. xii. Patr., Benj. ch. 11).

Saul's career ended in gloom; yet his work was not entirely undone. It was, therefore, a matter of course

7. Later history. Bichrites, see below, § 9 ii. β), even more than the rest of the house of Joseph, should dislike being subordinated to the newly-risen house of Judah (SHIMEI, 1), and should embrace any good opportunity to assert their claim (SHEBA, ii, 1), and that, along with the rest of the house of Joseph, they should throw in their lot with JEROBOAM (1). We have, accordingly, no reason to question the accuracy of the statement in 1 K. 12 20: 'there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only,'⁴ (cp Ps. 80 2 [3] and Hos. 5 8 with We.'s note, and see ISRAEL, § 28; Jericho is regarded as north Israelite in 1 K. 15 27 16 15 ff.). However, as Jeroboam was not a Benjamite, and the capitals of the northern kingdom were always in the northern parts of Joseph (cp ZARETHAN II), Benjamin does not appear to have

really gained by this step. In fact, it seems to have eventually gravitated more and more southwards. Indeed, lying on the border between the two kingdoms, it was important strategically rather than politically; and, although we cannot very well follow the details of the process,¹ some of its towns seem to have been, at one time or another, and more or less permanently, incorporated in the southern kingdom.

The blow that the northern kingdom received in 722 was favourable to this process, and in another sense the sack of Jerusalem in 586. Thus in Jer. 33 13 'the land of Benjamin' is included in an enumeration of the various districts of the territory of Judah—viz., the Shephélah, Negeb, etc.—just as in 2 K. 23 8 'from Geba to Beersheba,' like 'from Geba to Rimmon' in Zech. 14 10, stands for the whole land of Judah, and in Jer. 6:1 Jeremiah's clansmen are living in Jerusalem; and so, in the century following the rebuilding of the temple, Benjamin is regularly mentioned alongside of Judah, the combination of names appearing often to mean the families that were not taken to Babylon (cp KOSTERS, *Herstel, passim*), and the Jews came to believe that Rehoboam's kingdom had from the first consisted formally of these two tribes (cp Ps. 68 27 [28]² Chron. *passim*, and a late writer in 1 K. 12 21 23). Hence we need not be surprised at the fulness with which Benjamin, as compared with the other Joseph tribes, is treated in the book of Joshua (Dt. 505), or at the frequent and copious Benjamin lists in the Chronicler (see § 8 f.). Only we must remember that these tribal distinctions were in later times theoretical; Simon (2 Macc. 3 4), Menelaus, and Lysimachus were Benjamites; for the explanation of Mordecai's mythic genealogy (Shimeï—Kish—Benjamin) see LESTER, § 2 f.

(a) Although the priestly writer's conception of the frontier of Benjamin is not even self-consistent, Beth-

8. Late Writers' statistics: geographical. ARABAH, 1) to Benjamin, it can be identified roughly.

From the Jordan near Jericho he makes it pass up to Bethogon and Bethel (*Abraham, supra* it *supra* 8: 1, *Abraham* addar (possibly *Abrahá*) and thence W. to Beth-horon the nether (*Beit'Ur*), returning by Kirjath-jearim and Nephtoa (*Lifáá*), circling round the south of Jerusalem through the vale of Hinnom and the plateau of Rehaim, and by the spring of Rogel, and finally returning by En-shemesh (*En-el-'Asariyeh*) and the valley of Achor to the Jordan at Beth-hoghah (*Ain, or Saryyeh*).

What led P to fix on this line, the southern stretch of which he repeats with greater fulness in the delineation of Judah (Josh. 15 5-10), we cannot say; nor can we say why he makes the boundary run south of Jerusalem.³ The 'Blessing of Moses' has indeed been taken to imply (Dt. 33 12; see above, § 6) that in the latter part of the eighth century Jerusalem was held to lie inside the boundary of Benjamin; but 'by him' in the first line is probably due to a clerical error, and line 3 is quite indistinct: nothing points specially to Jerusalem.⁴ Stade (*Die Israeliten*) proposes Gilboa; perhaps Winckler would suggest Gibeah; Oort, however (*ThT*, 1896, pp. 297-300), pleads vigorously for Bethel, and nothing could be more appropriate in a poem so markedly north-Israelitish. It is plain enough, on the other hand, that Jerusalem is assigned to Benjamin by P (though he avoids giving the name of the town, speak-

¹ On the stone of Bohan or Reuben, see above (§ 3).

² Baal-tamar also was probably a sacred place. On the special importance of Gilgal in early times, see CIRCUMCISION, § 2.

³ We have even tried to show that Gibeah was believed by some to have been the seat of Israel's famous shrine, the 'ark'; but he takes no account of the discussion of KOSTERS (*ThT* 27 361-378 [193]; cp ARK, § 5).

⁴ Note the Arabic metaphor, WRS, *Ain*, 46 (foot).

⁵ We cannot argue from 2 Sam. 24 19, for 'Judah' here means, not, as the Chronicler (1 Ch. 21 6) oddly supposed, a tribe, but the southern kingdom (the Chronicler thinks it necessary to try to explain—see the attempts of BAL to understand him—why Benjamin and Levi were not numbered).

¹ See the account in GASM. *HC*, ch. 12.

² On the other tribes mentioned in this verse see ZERULLIN, NAHPTAL.

³ According to the Talmud the Holy of Holies and some other parts of the temple stood on Benjaminite soil (*Sanhed. 54*); but the site of the altar, though within Benjamin, was a piece of land that ran into Benjamite territory from Judah (1 *Yoma*, 12).

⁴ Unless Jerusalem may be thought to be implied in the mention of Benjamin before Joseph (*Dr. Dt.* 389). But on the order of the tribes cp Dt.

ing simply of 'the Jebusite'); and, if we do not know precisely why he does so, we can at least see that he has a purpose of some kind, for in Judg. 1.1 it is quite clear that the editor has for the same reason twice substituted 'Benjamin' for the original 'Judah,' which we find in the otherwise identical Josh. 15.63. We must conclude that, whatever conceptions prevailed in later times, in the days when tribal names were really in harmony with geographical facts of one kind or another, Jerusalem was counted to Judah.

(b) Many late lists of Benjaminite towns have been preserved. 1. The only early one is the rhetorical enumeration of twelve places on the path of the Assyrian invader (Is. 10.28-32).

Of the six names in it which are not mentioned in any of the other lists, two are those of towns the sites of which are known with certainty: MICHMASH (*Mithmas*) and GERM (*Germ*).

2. P's list (Josh. 18.21-28) comprises an eastern and a western group—viz., a group of twelve (to which he adds in 21.18 two others) and a group of fourteen towns.

Of these twenty-eight the following sixteen may be regarded as identified, some with certainty, others with a high degree of probability: BEBES, BEPH-HODJAH, ZEMAKAM, BETHEL, PALEIA, GERA, GERSON, KAMAH, BEHEROT, MIZPEH, CHEPHRAH, 'the JERUSALEM,' GIBETH, KIRIATH, ANATHOTH, ALMON (see ALEMETH).

3. Neh. 11.31-35 contains a list of some sixteen towns alleged to be settled by Benjamites. The list, which may be incompletely preserved, is more and more assigned, by scholars of various schools, to the time of the Chronicler (see Torrey, *Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.* 42 f.; Mey, *Entsteh.* 107, 189); at all events, it cannot be early.

Of the eleven new names (disregarding the Aija of v. 31 be the Avim of Josh. 18.23) not in the Joshua lists, four may be regarded as identified: HADAD (AHDAD), NEHEMIAH, LOD (see LYPHAI, UNO).

4. In the list Neh. 7 = Ezr. 2 = 1 Esd. 5 (see EZRA, ii. § 9), vv. 25-37 20-34, and 17b-22 respectively, seem to enumerate places (apparently places where members of Ezra's 'congregation' were resident), mostly within old Benjaminite rather than old Judahite territory.

In this list, excluding NERO (iv.) as being probably merely a transposition of NOB, we have still five other new names, of which, however, some seem to be spurious, and only NEPHAI and BETH-AZMAVETH (see AZMAVETH [L]) can be regarded as identified with any certainty.

Other places perhaps in Benjaminite territory are BAAL-HAZOR (2 S. 13.23) and NOHAH (see Moore, *Judges*, 443). 1 Esd. also adds a CHADIAS and AMMIDOI (CHADIASAH).

Lists of Benjaminite clan or personal names (sometimes, of course, including place names) are many. 9. Genealogical. They have mostly, however, suffered much at one stage or another in transmission.

(i.) P's two (Gen. 46 = Nu. 26) are, as usual, different versions of the same list.

They probably contain two triplets (a) BILA = BECHER = ASHEL, and (b) GERA = Naaman = Ahiram; and a third triplet, not quite so certain, (c) Shuphan = Huphan = Ard.

(ii.) The Chronicler's two (1 Ch. 7 and 1 Ch. 8) are more difficult to understand, but are constructed more or less on the same scheme.

(a) In 1 Ch. 7, 7.7, comes of the first triplet 1—of which, however, Ashbel, 'Man of Baal,' becomes Jedaiel, 'Intimate of El' 2 we have what is of all the lists perhaps the most symmetrical. Certain peculiarities (such as apparent doublets) make it plausible to suppose that the symmetry was once even greater. Abijah, a name that occurs elsewhere in the Chronicler's genealogies only in priestly families, 3 should perhaps be read 'the father of' ('p' father of Bethlehem,' 1 Ch. 4.4). In that way the two places Anathoth and Alemeth would be assigned to the last-mentioned son of Becher, just as in v. 12 Shuppim and Huppim are ascribed

1 Verse 12a in a sense represents the third triplet, and 12b has names connected in chap. 8 with the second.

2 Cp. שפחן, 1 Ch. 27. 28 שפחן, 2 S. 23.8 (Mispari in a private communication). We can hardly argue from the Ashbôl or Ashbôl of the Peshitta that the change of Ashbel to Jedaiel is due to an accident; for in the Peshitta 1 Ch. 7.6 simply substitutes the corrupt Genesis list (46.21) of nine names (with its 'Ehi and Rosh Muppim' for 'Ahiram Shuppim') for the Chronicler's list of three sons.

3 On the supposed Abijah, wife of Hezron, see CALBE, ii.

to Ir = Iri the last-mentioned son of Bela. Marquart, 1 to whom the detection of this analogy is due, suggests that מריתו should be read מריתו. If some form of this theory be adopted it will be only natural to look for a name (or names) assigned to the last-mentioned son of Jedaiel (the remaining branch of Benjamin) and to find it in Hushim the son of Aher (v. 12). This will be still more plausible if we may adopt the rest of Marquart's theory, that Aher אהר is a miswritten אהר = א.ה., Ahijôr—and that Ahishahar, אהישחר, is a corruption of the same name (אחישחר). If Uzzi and Uzziel in v. 7 are a doublet, 'five' in the same verse is not original. Perhaps Ehud etc., in v. 10 are brothers of Bilhan, the intervening Uzziel being a parallelism. What v. 12 is thus required to give symmetry to the genealogy, it may nevertheless be in a sense an appendix.

(b) Chap. 8 has in its appearance of being constructed in a very schematic form (though efforts to detect a general scheme have not been markedly successful), and this seems to warrant the conviction that the present obscurity is due to textual corruption. For remedying that some help can be had from the versions; but it is not sufficient. Certain suggested emendations (see an article by the present writer in *JQR* 11.102-114 [198]) so greatly reduce the disorder that now prevails that there seems to be reason to believe that the genealogy was at one time markedly regular in structure, and that considerable boldness in attempts to restore it is warranted. It has always seemed difficult to explain the historical implications of Benjaminite clans—the clan of Saul and Sheba (viz., Becher), and that of Shimei (viz., Gera)—are so subordinated in this extraordinarily copious list (they appear to be omitted altogether in Nu. 26; see, however, BECHER). It is probable that the subordination is due to corruption of the text. When emended in the way already referred to, 1 Ch. 8.1-7b is reduced to P's three triplets with the additional statement that Gera was the father of [Huzai (p.v.) and Shual], or rather, as Marquart acutely suggests, SHIMEI (p.v.); cp. שׁב [שב] [שב] [שב]. What follows is obscure—the reconstruction proposed in *JQR*, *loc.*, is in parts not much more than a guess—but it seems extremely probable that the names in v. 1-27, beyond P's three triplets, were originally attributed to Gera through Ahishahar (once corrupted into Shitaraim; see above, [a]) and Hushim (v. 12 being an intrusive repetition of a later part of the list). Then vv. 30-38 gave the genealogy of the Bichrites (for נבוכי [בכר] 'and his firstborn,' read נבוכי [בכר] 'and the sons of the Bichrite'), v. 32b being perhaps a marginal gloss due to some bewildered reader of vv. 30-32 (in their new position after the intrusion of v. 28, f. from chap. 9). Marquart suggests that these nine verses originally followed the mention of the sons of Bela. For fuller details and other suggestions the reader is referred to the article already cited. 3 It is difficult to avoid the conviction that some reconstruction is necessary.

(iii.) In Neh. 11.7 f. and 1 Ch. 9.7-9 we have two versions of a list of Benjaminite inhabitants of Jerusalem, the original of which it is quite impossible to restore.

The names are grouped in the form of genealogies of a few persons; for which, among other reasons, Meyer pronounces the list an invention of the Chronicler (*Entsteh.*, 189). Koster, however, suggests that the genealogical form is not original (*Herstel*), and that the authority was a list of Jerusalem Benjamites living in Jerusalem before the arrival of Ezra.

(iv.) On the list of Benjaminite warriors in 1 Ch. 12.3-7, see DAVID, § 11 (a) iii. On relations of Benjamin to other tribes, see, further, RACHIEL, BILHAH, JOSEPH.

2. A Benjaminite, b. Bilhan, 1 Ch. 7.10 f. (see No. 1, § 9, ii, a).
3. A Levite, of the line Harim, in the list of those with foreign wives, Ezra 10.32 (see EZRA, i. § 5, end).
4. A Levite, in the list of wall-builders, Neh. 3.23 (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f., EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 d), perhaps the same as No. 3.
5. In the procession at the dedication of the wall (EZRA, i. § 13 g), Neh. 12.34 (אצאצא [L]); on which see KOSTER, *Het Herstel*, 59.

H. W. H.

BENJAMIN, GATE OF (בִּנְיָמִן, בִּנְיָמִן). Jer. 20. 37 13 38.7 Zech. 14.10. See JERUSALEM.

BENO (בֶּנֹּי) is taken as a proper name in 1 Ch. 24.26 f. by EV, in v. 26 by G (γιοι BONNI [V], BONNEIA γιοι ΑΥΤΟΥ [L]). B. ONI; in v. 27 G^{MS} has γιοι ΑΥΤΟΥ, G^L γιοι ΑΥ. and by Jer. and Targ. That the list of the sons of Levi is in a most unsatisfactory state is evident from a comparison with Ex. 6.17 ff. 1 Ch. 6.17 [2] ff. 29 f. [14] and 23.21 ff. The MT is most obscure, and, according to Kittel, vv. 20-31 are one of the latest additions; one rendering is to take v. 26 f. as follows:—'Of Jaaziah, his (Merari's) son, (even) the sons of Merari through Jaaziah his son,' etc.

BEN-ONI (בֶּן־אֹנִי); γιοι ΟΔΥΝΗC ΜΟΥ [ADEL].

- 1 In a private communication to the present writer.
- 2 So Marquart. On foreign names in this list see above, § 3.
- 3 See now also Marquart's important article on the same subject (*JQR* xii.).

BEROTHITE

BEROTHITE (בֵּרוֹתִי), 1 Ch. 11²⁴. See **BEROTH**.

BERYL. The beryl as a mineral species¹ includes, besides the common beryl, the aquamarine or precious beryl, and the emerald.

1. Description.

The similarity between the beryl and the emerald was pointed out by Pliny (37²⁰); the only points of distinction are the green colour of the emerald and the somewhat superior hardness of the beryl (7.5 to 8 in the mineralogical scale; specific gravity from 2.67 to 2.734).

If we leave out of account the emerald, the colours of the beryl range from blue through soft sea-green to a pale honey-yellow, and in some cases the stones are entirely colourless. The aquamarine is so named on account of its bluish-green colour, 'qui viriditatem puri maris imitantur' (Pliny, l.c.). The beryl crystallises in six-sided prisms with the crystals often deeply striated in a longitudinal direction. The great abundance of aquamarine and other forms of beryl in modern times has very much depreciated its value; but it is still set in bracelets, necklaces, etc., and used for seals.

That the beryl was known to the ancients there can be no doubt. Some of the finest examples of ancient

Greek and Roman gem-engraving are found executed in beryl (see King's description of a huge aquamarine intaglio over two inches square, *Proc. Stone, Gems, and Prec. Metals*, p. 132): the Romans cut it into six-sided prisms (cylindrical) and mounted them as earrings. It is also clear from the evidence of Pliny (l.c., *berylli*) that, in later times, at least, beryl was called by the same name as now, though apart from **ב** (see below) the name does not appear in any Greek writer till considerably after Pliny's time.² It appears, however, to have been called also *σμάραγδος*; Theophrastus seems to know three kinds of smaragdus, which may well be our true emerald, our aquamarine, and our common beryl (*Lap.* 23). In Herodotus, too, smaragdus is the material not only of the gem engraved for the ring of Polyocrates (34), but also of the pillar in the temple of Heracles at Tyre (244), which cannot have been of true emerald, as the noble kinds of beryl are never found of large size.

The Hebrews must be presumed to have known the beryl. We may perhaps identify it with the *shōham*

(שׁוֹהַם); for P tells us that the ornaments on the high priest's shoulder (Ex. 28^{9,20}

28^{17,27}) were of *shōham*, and **ש** renders this *σμάραγδος*. We cannot always trust **ש**'s rendering of stone names (see **PRECIOUS STONES**); but in this case the identification seems suitable. We are told that on each *shōham*-stone were inscribed the names of six of the tribes of Israel, for which purpose a natural hexagonal cylinder of beryl would be admirably fitted if, as has been suggested, the six names were inscribed longitudinally on the six faces. The *shōham*-stones mounted in ouches of gold were probably therefore beryls pierced or simply mounted at the end with bosses (*umbilici*) of gold, like the beryl cylinders described by Pliny.

The importance given to the beryl among the Babylonians and the Phœnicians (see above) makes it all the more probable that the Hebrews would specially value it. From Gen. 212 (later stratum of J?) it would appear that the *shōham* was known in Judah before the exile, and believed to abound, with good gold and bdellium, in HAVILAH. The Chronicler brings *shōham*-stones into connection with the construction of the pre-exilic temple (1 Ch. 29²; but the reading may be incorrect, see **EBONY**, c), while the writer of Job 28¹⁶ classes it with gold of Ophir and other precious substances.

The etymology of the word *shōham* (which occurs in

¹ On the stone called beryl in EV see § 4.

² The crystals of beryl, chrysolite, and chrysolithus of ancient jewellery appear, to some extent at least, to have been names applied to different shades of beryl.

BETAH

Chronicles as a proper name; see **SHOHAM**) is at present uncertain.

4. Etymology and versions. *Gen.-Heb.* (*Thes.* s.v.) traces it to a root meaning 'to incline', while Hagar, connecting it with the Assyrian *šāhān* 'inclines' (pash), Delany, however, argues that *šāhān* means a 'dark coloured stone'. *Chal. Heb.* 1¹⁰ 1; cp *Prov.* 27¹ 1; and HATLEY connects it with *šāhān* with Sp. *hama* rather than Heb. *šam* (*Rev.* 1¹⁰ 1, 101, p. 473).

shōham is rendered in the various versions as follows:—

שׁוֹהַם βήθαλον (as in Targ. [שׁוֹהַם], Saad. etc.) in Ex. 28^{9,20}—29¹³, reproduced in Ezek. 28¹³ (see **PIERCE'S STONE**); **שׁוֹהַם** βήθαλον in Ex. 28^{9,20} 27¹ 204; **Α** βήθαλον (*be-thalon*) in Gen. 212; **Α** βήθαλον in Ex. 28^{9,20}; **Α** βήθαλον [βήθαλον] in 1 Ch. 29²; **βήθαλον** (as in *Ap.* at Ex. 28^{9,20} and 29²) at Ex. and Gen., and **βήθαλον** (as in Ezek.) except in Job) in Job 28¹⁶; **שׁוֹהַם** βήθαλον (as in *Ap.* at Ex. 28^{9,20} and 29²) in Gen. 212 and *Ap.* in Job 28¹⁶ where its text differs; *Ap.* in Gen. 212 and *Ap.* in Job 28¹⁶ of *shōham*.

RV^{mg} adds as an alternative the rendering **BERYL**,¹ thus supporting the identification argued for above.

EV follows throughout the usual *Vg.* rendering, giving everywhere 'onyx' (see **ONYX**), reserving 'beryl' for the Hebrew *Tarshish* (see **TARSHISH**, *STONE* etc.). In the NT, however, 'beryl' is naturally the EV rendering of *βήθαλον* (*Rev.* 21¹⁰ 10 W. R.).

BERZEUS (βερζελλεος [A]), 1 Esd. 5³⁸ AV = Ezra 2⁶¹, BARZILLAI, 2.

BESAI (בְּסַי, § 52; ΒΑΣΕΡ [L]). The b'ne Besai, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see **EZRA**, ii. § 95. *בְּנֵי בְּסַי* [בְּסַי] [BA]—*נְתִינִים* 7—[בְּסַי] [BA], *בְּסַי* [N]—1 Esd. 5³⁸ B. *BASAI*, EV *BASTHAI* [בְּסַתַּי] [B], *בְּסַתַּי* [L]).

BESODIEAH (בְּסֹדִיָּה, 'in the secret of Yah,' § 22; the form, however, is very improbable, see **BEZALEEL**); read, rather, בְּסַדִּיָּה, Hasadiah, an Israelite, father of Meshullam in the list of wall-builders (see **NEHEMIAH**, § 17. *EZRA*, ii. § 88 [10] 1; 13 § 8 *NEH* [10] [BA] [L], אֲבָדִיעַ [N], ΒΑΣΩΔΙΑ [V^{mg}], ΒΑΣΙΔΙΑ [L]).

T. K. C.

BESOM (בְּסוֹם), 1s. 11²⁴ f; Pesh. **בְּסוֹמ**; *Vg.*

βησος; *βησος* βησος [BESOM], IT. *BESOM* [A], a word occurring nowhere else in B. *Besom* or *βησος* in its sense, in any Semitic dialect.² According to Talm. B. *Rish ha-shānā*, 26 b., the word, though unknown to the Rabbis (who called the article *אֲבִיבָה*), was still in use among the women (cp Jer. *Megilla*, ii. 2). There is not, therefore, any reason to doubt that *Vg.* and *Pesh.* are right in understanding something to sweep (away) with (cp the metaphor in Is. 30 28 [sieve]; on which see **AGRICULTURE**, § 10). The besom of death is not unknown to mythology (Otto Henne Am Rhyn, *Die Deutsche Volksgabe*,¹² 411 f.); but the figure hardly needs any mythological warrant (*Chet. ad loc.*).

BESOR (בְּסוֹר, ΒΟCOP [BAL]), *Jos. Ant.* vi. 146, ΒΑΣΕΛΟΥC, a wady (נָחַל), mentioned in the account of David's pursuit of the Amalekites, 1 S. 30⁶ f. 21 (v. 21 *βεαυ* [B], *βεχωρ* [A]). It was probably this wady that Saul 'crossed' when he chastised the Amalekites (1 S. 13¹ 1; *תְּרַחַם* [B], *תְּרַחַם*, K¹ 3); and in the two definitions of the Amalekite territory in 1 S. 15⁷ (and Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah, etc.), and 27⁸ ('for those were the inhabitants of the land, which were from old time,' etc.), we should probably read 'from the torrent Besor even to the torrent [land] of Mušri.' See **TELEM** (i.). According to Guérin (*Judée*, 2213), it is the modern Wady Glazza which issues from the Wady es-Seba' and empties itself into the sea SW. of Gaza.

T. K. C.

BETAH (בְּתַח), a city of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, 2 S. 8⁸ (MT) = 1 Ch. 18⁸ (MT), TIBHATH. *Pesh.*, how-

1 Omitted through oversight? At Ex. 35⁹ 29 13 Ezek. 28¹³ 2 In Arab. the root means 'incline (the head)', in Eth. 'set in order.'

ever, reads Tebah, and this is also favoured in 2 S. I. c. by Ⲯ (μαβαξ [B], -βαχ [A], μαρεβαξ [L], where μα arises from a corrupt repetition of the preceding letter in this translator's Heb. text). Cp Ew. *Hist.* 3153, and see TeBAH.

BETANE (ΒΑΙΤΑΝΗ [B], ΒΑΤ. [N], ΒΑΙΤ. [A]), one of the places to which, according to Judith 19, Nēmehad-rezzar sent his summons. The BETH-ANOTH (*q.v.*) of Josh. 1559 appears to be meant.

BETEN (ⲃⲉⲧⲉⲛ—*i.e.*, 'vale' or 'hollow';—ΒΑΤΝΕ [A], ΒΑΙΘΟΚ [B], ΒΕΤΕΛ [L]), an unidentified site in the territory of Asher (Josh. 1925) called ΒΕΘΒΕΤΕΝ by Eusebius (*OS* 236 41), who places it 8 R. m. to the E. of Acco.

BETH (בֵּית, st. constr. of בַּיִת, see BDB); the most general term for a dwelling; used of a tent in Gen. 27 15 33 17, but generally of houses of clay or stone; also of temples (cp BAJITH, *Beth-Bamoth* [MI, l. 27]). Combinations of Beth with other words are frequent in Hebrew place-names (see NAMES, § 96). In Assyrian, compounds with Bit are used as names of countries; *e.g.*, Bit-Humri = the kingdom of Israel; Bit-Yakin (*i.e.*, Babylonia, the country of Merodach-Baladan).

Among other interesting compounds with Beth are BESH-TERAH (?), Beth-eked, Beth-haggan, Beth-lehem, Beth-moon (see BAAL-MEON), Beth-peor.

BETHABARA (ΒΗΘΑΒΑΡΑ [C²KT³UAI]), Jn. 128 AV, is the place where John baptized, according to the reading which became widely current through the advocacy of Origen, who could find no Bethany across the Jordan, but found a Bethabara with a tradition connecting it with the Baptist. Origen, however, admitted that the majority of MSS were against him. See BETHANY, 2.

Origen was followed by Chrysostom; Epiphanius, like Arn. (Lagarde), has Βηθαβρά. In the present text of Origen the form varies between Βηθαβρά, Βαθαβρά, Βηθαβαρα, and Βηθαβαρα (the latter also in 8th c. syr. hel. (mg.), *ath.*; see WH 2 74); in *OS* 120 12 108 6 we find βηθαβαρα. *Bethabara*.

The traditional site of the baptism of Jesus is at the Makhdēt Hajja (see BETHARABAH, 2, where, too, it is suggested that we should read Bethabarah in Josh. 1822). The two monasteries of St. John attest the antiquity of the belief in this site.

Conder suggests the Makhdēt 'Abāra, NE. of Beisān, partly because of the nearness of this ford to Galilee and Nazareth, and partly because the river-bed is here more open, and the banks of the upper valley more retired (*PEFQ.*, 1875, p. 73).

Another suggestion of the same explorer (*ib.*, 1877, p. 185) is philologically weak.

As stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), the true reading in Jn. 128 was probably βηθαναβαρα—*i.e.*, BETH-NIMRAN, now Tell-Nimrin, NE. of Jericho.

BETH-ANATH (בֵּית אַנַּת—*i.e.*, 'temple of Anath'; in Josh. ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΘ [B], ΒΑΙΝΑΘΑΘ [V], ΒΗΘΑΝΑΘ [L]); in Judg. ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΧ [B], -ΘΕΝΘ [BAL], ΒΕΘΕΝΕΧ [N]), an ancient Canaanite fortress, with a sanctuary of ANATH (cp BETH-ANOTH), Josh. 1938. It is mentioned unmistakably by Thotmes III., Seti I., Rameses II., and Rameses III. in the lists of places conquered by these kings (see *RP*² 552 638; Sayce, *Pal. Pal.* 160, 236, 239; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 193, 195, 220). According to Judg. 133, it adjoined Naphtalite territory, but (like Beth-shemesh) remained Canaanitish down to the regal period, subject only to the obligation of furnishing labour for public works. Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 236 45 105 20) inappropriately refer to a village called Batanāz, 15 R. m. E. from Caesarea, possessing medicinal springs. But the site now most in favour—*Aini'ha*, in a valley 6 m. WNW. from Kedesh—is hardly strong enough to have been that of such a fortress as Beth-anath (Buhl, *Pal.* 232; but cp Conder, *PEF Mem.* 1 200).

BETH-ANOTH (בֵּית אַנוֹת) ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΘ [B], -ΘΑΝΩΝ [A], ΒΗΘΑΡΩΘ [L]). A town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 1559), towards the eastern border of that region, identified by W. M. Müller with the

Bit-n-t of the list of places conquered by Shishak (*As. u. Eur.* 168). If the form Beth-anoth be correct, it may be explained as = Beth-anath, 'house of ANATH' (*q.v.*); cp עָנוֹת (Josh. 2112) and עָנָה, עָנָה, עָנָה. To suppose a popular etymology 'place of answering' (*i.e.*, of an echo?), with Kampffmeyer (*ZDPV* 163; cp Is. 1030, *SBU*?), is needless.

But is the form correct? Conder and Kitchener (*PEF Mem.* 331 351) identify Beth-anoth with Beit 'Ainūn, 5 m. N. of Hebron, near the sites of HALHUL and BETH-ZUR (cp BETANE). This appears reasonable, and suggests a doubt whether the ancient name may not have been בֵּית עֵינָן, Beth-enun. It is true that Ⲯ favours עָנָה, and Ⲯ^A עָנָה (ⲱ in the first syllable being unexpressed); but the case of Anem (see EN-GANNIM, 2) shows that the absence of ⲱ both in MT and in the text implied by Ⲯ is not decisive. A spring is mentioned to the west of the ruins of Beit 'Ainūn.

T. K. C.

BETHANY (ΒΗΘΑΝΙΑ [Ti.WH]). 1. A small village first referred to in the Gospels, 15 furlongs to the E. of Jerusalem on the road to Jericho (Jn. 1118 Lk. 1929, cp v. 1), and commonly identified with the Beth-Hini¹ of the Talmud. It is no doubt the mod. *el-'Azariyeh* (from Lazarus or Lazarium—the *l* wrongly taken from the article). *el-'Azariyeh* lies on a spur SE. of the Mt. of Olives (cp Mk. 111 Lk. 1929). Its fig, olive, and almond trees give one at first a pleasant impression; but a nearer inspection of the few houses is disappointing.

There are various romantically interesting spots connected by old tradition with Lazarus (cp the Itin. Hieros. ed. Wessel, 596, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and *OS*² 108 3 239 10). The Castle of Lazarus (based on *castellum*, the Vg. translation of the Gr. κώμη) is a ruined tower, presumably anterior to the time of the Crusaders, and hard by is the tomb of Lazarus; the house of Simon the Leper also is shown.

2. The Bethany where John baptized (Jn. 128, Ti. WH after ⲛⲐⲖⲐⲐⲐ, edd., RV) is distinguished from the Bethany mentioned above by the designation 'across Jordan' (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδ.); its exact situation is unknown. The reading of TR and of AV is BETHABARA (*q.v.*). Another suggestion is that Bethabara ('house of the ford') and Bethany (= בֵּית אַנַּת, 'house of the ship') are one and the same place (see GASM. *HG* 542, n. 12).

The analogy of some corrupt OT forms (cp KISHION) suggests, however, that the true reading in the traditional source of Jn. 128 would be one combining in the second part of the name the letters N, B, and R—such a name as βηθαναβαρα. We actually find βαιθαναβαρα in Ⲯ^B Josh. 1327 for the Bethnimrah of the Hebrew text. Now, the site of BETH-NIMRAN [*q.v.*] is well known. It is accessible alike from Jerusalem and from the region of Jericho (cp Mt. 35), and the perennial stream of Nahr Nimrin, which flows into the Jordan, would supply abundance of water. This theory belongs to Sir George Grove; it has been adopted by Sir C. W. Wilson (Smith's *DB*,² *s.v.* 'Bethnimrah'), and has strong claims to favourable consideration. Of course, the insertion of the words πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδ. would be a consequence of the faulty reading βηθανια. T. K. C.

BETH-ARABAH (בֵּית אַרְבָּה) בֵּית עֵרְבָה or עֵרְבָה; once, Josh. 1818, by a scribe's error [see Ⲯ] simply הַעֲרֵבָה [B]; Josh. 1818, ΒΑΙΘΑΡΑΒΑ [BAL]; 1561, ΘΑΡΑΒΑΔΑΜ [B], ΒΗΘΑΡΑΒΑ [AL], 1822 ΒΑΙΘΑΒΑΡΑ [B], -ΑΡΑΒΑ [AL].

1. One of the six cities in the 'wilderness of Judah' (Josh. 1561), mentioned also as on the boundary lines of Judah and Benjamin (156 [βαθαβαβα ΒΑ; θηθαβαβα

1 We may therefore dismiss the interpretation 'place of the wretched one' (cp the play upon Anathoth, Is. 1030 MT). Beth-Hini is generally explained 'place of unripe fruit' (cp עֵרְבָה, 'unripe fruit', esp. of figs). The Talmud, however, says that figs ripened better at Beth-Hini than anywhere else (Neub., *Gloss. Talm.* 150). If so, these figs may have led to the name BETHPHAGE—*i.e.*, possibly, 'house of young figs'—but the name Beth-Hini remains unexplained. Another form of the name is Beth-oni (בֵּית אֹנִי).

BETH-BIREI

term, and therefore probably an echo of an ancient name.' T. K. C.

BETH-BIREI, RV *Beth-biri* (בֵּית בִּירֵי), 1 Ch. 4:31. See BETH-ELBAATHIL.

BETH-CAR (בֵּית קָרַר; Βαιθκαρ [BL], Βελχ. [A], [ΜΕΛΡΗ]ΚΟΡΡΑΙΩΝ, Jos. Ant. vi. 23; בֵּית קָרַר [Targ.], a place, presumably in the district of Mizpah, to which the Israelites pursued the defeated Philistines (1 S. 7:11 [DL]). The phrase 'under Beth-car' is remarkable. Does it mean 'under the gates of Beth-car' (so We. TBS 68)? or does it mean 'to the foot of the hill on some part of which Beth-car stood'? No such name as Beth-car is mentioned elsewhere; hence it is at first sight too bold to identify it (as PEF, not disapproved by GASM. HG 224) with 'Ain Kārim, the name of a flourishing village a good way to the S. of Nebi Samwil, and W. of Jerusalem. The name Beth-car, however, is self-evidently corrupt, and if we may emend it into 'Beth-haccereem' the identification with 'Ain Kārim becomes probable (see BETH-HACCEREEM). Only 1½ m. to the N. of 'Ain Kārim is Dēr Yāsīn, not improbably to be identified with the Jashan or Jeshanah of v. 12 (see SHEN), which need not be the same as the Jeshanah of 2 Ch. 13:19.

The alternative is to read 'Beth-horon' (Kla.); and הָרָה were, from phonetic causes, easily confounded. 'Under Beth-horon' would be a very intelligible expression; but Beth-horon is certainly too far north. The reading 'Beth-jashan,' quoted from Pesh. (not 5) by G. A. Smith (JG 224), is not founded at all, but a corruption of the text of 1 S. 7:11, as We. has pointed out. T. K. C.

BETH-DAGON (בֵּית דָּגוֹן; § 95, 'house of Dagon,' ΒΗΘΔΑΓΩΝ [AL]). 1. A city of Judah, enumerated in the third group of 'lowland' towns (Josh. 15:41, βαγδαγηλ [B]). The list is so scattered and irregular that nothing can with certainty be inferred from it as to the site of Beth-dagon; but MAKKEDAH (q.v.), which is mentioned in the same verse, must have lain off the mouth of Aijalon (Josh. 10:28). Here we find, 6 m. SE. from Joppa, a Beit-Dejan, and, 1½ m. farther S., Dājūn. Each of these has been identified with Beth-dagon (see Rob. BR 3298, Clermont Ganneau, PEFQ. 1874), and one of them (the former, according to Friedr. Del.) is probably the Bit-dagana mentioned in Sennacherib's prism-inscription (col. 2 l. 65; K 12 92). It must be remembered, however, that the name occurred in several places through Palestine—Beit Dejan nearly 7 m. E. of Nāblus (see PEF map), and, according to Jos. (Ant. xiii. 8:1 Bfi. 2:3), Dagon near Jericho, each on an important trade route from Philistia to the Jordan Valley. There may, then, have been more than one Beth-dagon on the borders of Philistia, and it ought not to be overlooked that neither Dājūn nor Beit Dejan lies in the Shephelah proper. On the doubtful phrase 'land of Dagon' in Eshmunazar's inscription, and on the god Dagon, see DAGON, § 1. On Dājūn see especially Cl. Ganneau, Arch. Res. in Pal. 126 ff.

2. A locality not yet identified, but cf. Conder, Hdbk. to the Bible, 268, on the border of Asher (Josh. 19:27; βαθειβεθ [B]). 3. The temple of Dagon in Ashdod (1 Mac. 10:23; θεοδαγών [A] אֵלֵי דָגוֹן, θεοδαγών [M*]). G. A. S.

BETH-DIBLATHAIM (בֵּית דִּבְלַתַּיִם); cp Ass. *dublu*, 'foundation'; but see NAMES, § 107, a town in Moab mentioned along with Dibon [1], and Nebu [iii.] (Jer. 48:31; εἰς οἶκον Δαβλαθαίμ [B]). ε. ο. Δεβλαθαίμ [NA]), evidently the same as ALMON-DIBLATHAIM, which also occurs in connection with Dibon (Nu. 33:46 f.). This place (called בֵּית מֶשָׁה, Mehedebe, and Ba'al Me'on are stated by Meshah on his stele to have been fortified by himself [l. 30]).

BETH-EDEN, AVME, EV 'house of Eden' בֵּית עֵדֶן; εἰς ἀνάγκων γάρραν [BAQI*]), an Aramæan city or land, with a ruler of its own, but presumably allied to Damascus (Am. 1:5). No satisfactory identification of this place has been made. The vocalisa-

BETHEL

tion (עֵדֶן not עֵדֶן) forbids us to see in it the Παράδεισος of Strabo and Ptolemy, and equally forbids us to regard it with Wetstein (Del. Jes. 702; cp Vg. *de domo voluptatis*) as a poetical name of Damascus. The view, however, adopted by Schrader (*KAT* 327) and favoured by 5^{BAQI} (see above), that Beth-eden is the Bit-adini of the inscriptions (see EDEN), is not less inadmissible, for this is too far to the N. of Damascus, and had, in the time of Amos, long been subject to Assyria (Wt. *AT Unters.* 183; cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 33:326 [79]). No doubt there were other places called EDEN (q.v., ii.). There is equal uncertainty as to the name Bikath-aven (see AVEN, 3), which corresponds to Beth-eden in the parallel line. T. K. C.

BETH-EKED (בֵּית עֵקֶד, EV 'shearing house'; RVME 'house of gathering'),¹ where Jehu met Ahaziah's brethren, is either a place-name or (more probably) the designation of an isolated house used on certain occasions by the shepherds of the district (2 K. 10:12-14; Βαιθακαθ [B]); but in v. 14 ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ Βαιθακαθ. -καθ [AL]; Pesh. has 'and he was overthrowing the altars that were on the way' [v. 12], and in v. 14 בֵּית עֵקֶד, cp Cod. Vind. of Vet. Lat. *Bethacar*).

BETHEL (בֵּית אֵל), §§ 1, 10, always one word [Bä. on Gen. 128 Josh. 7:2]. RV wrongly with a hyphen; 'house of God'—i.e. ΒΑΙΤΥΛΙΟΝ—(cp 3A).

1. **Site.** ΤΟΥΛΙΑ. BETHULIA; see IDOLATRY, § 2, MASSEBA; ΒΑΙΘΑ [BADEL]; but Gen. 35:7, ΒΕΘ. [D]; gentilic *Bethelîte*, see HIEI.). 1. A town on the border between Benjamin and Ephraim, W. of the wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18:12; on 12:16, where 5^A omits the clause, and 5^B has Ηλαδ for Bethel or Makkedah, see TAPPUAH, 2), without doubt the present *Beitin* (from Beithil, by the common interchange of *l* and *n*), a small village (said to have 400 inhabitants), with ruins of early Christian and Crusader buildings, about 10 m. N. of Jerusalem. It lies on the backbone of the central range, a little E. of the watershed, and 2890 ft. above the sea. From the village itself the view is confined to the plateau, which, like most of the territory of Benjamin, presents a bleak prospect of gray rocks and very stony fields, relieved by few trees and a struggling cultivation. A few minutes SE., however, lies one of the great view-points of Palestine, the Burj-Beitin or Tower of Bethel (probably the ruin of an early Christian monastery), supposed to mark a traditional site of the tent and altar of Abraham 'to the E. of Bethel' (Gen. 128), and of Lot's view of the 'Circle of Jordan' (13:3-10). Four good springs

2. **Traditions.** and a great reservoir amply certify the present village as the site of the city, which 'was called Luz at the first' (Gen. 28:19; οἶκος θεοῦ [ADEL]). The sanctuary, 'God's house,' the 'place' (as it is called in Gen. 28:11, where it is distinct from the city) which grew famous enough to absorb the city's name in its own, may have lain either on the site of the Burj-Beitin, or on one of the neighbouring slopes, where there is a natural stone circle (PEFQ. 1881, p. 255); and the curious formation of the rocks in terraces and ramparts has been taken as the material suggestion of the 'flight of steps' (see LADDER) which Jacob saw in his dream (Gen. 28:10 ff.).² There he raised a pillar, or massēbah, to Yahweh, and afterwards is said (Gen. 35:8) by the same narrator, E (it is J who gives the previous story of Abraham's altar), to have built an altar and called the 'place' (not yet 'city') 'God of Bethel' (for which 5^{ADL}, Pesh., and Vg. read 'Bethel'). Here Deborah, Rebecca's

¹ Cp the Targ. בֵּית גִּישַׁת רֵעָא, 'place of the gathering together of the shepherds.' For *ēked*, however, we should perhaps read *nōkkūm* (נֹכְכִים), and omit the next word (in v. 12, not in v. 14) *hā-rō'im* (רֹעִים) as a gloss; *nōkkūm* was a less common word for 'shepherds' than *rō'im*.
² Schliatter (*Zur Topogr.* 236) infers from Gen. 128 Jos. 7:2 (om. 5^A) that the sanctuary lay E. of the town, in Deir Diwan.

BETHER

of Jerusalem), which stands on the slope of a steep projecting hill between the Wady Bittir and a smaller valley. If we ascend higher we shall reach a site admirably adapted for a fortress, where there are still some ruins connected by popular legend with the Jews. On the E. side are chambers in the rock and old cisterns. Neubauer (*Géog. Talm.* 103-114, cp 90) and Guérin (*Jud.* 2387-395) had all but demonstrated that this was the Bether (בֵּיתֵר) or rather Beth-ter (בֵּיתֵרֵת), within whose walls Bar Cochba so obstinately resisted the Romans under Julius Severus (A.D. 134-5). The proof has now been completed by the discovery of an inscription stating which divisions of the Roman army were stationed there.¹ It is, therefore, no longer possible to maintain with Grätz (*Hist.* 2417) that the Beth-ter of Bar Cochba was identical with the Beththar of the itineraries, which was situated between Antipatris or Diospolis and Caesarea (see ANTIPATRIS, § 2, end). See GIBBAR.

Only two ancient stations respecting the position of Bether need be here quoted. LUTS. (11 E 36) describes βῆθηρα in these terms: πωλαχρη τις ἢ ἀγροστατή. τῶν Ἱεροσολιμῶν οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω δεσπύσασα, and the Talm. of Jerus. (*Taanith*, 40), 'If thou thinkest that Beth-ter [spelt with two ת almost always in this section] was near the sea, thou art in error: truly it was 40 m. away from the sea.' T. K. C.

BETHER. The mountains of (הַרֵי בֵּיתֵר). Cant. 2:17 EV, following Vg. (*Bether*). The word Bether, however, all recent critics agree, is not a proper name: it qualifies the preceding words. Putting aside the old, forced explanations of the phrase, such as 'mountains of ravines' (ΣΒΗΡΑΣ ὄρη κοιλωμάτων—i.e., הרי הרמים; cp BITHRON), and 'mountains of separation' (between the lovers), one might conjecture that 'Bether' was the Syrian plant maiobathron, from which a costly oil was procured, used in the toilet of banqueters (*Hor. Od.* ii, 77), and also in medicine (Plin. *NH* xxiii. 448). So Symm. (Field, *Hex.* on Cant. 2:17), RV^{mk}; Welh. *Prod.* (4) 399; ET 391. Others emend בֵּיתֵר into בֵּיתֵרֵת, 'spices,' in conformity with 8:14 (so Pesh., Theod., Meier, Grätz). The best solution, however, has yet to be mentioned: בֵּיתֵר is miswritten for בֵּיתֵרֵת, 'cypresses'; cp 1:17 (Che.). 'Mountains of cypresses' is an appropriate term for Lebanon; cp 'mountains of panthers' (1:8). See JQR 10:571, and cp CANTICLES, § 15 n.

BETHESDA (ΒΗΘΣΑΔΑ [βηθσαῑ])—i.e., בֵּית הַקְּרָיָה—'house of mercy'; ΒΗΘΣΑΔΑ [Ti. WH], the reading of TR in Jn. 5:2, for which the best authorities have BETHZATHA or BETHSADA. On the topographical question, see JERUSALEM.

BETHEZEL (בֵּית הַתְּזֵל; ΒΗΘΑΙΟΙΚΟΝ ἑχόμενον αὐτῆς, i.e., אֵתֶלָה, 'near her'), an unidentified place in the Shephelah mentioned by Micah (1:11), who foresees the captivity of its noble ones (עֲצִיבֵי, emended from עֲצִיבֵי, Cp's reading [ὀδονῆς], where MT has עֲצִיבֵי: so Che., JQR, July '98). It is scarcely the same as Azel (cp AZAL).

BETH-GADER (בֵּית גָּדֵר; Βαιθηγαδαιων [B]. βελγάρ [A], Βηθηγεδδάρ [L]), a town, whose 'father' Hareph was of Calabrite origin (1 Ch. 2:51†); the genealogy seems to represent post-exilic relations. On the analogy of the other great divisions Shobal abi Kirjath-jenarim and Salma abi Bethlehem, Beth-gader was perhaps no unimportant place, and we may possibly identify it with GEDOR. 1, 2 It is noticeable that the further divisions of Hareph are not enumerated, as they are in the cases of Shobal and Salma.

BETH-GAMUL (בֵּית גַּמּוּל) 'place of recompense' ? (cp Gamatiel, בֵּית גַּמְטִיל; ΟΙΚΟΝ ΓΑΜΩΛ [B], Ο. ΓΑΜΩΛΑ [A], Ο. Γ. Α [Q], Ο. ΓΩΔΒ [N⁶⁹], om. N*). In Moab on the table-land E. of the Jordan (Jer. 48:24), identified by

¹ Cl. Gagn. *Acad. des inscr., Comptes rendus*, 1894, p. 13 f.
² The position of GEDER, with which it might otherwise be connected, is unknown.

BETH-HARAM

some with *Kh. Jemal*, which lies to the east of the well-known DIBON; according to others, it finds its modern representative in *Umm ej-Jemal*, about five hours S. of Bosra.

BETH-GILGAL (בֵּית הַגִּלְגָּל), Neh. 12:29 RV; see GILGAL, § 6 (5).

BETH-HACCEREM, AV Beth-Haccherem (בֵּית הַחֲצֵרִים, § 103, 'vineyard place'), is expressly called, not a town, but a 'district' (בֵּיתֵרֵת), near Jerusalem, Neh. 3:14 (ΒΗΘΑΧΑΜ [B], ΘΑΔΥΧΑΡΜΑ [A], ΘΑΚΑΜ [N], ΘΑΥΧΑΡΑΜ [L]). From Jer. 6:1 it appears to have included a conspicuous height to the S. of Jerusalem which was used as a beacon-station (Βαυθαλαχαρια [B], Βεθθ. [N], Βηθηα. [Q], Βηθηθαχαρ [A]).

Jerome (in his comment on the latter passage) says that it was one of the villages which he could see every day with his own eyes from Bethlehem, that it was called Beth-haram, and that it lay on a mountain. Hence, many since Pocke have placed it on the so-called Faredis or 'Frank Mountain' (2487 ft. above the sea-level), between Bethlehem and Tekoa, and very near the latter (so even Giesebrecht). Jerome's statement we are unable to criticise: but there is now no name near the 'Frank Mountain' which confirms this theory, and the special difficulty which the name Beth-haccherem implies to have characterised the district suggests looking elsewhere. After all, it was rather hasty to infer from Jer. 6:1 that Beth-haccherem was bound to be near Tekoa.

Since we have found reason elsewhere (BETH-CAR) to correct 'Beth-car' in 1 S. 7:11 into Beth-haccherem, and to identify this with the beautiful village of 'Ain Kârim, about an hour and a half W. of Jerusalem, it becomes difficult to resist the conclusion that the hill referred to by Jeremiah was the *Jebel 'Ali*, at the foot of which lies the village in question. The fruitful olive-groves and vineyards of 'Ain Kârim are watered from a superb fountain, and would justify the name Beth-haccherem. The summit of the *Jebel 'Ali* commands a view of the Mediterranean, the Mount of Olives, and part of Jerusalem (Baed. (2) 112). Conder mentions that there are still cairns on the ridge above 'Ain Kârim which may have served as beacons (PEFQ, 1881, p. 271). One is 40 ft. high and 130 ft. in diameter, with a flat top measuring 40 ft. across.

Two more references to Beth-haccherem may be indicated. In the Mishna treatise, *Middoth* 3:4, it is stated that the stones for the great altar in the second temple came from the valley of Beth-cerem, which Adler (JQR 8:390) identifies with Beth-haccherem and 'Ain Kârim; and among the eleven towns which ΣΒΑΛ has (but not MT) in Josh. 15:59 occurs Karem (Καρεμ), which, from the context, can only be 'Ain Kârim. Cp TAICHEMONITE. For another (probable) Beth-haccherem see BATHI-RABBIM. T. K. C.

BETH-HAGGAN (בֵּית הַגֵּן, *domus horti* [Vg.], EV 'the garden-house'; better in G. as a proper name, ΒΑΙΘΑΝ [B], ΒΑΙΘΑΓΑΝ [A^{vsb}], ΒΑΙΘΑΡΩΝ= Beth-horon [L]), a place, apparently to the S. of Jezreel, on the road to which Ahaziah fled in his chariot when he saw Jehoram slain by Jehu (2 K. 9:27). Jenin, the first village which one travelling southwards would encounter, may very well be Beth-haggân (= Beth-haggannim, 'place of gardens'), i.e., EN-GANNIM (g. v., 2). If, however, we hold with Conder that Megiddo, which Ahaziah reached at last—to die—was Mujedda' at the foot of Gilboa, a little to the S. of Beisân, it will become natural to identify Beth-haggân with a northern *Beit Jenn*, between Mt. Tabor and the S. end of the Lake of Gennesaret (Beit Jenn is, in Arabic nomenclature, a favourite name). Against this view of the flight of Ahaziah, see GASm. HG 387, n. 1. T. K. C.

BETH-HANAN. See ELON-BETH-HANAN.

BETH-HARAM, AV incorrectly BETH-ARAM (בֵּית הַרָם; ΘΒΑΡΡΑΕΙ, or perhaps ΑΔΩΑΜ [B], ΒΗΘΑΡΑΜ [AL], Josh. 18:27 (P)). For the true form of the name see BETH-HARAN.

BETH-HARAN (בֵּית הַרְחָן, probably 'house of Haran'), ΒΑΙΘΑΡΑΝ [B. 'ΑΡΡΑ [A.], -N [PI.], Nu. 32.6 [15]], the original and formal pronunciation of the name of the place also called BETH-HARAM (cp GERISHOM for GERISHON). The place thus designated was an ancient Amorite city, fortified by the conquering Gadites. The site is occupied by the modern *Tell er-Rāmeš*, which stands up in a wādy of the same name, between Hesbān and the Jordan, at no great distance from the river. The objection to this raised by Guthe (*ZDPV* 23, n. 1) is not sound.

Rāmeš does indeed imply a form, Beth-haramāh; but this form is vouched for by the existence of the Aramaic Beth-rāmthā (see below). It arose out of BETH-HARAM (a phonetic modification of Beth-haran) when the older and correct form of the name had passed out of use, and so the later form, Beth-haram, came to be misinterpreted. Moreover, Tristram's discovery of a 'conspicuous mound' called Beit Harran (*Land of Moab*, 348) has not been verified by subsequent travellers,¹ though it is still recognised in Baed.⁽⁹⁾ (map. of Petra), and the identification (which stands in Di.'s comm.) is retained by von Riess in *Bibel-Atlas*⁽⁹⁾, on the assumption that Beit Harran (or Haram) is nearer to the outlet of the wādy than Tell er-Rāmeš.

The really conspicuous mound is surely that of Tell er-Rāmeš, which is 673 ft. above the sea-level, and certainly marks the site of an ancient town of importance (Conder, *PEF. Mem.*, *E. Pal.* 1238). Such a town was the Beth-rāmthā of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Glog. Talm.* 247), the name of which is attested by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome.²

Herod had a palace here (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 106; *BJ* ii. 42); Herod Antipas walled it and called it Julia after the wife of Augustus, at the same time that Herod Philip rebuilt Bethsaida and gave it the same name after the emperor's daughter (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 21; *BJ* ii. 91). Jerome, however, enables us to correct this statement (*OS* 1037). The older name of the city was Livia; the name was changed to Julia when Livia was received into the gens Julia by the emperor's testament (see Schürer, *Hist. of the Jews*, 1: 149b). Euseb. *Ch. Hist.* and Theodosius (*SAEC.* 1: 149) call it Livia; the latter (*De Situ Terrae sanctae*, 103) describes it as 12 R. m. from Jericho, near warm springs that were efficacious against leprosy. T. K. C.

BETH-HOGLAH, once (Josh. 156) AV *Beth-hogla* (בֵּית הַחֲגֵלָה), § 104, 'place of partridge,' cp HOGLAH,³ a Benjaminite city on the border of Judah (Jos. 156, ΒΑΙΘΑΓΛΑΔΑΜ [14], -AA [L.], -HAA [A.]; 18:10, 11, ΘΑΛΑΚΚΙΑΝ and ΒΕΘΕΓΛΙΩ [15], ΒΑΙΘΑΑΑΓΑ [A.], ΒΗΘΑΓΑ [L. and A. in 21]). It is the modern 'Ain (and Kasr) Hajla, a fine spring and ruin situated between Jericho and the Jordan S. of Gilgal (cp Di. on Gen. 111 and Baed.⁽⁹⁾ 154). Under the form Beth-alaga it is, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 15), the place to which Jonathan fled before Bachchides, 1 Macc. 9.63 (but see BETHBASAI). The *Onom.* erroneously identifies Beth-hoglah with Atad (see ABEL-MIZRAIM, end). The interpretation '*Bethagla, locus gyri*' of Jer., according to WRS (*Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 191, n. 1), may rest upon a local tradition of a ritual procession around some sacred object there (cp Ar. *hajala*, 'hobble, hop')—similar perhaps to the Ar. ceremonial *tawif* (for which see We. *Heid.*⁽²⁾ 110).⁴ The form *hajla* survives also in Makhādet Hajla (see BETH-ARABAH, 2), a noted bathing-place for pilgrims at the mouth of the Wādy el-Kelt (Baed. 169).

BETH-HORON (בֵּית הָרוֹן, also בֵּית הָרוֹן and בֵּית הָרוֹן), and in Ch. הָרוֹן; ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ or ΒΕΘ. [13A.].

1. **Site.** ΒΕΘΩΡΑ, ΒΑΙΘ, ΘΩΡΑ, ΒΗΘ. in Jos. [cp the modern form Beit 'Ur], probably 'the place of the hollow' or 'hollow way' was the name of two neighbouring villages, upper Beth-horon (בֵּית הָרוֹן הַיָּבֵשׁ, Josh. 165; *βηθωρα* [L.] and lower Beth-horon (בֵּית הָרוֹן הַיָּבֵשׁ, Josh. 163; but in 2 Ch. 8.7 and

¹ See, e.g., Schick, *ZDPV* 21: 1, cp p. 2.
² Jos. gives the name as *βηθραμαθια* and *βηθραμαθια*; once (*Ant.* xvii. 106) the text gives *βηθραμαθια*. Euseb. *Ch. Hist.* 1: 149b, with a fragmentary reference to the *αεραριουσι*. Jer. (*OS* 25:11; 103:16), 'Betharam domus sublimium vel montium'; 'quae a Syris dicitur Bethramtha').
³ The *o* in Hoglah is not supported, and all the evidence points to the reading 'Haglah'.
⁴ For another explanation see EN-ENGLAIM.

הָרוֹתָהּ—hence the dual form preserved by *αρωραει*¹ [B; but *βηθωραον* AL], Josh. 10:10 f.), near the head and the foot, respectively, of the ascent from the Maritime Plain to the plateau of Benjamin, and represented to-day by *Beit 'Ur el-Jibā* and *Beit 'Ur el-Sāta* (large P.F.F. Surv. Map, Sheet xvii.). The road leaves Beit Sira (in which some see Uzzan-sharrah; see SHARAH),

2. **Beth-horon road.** 840 ft. above sea-level, on the high plain of Aijalon; climbs up the spur of the Benjamite hills in about 50 minutes to the lower Beth-horon, 1240 ft.; and thence, dropping at first for a little, ascends the ridge, with the gorges of Wādy Selmān to the S., and Wādy es-Sant and Wādy el-'Imeish to the N., to the upper Beth-horon, 123 m. from its fellow and 2022 ft. above the sea; and thence, still following the ridge, comes out on the Benjamite plateau about 43 m. farther on, to the N. of el-Jib (Gibeon), at a height of about 2300 ft. The *סקנה* or *סקנה* to Beth-horon (Josh. 10:10) may be the road towards the upper Beth-horon from Gibeon: it does rise at first from the plateau before descending; the *סקנה* or descent to the two Beth-horons (Josh. 10:11, *ס*^(b)) is the whole road from the edge of the plateau. More probably, the two are the same taken from opposite ends. This Beth-horon road is now no longer the high road from Jerusalem and the watershed to the Maritime Plain; but it was used as such from the very earliest times to at least the sixteenth century of our era, and indeed forms the most natural, convenient, and least exposed of all the possible descents from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem to the plain of Sharon. The line of it bears many marks of its age and long use. Carried for the most part over the bare rock and rocky debris, it has had steps cut upon it in its steeper portions, and has remains of Roman pavement. Standing as they do upon mounds, the two Beth-horons command the most difficult passages of this route and form its double key.

The constancy with which the Beth-horons appear in history is, therefore, easily explicable (they do not occur, however, in either the lists of the conquests

3. **Military** of Thotmes III, or the Amarna letters).

History. According to JE, after Joshua had won for Israel a footing on the Benjamite plateau and made peace with Gibeon, the latter was threatened by the Canaanites. Joshua defeated them at Gibeon, and pursued them all the way down by the Beth-horons (Josh. 10:10 ff.). In the days of Saul the Philistines must have held the pass from their camp at Michmash (1 S. 13:18).² Solomon fortified Beth-horon the nether, along with Gezer, on the opposite side of Aijalon (1 K. 9:17 [om. BL, Jos. *βηθωρα*; in 1 K. 2:35 *βαθωρα*, A]; 2 Ch. 8:5 adds Beth-horon the upper [*βαθωρα*, B]). During his son Rehoboam's reign Shishak or Šosenk of Egypt invaded Judah by the Beth-horon passage, it would appear, for both Ai-yu-ru-u (Aijalon) and Bi-tj-h-va-ru-n (Beth-horon) occur in his lists of the towns he conquered (Nos. 26 and 24; see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 166).

In the Syro-Maccabean wars, Seron, a Syrian general, advanced on Judah by Beth-horon; Judas with a small force met him on the ascent, defeated him, and pursued him out upon the plain (1 Macc. 3:13-24 [*ס*^(a) v. 16, *μειωραυ*]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7:1). A few years afterwards, Nicanor having retired from Jerusalem upon Beth-horon, Judas attacked and slew him, and routed his army as far as Gezer (1 Macc. 7:59 ff.; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10:5). Beth-horon was among the places fortified by Bachchides (1 Macc. 9:50 [*βηθωρα*, V*], Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1:3). See also Judith 4:4 (*βηθωρα* [A]).

¹ A similar dual (רוֹתָהּ) is to be read in 2 S. 13:34 with We., Dr., and Bu. *SBOT*, following *ס*^(b) *ארוורני* (*ארוורני* ἢ [*Avid*], *σρωρα* [L]).

² It was probably by the Beth-horons that the Philistines were routed by Sāid (1 S. 13:14) and 'from Gibeon south to Gezer,' by David (2 S. 5:25).

includes is too important to have been omitted from the original.

The name Ephrathah or Ephrath of this passage is assigned to Bethlehem also in Mic 5+ (1) the reading

3. Ephrath. עֶפְרַתָּה is not certain, but the reference to Bethlehem is clear, in Ru 4:11, virtually in Ru 1:2, 11, om. in 1 S. 17:24 (B. om.)¹ and probably also in Ps. 132:6. Apart from Micah, the documents in which Ephrath[ah] occurs are probably so late that we might reasonably suppose that Bethlehem was the earlier name of the town. On the other hand, these documents are probably based on very early material: Micah (if Mic. 5:2 is his work) takes the name as well known. It is possible to argue from 1 Ch. 2:29-34 (בֵּית לַחְמִי [B], בֵּית לַחְמִי [A]), that Ephrath[ah] was the name of the whole district in which Bethlehem lay.

Bethlehem is not mentioned by Josephus after Solomon's time, nor in the Books of Maccabees; which proves how insignificant it continued to be. As the place commanded the fertile wadies and water-supply around it,—the Philistines had deemed it important enough to occupy—this silence is very remarkable.

4. Christian times. Bethlehem reappears in Mt. 2:1 k. 2 as the birthplace of Jesus, distinguished still as

בֵּית לַחְמִי עֶפְרַתָּה (Mt. 2:1 k. 2, cp. 1:16), 'the city of David' (Lk. 2:41 cp. Jn. 7:42). Lk. describes the new-born child as having been laid in a manger (ΝΑΒΙΔ)Σ omit the definite article of TR, 'because there was no room for them in the *Khân*'; they had retired then 'to a stall or cave where there was room for the mother and a crib for the babe.'

It is significant that Bethlehem appears to have been chosen, along with the sites of the crucifixion and the resurrection, for special treatment by the Emperor Hadrian. As he set up there an image of Jupiter and an image of Venus, so he devastated Bethlehem and planted upon it a grove sacred to Adonis (Jer. *Epist. ad Paul.*, 58:3). This proves that even before 132 A.D. Bethlehem was the scene of Christian pilgrimage and worship, as the birthplace of Jesus. (The Talmud also admits that from Bethlehem the Messiah must come: *Berachoth*, *sa.*) About 150 A.D. Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 70-78) describes the scene of the birth as in a cave near the village. This tradition may be correct: there were many ancient cave-stables in Palestine (Conder, *Tent Work*, chap. 10), and caves are still used as stables. In 315 A.D. the site of Bethlehem was still 'a wild wood' (Cyr. Jerus. *Catech.* 12:20). Constantine cleared it and built a basilica. Soon after, in Jerome's time, a cave in the rock near the basilica was venerated as the stable, and in a neighbouring grotto Jerome himself prepared his translation of the Bible. From that day to this the tradition has been constant.

The centre of interest in modern Bethlehem is, therefore, the large basilica S. Maria a Præsepio, surrounded and fortified by the Latin, the Greek, and the Armenian monasteries. Although the architecture is mixed and of many periods, the bulk of the church is that built by Constantine. Cp. De Vogüé, *Églises de la Palestine*, 46 ff.

Εὐθυμίου, *op. cit.*, quoted by Guérin, 2:165: indeed, that the church is a building of Justinian, who pulled down Constantine's too small and rickety garden-office. Procopius, however, in his *De Ædific. Justin.*, whilst recording that this emperor built the walls of Bethlehem (58), does not mention any basilica there of his construction, as, had there been one, he must have done. Probably Justinian only added to Constantine's church, and the building is, therefore, the most ancient church in Palestine and one of the most ancient in the world. The fine mosaics are from the court of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (circa 1169 A.D.), and the rafters by Philip of Burgundy (in 1482).

¹ In the latter two passages Ephrathite means, of course, 'of Ephrath[ah]'=Bethlehem. It is interesting that in *PEFQ*, Jan. 1898, Schick attempts to prove that Ramathaim-zophim, the town of Samuel 'an Ephrathite,' was in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. 'Ephrathite' in 1 S. 11 probably means Ephraimite (cp. Judg. 12:5 where for עֶפְרַתִּי has Εφραθιτης but Βαλ-έκ του Εφραϊμ).

Under the stables is the Grotto of the Nativity, called also the Milk-Grotto and the Grotto of our Lady, 'milkstet of hall' and 'milchstra-ou-seyote.' We have seen the precariousness of the tradition which sanctions it: it is only probable that Jesus was born in a cave, and there is nothing to prove that this was the cave, for the site lay desolate for three centuries.

Among recent works, consult Tulkah's monograph, *Bethlehem in Palästina*, and Palmer, 'Das jetzige Bethlehem,' *ZDPV* 17:89 ff., with map and name-lists.

2. Bethlehem of Zebulun (Josh. 19:15, Βαιθαβ [B]), now *Beit Lahm*, 7 m. NW. of Nazareth, 'a miserable village among oak woods' (Guérin, *Galilée*, 1:303; Rob. *BR* 3:113). In the Talmud it receives the designation נַצְרֵת, perhaps a corruption for נַצְרֵת, 'of Nazareth' (Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.*, 189 f.). The combination of two names so famous in the Gospel history is remarkable. Most scholars take this Bethlehem to have been the home and burial-place of the judge Iban (Judg. 12:8-10). Josephus and Jewish tradition assign him to Bethlehem Judah (*Ant.* v. 7:13). G. A. S.

BETHLOHM (ΒΑΙΘΑΛΩΜΩΝ [A]), 1. *Ibid.* 5:17 cp. *Ezra* 2:91, BETHLEHEM, § 2.

BETH-MAACHAH (בֵּית מַעֲכָה), 2 S. 20:14. See *ABE-BETH-MAACHAH*.

BETH-MARCABOTH (בֵּית הַמַּרְכָּבוֹת), § *above*, i. e., 'the house of chariots') and HAZAR-SUSAN (הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה)—i. e., 'station of horses') are mentioned together in Josh. 19:5 f. (P) in the list of Simeonite towns.

The *שׁוּשַׁן* (SUSAN) for Bethmarcaboth, in Josh. 19:5 *Beth marcaboth* [H], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [A], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [L], 2:3: 1 Ch. 4:11, where the Hebrew article is omitted, *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [E], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [F], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [G], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [H], in Josh. 19:5 *סוּסוֹתָיִם* [B], *סוּסוֹתָיִם* [A], *סוּסוֹתָיִם* [L]; in 1 Ch. 4:11, *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [A], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [B], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [C], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [D], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [E], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [F], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [G], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [H], *הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה* [I].

The names seem to indicate posts of war-horses and chariots, such as Solomon is said to have established (1 K. 9:19 10:26). The two places may possibly be identical respectively with MADMANNAH and SANSANNAH, 'cities' in the Negeb towards Edom. The latter are the older names; for Madmannah, at least, appears in 1 Ch. 2:49 (which belongs to the list of pre-exilic settlements of the Calebites), whilst it is impossible to assign a very early date to 1 Ch. 4:31, where Bethmarcaboth and HAZAR-SUSIM (הַצֵּר הַסּוּסָה) are mentioned as Simeonite towns 'before the reign of David.' That the two places actually were regular stations for horses and chariots may be taken for granted; but it may be questioned whether they were so before post-exilic times, when the Persians established post-stations on the route from the Shēphēlah into Egypt (by Gaza to Pelusium).¹ On this view Sansannah may very well be the modern *Simsin*, a village in an olive-grove on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza (9½ m. NE. from the latter town), and Madmannah may be conjectured to be the modern *Khân Yûsuf*, 14 m. SW. 1500 m. GAZA (see Guérin, *Jud.* 2:203). *Khân Yûsuf* has always been an important station. It may be noted that in the time of Micah (1:13) Lachish (about 8 m. from *Simsin*) also was a chariot city. Cp. MARGABOTH. W. R. S.

BETH-MEON (בֵּית מְעוֹן), Jer. 48:3. See *BAAL-MEON*.

BETH-MERHAH, AV 'a place that was afar off,' RV^{ms} 'the Far House,' (בֵּית הַמֵּרְחָק) (שׁוֹמֵר אֶת-רֶגְלֵי מַקְרָאן [BAI], *שמור את רגלי מקראן*). Bethmerhah is either the proper name (so Ges.^{10b}, BDB doubtfully),—in which case the name is Beth-hammerhâk, like Beth-hacceraem,—or a description (Ew., The., Ke., Kau. *HS*, 'the last house') of the place outside Jerusalem where David waited with his attendants until the people and the David-guard had passed, 2 S. 15:17 (on the text, which is doubtful, see Dr. *HPSm*, and Klo. *ad loc.*).

¹ It is evident that chariots went down to Egypt by this way at least as early as the eighth cent. B.C. Cp. Gen. 40:5 Mic. 1:13.

BETH-MILLO (בֵּית מִלּוֹ), Judg. 96 RV^{mc}; see JERUSALEM.

BETH-NIMRAH (בֵּית נִמְרָה), perhaps 'place of pure water'; cp Ar. *namir*, Ass. *namiri*, 'transparent'; but see NIMRIM and NAMES, § 104; Nu. 32:38 נַמְרָא [BF], ΔΑΜΒΡΑΝ [A], [N] AM. [L]; Josh. 13:27 ΒΑΙΝΘΑΝΔΡΑ [B]; ΒΗΘΑΝΑΜΡΑ [L], ΒΗΘΑΜΝΑ [A], or **Nimrah** (Nu. 32:38 ΝΑΜΒΡΑ [B], 'MP. [F], ΔΑΜΒΡΑΝ [A], ΜΑΜΒΡΑΝ [L]), one of the Amorite cities which were afterwards 'built' by Gad (Nu. 32:39), is the *Βηθανάριος* and *Bethannaris* of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 2:43; *ib.* 102 f.), a village still extant in their day, about 5 R. m. N. from Livias (BETH-HARAN, *q.v.*), the בֵּית נִמְרָה of the Talmud (cp Del. *ad loc.*), the modern *Nimrin*, a well-watered oasis on the brink of the Jordan valley some 13½ miles E. of Jordan (cp Bael. *Pal.*¹⁰ 162). Beth-nimrah is nowhere mentioned under this name in OT outside of Numbers and Joshua, but it is identified by many modern critics with the waters of NIMRIM (*q.v.*), and, as stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), Beth-nimrah may be the original of the variants Bethany, Bethabara, in Ju. 1:28.

BETHORON (Judith 44), RV BETH-HORON (*q.v.*).

BETH-PALET, or (Neh. 11:26) BETH-PHELET, RV always **Bethpelet** (בֵּית פֶּלֶט, 'house of escape'), an unknown Calebite town (cp PELET [1], 1 Ch. 2:47), on the Edomite border of Judah, Josh. 15:27 (ΒΑΙΘΑΛΛΑ [B], ΒΑΙΘΦΑΛΕΘ [A], ΒΗΘΦΕΛ, [L]), mentioned in the list of Judahite villages (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [A], § 15 [1a]; Neh. 11:26 (ΒΗΘΦΑΛΑ [N^{mc}], ΒΗΘΦΑΛΑΤ [L], om. BN^A). For the gentile Paltite (הַפְּלִיטִי), corruptly PELONITE (1), see PALTITE.

BETH-PAZZEZ (בֵּית פִּזֵּץ), an unknown point on the border of Issachar, Josh. 19:21 (ΒΗΡΑΦΑΧ [B], ΒΑΙΘΦΑΧΗ [A], ΒΗΘΦΑΧΣ [L]). Compare the equally obscure name HAPPIZZEZ.

BETH-PEOR (בֵּית פִּיֹר), οἰκος φοργωρ [BAFL], a place named in Dt. 3:29 4:29 34:6 Josh. 13:26 (ΒΑΙΘΦΟΡΩΡ [BL], Βεθ. [A]) it is enumerated among the cities of Reuben; in Dt. 3:29 4:6 the ravine (אֲיָן) in front of (מִלְּפָנֶיךָ) it is mentioned as the place where Israel was encamped when the Deuteronomy discourses were delivered; and in Dt. 34:6 the same ravine is mentioned as the place of Moses' burial. The exact site is uncertain; but it seems clear that it cannot have been very far from the Pisgah ridge. Eusebius states (*OS*¹⁰ 233:78) that *Βεθφοργωρ* was near Mount *Φοργωρ* (cp 'the top, or head, of Peor,' ראש הפִּיֹר, Nu. 23:28), opposite to Jericho, 6 m. above Livias (*i.e.*, Tell er-Rāmeḥ; see BETH-HARAN); and (*OS*¹⁰ 213:47) that Mount *Φοργωρ* was opposite to Jericho, on the side of the road leading up from Livias to Heshbon, a part of it being 7 m. from the latter place (115 f.). If we may judge from the map in the *Survey of E. Palest.*, the ascent from Livias to Heshbon would be made naturally either along the Wādy Heshbān (cp Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 525 f.; Tristram, *Moab*, 346) or along the more circuitous road N. of this, said by Tristram (p. 343) to be the one ordinarily used. The statements of Eusebius, if correct, would thus point to a site near one of these two roads, some four or five miles N. of Nebā. The 'head of Peor' (Nu. 23:28) might be an eminence in the same locality. The opinion that this was the site is supported by the mention, in Josh. 13:20, of Beth-peor to the 'slopes (חֲדָשִׁים) of Pisgah.'—*i.e.*, in all probability, the declivities on the S. side of the Wādy 'Aiyūn Mūsā. The 'ravine in front of Beth-peor' might thus be the Wādy Heshbān. Conder (*PEFO* 1882, p. 85 f.; *Heth and Moab*,¹⁰ 146 f.) suggests a site farther to the S.—*e.g.*, on the crest of a hill above 'Ain el-Minyeh, 8 m. SW. of Nebā, commanding (see Nu. 23:28; and 24:2 compared with 25 f.)

an extensive view of the lower valley of the Jordan. Peor, however, the spot at which Baal of Peor was worshipped (which can hardly have been far from Beth-peor), would seem (Nu. 25:1-3) to have been more readily accessible from the plain of Shittim (the Ghōres-Seisebān) than 'Ain el-Minyeh would be; Nu. 23:28 compared with *v.* 14 makes it probable also that it was less distant from Pisgah; whilst, as we have seen, whatever other indications we possess point to a site N. of the Nebo-Pisgah ridge (the modern Nebā, Rās Sī'āghah), rather than to one S. of it. Until, therefore, it has been shown that there is no eminence in the neighbourhood of the Wādy Heshbān commanding the prospect implied in Nu. 23:28 and 24:2 (cp 25:1), it is here that the ancient Beth-peor must be sought. Travellers will perhaps explore this region with the view of ascertaining whether there is such a height. CP PEOR. S. R. D.

BETHPHAGE (ΒΗΘΦΑΓΗ [Ti. WH], *BETHPHAGE*), a locality near the Mt. of Olives, on a small hill on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. It is mentioned together with BETHANY (*q.v.*, 1), and probably lay to the E. of it (Mt. 21: Mk. 11: Lk. 19:29). Origen in Mt. (vol. xvi. chap. 17) describes it as a place of priests¹ (cp *OS*¹⁰ 188:75). According to various passages of the Talmud, Beth-phagē was the name of the district extending from the base of Olivet to the walls of Jerusalem, and, according to the Talm. Bab. (*Men.* xi. 2, 78 b), Beth-phagē was one of the limits of the Sabbatic zone around Jerusalem (cp GEZER), whence Cl. Ganneau would identify it with Kefr et-Tūr (see *PEFO* 1878, p. 60; but see BETH-ZUR).

The current explanation of the name is a little more plausible than that of BETHANY (*q.v.*). Βηθφαγη (the פִּיֹר בֵּית of Talm.) would naturally mean 'place of young figs'; cp מִן in Cant. 2:13 with Delitzsch's note. This, however, may be no more than a popular etymology. Nestle (*Phil. Sac.* 1896; cp *ZIVT*, etc. xl. 148) is convinced that the narrative of the barren fig-tree, which in Mt. 21:19-19 Mk. 11:12-14 is localised in Bethany, has arisen out of this faulty popular explanation of Beth-phagē. It has often been remarked that there is a startling peculiarity in this narrative as compared with the other evangelical traditions. See also A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 166.

The mediæval Bethphagē was discovered by Guillemot and Clermont-Ganneau in 1877 between the Mount of Olives and Bethany. In his account of this discovery the latter scholar offers the suggestion that the 'Village of the Mount of Olives' (*Kefr et-Tūr*), which admittedly stands on the site of some important ancient village, may be the Bethphage of the Gospels and of the Talmud. This view would clear up the Talmudic statement respecting the Sabbatic zone already mentioned. See *PEFO* 1878, pp. 51-61.

BETH-PHELET (בֵּית פֶּלֶט), Neh. 11:26 AV. See BETH-PALET.

BETH-RAPHA (בֵּית רָפָה), in an obscure genealogy of Chelub (= Caleb), 1 Ch. 4:12 (ΒΑΘΡΑΪΑΝ [B], -ΡΕΦΑ [A], ΒΗΘΡΑΦΑΝ [L]). No place of this name is known; Rapha appears to be a clan-name, unconnected of course with 'Rephaim.' RAPHA [2] appears to occur as a name in BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. β).

BETH-REHOB (בֵּית רְהוֹב), Ρωσθ [BAL], an Aramean town and district, which with ZOBAB and MAACAḤ sent men to the help of Ammon against David (2 S. 10:6, *ib.* 8, REHOB [ΡΟΑΒ A]; ΒΑΘΡΑΔΒ [L in both]).² See ARAM, §§ 5, 6. It is stated in Judg.

¹ In the Talmud, פֶּזַע also means a jaw or cheek, and from Dt. 18:3 we learn that the cheeks (סַרְסָר) belonged to the portion of the priests (cp Reland, 653). Hence, on the supposition that Beth-phage meant 'place of cheeks,' it was presumed that there was a school of priests here.

² A reference to a similar defeat at the hands of Saul in 1 S. 14:47 (cp Θ Βαθεωρ [B], Ρωσθ [L], Βεθωρ [A]) is open to suspicion; see SAUL, § 3, and cp Wi. *GET* 1:142 f.

1858 that Laish-Dan was in 'the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob' (μασρ ρααβ [B], α ρααβ [L], α ραβ [A]). Beth-rehob is doubtless the REHOB of Nu. 13.21, which, according to P, was the most northern point reached by the spies (μασρ [B], ρααβ [F]). A connection with the Asherite REHOB (I. 2, 3) is improbable (though not impossible, see ARAM, § 5).²

The exact site of Beth-rehob is uncertain. It can hardly be the Jebel Hünin, finely situated above the great plain of Hüteh to the W. of Bāniās, and remarkable for the remains, partly ancient, of a fortress (50 Rob. BR 430 f.). Others have thought of *Kal'at Buzra*, about 1 hour N. of Dan; but may not the site of the town Beth-rehob be placed quite as reasonably at Baniās itself? (see C.ESARBA, § 7 f.)?

BETHSAIDA (ΒΗΘΣΑΙΔΑ [Ti], ΒΗΘΣΑΙΔΑ [WH]; Syr. ܒܝܬܫܝܕܐ; place of fishing or hunting). Josephus

tells us (ANAV. 21) that the Tetrarch 1. **Julias**. Philip raised a village (κώμη) Bethsaida on the Lake of Gennesareth to the rank of a city, and called it Julias, after Julia the daughter of Augustus. Elsewhere he describes Julias as in the Lower Gaulonitis (B./ii. 91), close to the Jordan (Fl. 72), near where the latter runs into the lake (B./iii. 107). Pliny (v. 15) and Jerome (Comm. Mt. 16.13) also place it E. of Jordan. In conformity with these data, the site has been fixed on the fertile and very grassy plain El-Buteiha, in the NE. corner of the lake, either at et-Tell, a mound with many ruins, close to the Jordan where the latter issues from the hills, or at Mas'adiyeh, by the mouth of the river (to which Thomson [Land and Book, ed. 1877, 360] heard the name Bethsaida attached by Bedouin). Fish abound on either side of the Jordan's mouth and (presumably) in the river itself. There can be little doubt that this was the 'city called Bethsaida' (Lk. 9.10; εἰς τὴν πόλιν πάλαι καλουμένην βηθ; or Ti. WH, etc.) to which Jesus withdrew, as being in Philip's jurisdiction, when he heard of John's murder by Antipas (cp Mt. 14.13). Lk. places near it the feeding of the five thousand, which Mt. (14.14 ff.) and Mk. (6.31 ff.) describe as in a desert (i.e., uninhabited) but grassy place (Mt. 14.19 Mk. 6.39 'green grass,' such as grows in the Buteiha, in contrast to the paler herbage of the higher and drier parts), to which Jesus proceeded by boat, followed by multitudes on foot. J. also describes the scene on the E. shore of the lake (6.1), and says 'there was much grass in the place' (v. 10). A site on the Buteiha suits also the Bethsaida of Mk. 8.22, for Jesus was already E. of Jordan (v. 13) and went thence to the villages of Caesarea Philippi (v. 27). All interpreters of the Gospels are virtually agreed about this.

The question has been raised, whether there was not a second Bethsaida. After the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus, it is said, constrained his 2. Mk. 6.45. disciples to go before him to the other side to Bethsaida (Mk. 6.45, εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς βηθ.). This has forced some scholars, one or two more against their will (Reland, Pal. 653 ff., Henderson, Pal. 156 f.), to conclude that there was a Bethsaida to the W. of Jordan, either a suburb of Julias, separated from it by the river, or at 'Ain Tābigha (Rob. LBR 358 f.), 4 m. along the coast, where there is a bay containing fish in abundance, and the modern shrine of *Sheikh 'Aly es-Sayid*, 'Aly of the Fishermen, and strong streams (Ewing). But, in the first place, the phrase 'to go to the other side' does not necessarily imply the passage from the E. to the W. coast of the lake, for Josephus speaks of 'sailing over' (διεπεραιώθη) from Tiberias to Taricheæ

(Fl. 59), though these towns lay on the same side; and, secondly, Jesus would not seek again the territories of Herod Antipas so soon after leaving them for those of Philip, but would most probably return to what Lk. tells us he had just chosen as his headquarters. We may be certain, then, that the Bethsaida of Mk. 6.45 is still Bethsaida Julias.

Nor need we seek for another in the 'Bethsaida of Galilee' to which the Fourth Gospel (1.44 [12.1] says that Andrew, Peter, and Philip belonged).

3. **John 1.44**. In the time of the Great War (66-70 A.D.) [45] 12.21. the name Galilee appears to have been extended round the Lake—Josephus calls Judas of Gamala the Galilean (Ant. xviii. 16)—and at even an earlier date the jurisdiction of the ruler of Galilee may have comprised part of the E. coast (cp B./x. 4). Besides, a town which lay so immediately on the Jordan might easily be reckoned to Galilee. In any case, by 84 A.D. the E. coast was definitely attached to the province, and Ptolemy (v. 15), writing about 140, places Julias 'in Galilee.' That being so, it is insignificant that it is only the Fourth Gospel that speaks of 'Bethsaida of Galilee.' There is, therefore (as held by Wilson, *Keens of Jerus.*; Thomson, *Lives and Times*, ed. 1877, 372 ff.; Holtzmann, JPT, 1878, pp. 383 f.; Furrer, ZDPV 266 ff.; Socin and Beninger in Baed. ed. 1891, p. 256; GASM. HG 457 ff.; Buhl, Pal. 241 ff.) no reason compelling us to the theory of a second or western Bethsaida. It is interesting that the disciple of Jesus called Philip should come from Philip's Julias. Early Christian tradition and the traditional words of travel agree in showing no trace of more than one Bethsaida. The site shown for it, however, is uncertain, and may have varied from age to age. Eusebius and Jerome define it only as on the Lake (ὅς). Epiphanius (*Haer.* ii. 51.13) merely says it was not far from Capernaum. Willibald's date (722 A.D.), which place it on his journey between Capernaum and Chorazin, suits the E. bank of the Jordan (in spite of what Robinson says even if Chorazin (q.v.) be Kerāzeh, but Gergesa (Khera) may be meant).

In all probability Bethsaida remained locally distinct from Julias after the erection of the latter by Philip. The custom of Jesus was not to enter such purely Greek towns as Julias must have been; yet, according to Mt. 11.21, he did many 'wonderful works' in Bethsaida. Julias had fourteen villages round about it (Jos. Ant. xx. 84). Schumacher suggests for Bethsaida some ruins on the Lake called el-'Araj, which were joined with et-Tell (Julias) by a Roman road (ZDPV 9.19).

G. A. S.

BETHSAMOS (ΒΑΙΘΑΜΩΘ [A]), 1 Esd. 5.18 AV; RV¹⁸⁸⁵ AZMAVETH (q.v., i.).

BETH-SHEAN (בֵּית שֵׁאן), § 90, cp *Bay-yi-Ša'-ā-ry*, i.e., בֵּית שֵׁאן, WMM *As. u. Eur.* 153; ΒΑΙΘΑΜΩΘ

1. **Position**. [Ba], or Beth-shan (בֵּית שֵׁאן, in *Journal* 1. 2; ΒΗΘΣΑΝ [A], ΒΑΘ [L], or Beth-san (1 Mac. 5.3 [2.4] [Setzer (A) f.], mod. *Bethan*, 320 ft. below the sea-level, was finely situated on a low table-land above the Jordan valley, at the mouth of the W. Jāldū, which leads gently up from the Jordan to Zer'in (Jezeel). The Jordan itself is three miles off (cp ZARETHAN, § 1); but Beth-sheān was unusually well supplied with water, being intersected by two streams. Amid the extensive ruins rises the *tell* of the ancient fortress, 'a natural mound, artificially strengthened by scarping the side' (PEF Mem. 2.108).

The illustration given in the Memoirs of the Survey will enable the reader to divine the grandeur of the prospect from this eminence. 'The eye sweeps from four to ten miles of the plain all round, and follows the road westward to Jezeel, covers the thickets of Jordan where the fords lie, and ranges the edge of the eastern hills from Gadara to the Jabboḳ' (GASM. HG 357).

This 'farthest-seeing, farthest-seen fortress' must have been hard for the Israelites to conquer; yet till it was in their hands they were excluded from one of the main roads between western and eastern Palestine, and from the occupation of a coveted portion of the Jordan valley. That Beth-

¹ The mention of the 'entrance to Hamath' here is possibly a gloss (cp Moore, *Judg.* 300).

² In 2 S. 8.12 the king of Zobah is called 'son of Rehob'; see HADADMEER.

³ So Thomson, *Land and Book*, (2) 218; Buhl, *Pal.* 240; Moore, *Judg.* 399.

shean was included in one of the prefectures of Solomon's kingdom is certain (1 K. 4 12, δ οίκος δαν and βασιφροντ—i.e. η ψ ζ [B], δ οίκος σαν and β εθσαν [A], οίκος σαν and β αθσ. [L]).¹ On the death of Saul, on the other hand, we find it in the hands of the Philistines (1 S. 31 10, β αιθευ [B], 12, - θ σαμ [B], 2 S. 21 12, β αθ [B]); and, though Beth-shean may be one of the 'cities of the Jordan' (1 S. 31 7, corr. text) which the Israelites deserted after the battle of Gibeon, it is equally likely that it was still a Canaanitish city when captured by the Philistines. We know, at any rate, that it retained its Canaanite population for some time after the Israelite occupation of Palestine (Judg. 1 27, β αιθηλ [B], β εθσαν [L]; Josh. 17 11, κ αιθσαν [B^{2b}], β αιθσαν [B^{2mg}], 16 β αιθαισαν [B]). It may possibly have been as late as the time of David that this great fortress fell into the hands of the Israelites. Standing on the road from Damascus to Egypt and also from Damascus by Shechem to Jerusalem and Hebron, it had a commercial as well as a military importance which would have attracted the notice of such a keen-sighted king as David.

From the Macedonian period onwards Beth-shean bore the strange Greek name Scythopolis (see Judg. 1 27, Θ β η σ τ ν Σ κ ι θ ω ν π λ ν ι ς ; 2 Macc. 12 29-31, etc.), which probably records the fact (or belief) that some of the Scythian invaders of the seventh cent. B.C. (see SCYTHIANS) had settled here. In NT times it was one of the most important cities of the DECAPOLIS (q.v., § 2).

BETH-SHEMESH (בֵּית שֵׁשֶׁת) § 95 f.—i.e., 'temple of the sun'— β αιθσαμυς [BAL]; gentilic β ιθσημησι, δ εν β. [B.A.], δ εκ β. [L.], in 1 S. 6 14, 25 18 β αιθσαμυσειν ν ν ν [B.L.], β εθσαιμυστης [A.], EV. *Beth-shemite*. 1. Bethshemesh or IR-SHEMESH (בֵּית שֵׁשֶׁת) Josh. 19 41, ΠΟΛΙΣ κ ΑΜΕΣ [A.L.], ΠΟΛΕΙΣ κ ΑΜΜΑΥΣ [B]), a Levitical city (Josh. 21 16, β εθσαμυς [A.], ΤΗΝ κ ΑΜΕΣ [L.]; 1 Ch. 6 59 [44], β ΑCΑΜΥC [B]) on the borders of Judah (Josh. 15 10, ΠΟΛΙΝ ΗΛΙΟΥ [BAL] but assigned to Dan (Josh. 19 41), is the modern 'Ain Shems, 917 feet above sea level, on the south side of the broad and beautiful and still well-cultivated W. es-Narâr, opposite Zorah and two m. from it: 'a noble site for a city; a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains' (Robinson). It is a point in the lowland on the road from Philistia (Ekron) to the hill-country of Judah (1 Sam. 6 9 12^b, 13 19 β εθσαιμυς [A.], β εθσα. [A.]), and probably was an ancient sanctuary, since the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite was for some time during the Philistine domination the resting-place of the ark. In truth, it is difficult not to identify it with the Samahana of the Palestinian lists of Rameses II. (*R¹* 6 27; *WMM* *As. u. Eur.* 166) and Rameses III. (*R¹* 6 39), whose sanctuary may be presumed to be connected with the myth of SAMSON (q.v.). It was at Bethshemesh that Amaziah of Judah was defeated and made prisoner by Jehoash, king of Israel (2 K. 14 11-13, 11 β ηθσαιμυς [A.], 13 β εθ. [A.], 2 Ch. 25 20-22). According to the Chronicler, it was one of the cities in the lowland of Judah taken by the Philistines from Ahaz, 'king of Israel' (2 Ch. 28 18). The place was still shown in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, who give its position as 10 R. m. E. of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis—a statement which suits the identification given above. There are many traces of ancient buildings.

2. An unidentified city within the territory of Naphtali, apparently in its northward portion (Josh. 19 38, β εθσαιμυς [B], θ ασιμων [A.], β εθσαιμυς [L.]). From Judg. 1 33 (β εθσαιμυς [A]) we learn that, along with Bethanath, its population continued to be chiefly Canaanite.

3. An unidentified city on the border of Issachar (Josh. 19 22, β αιθσαιμυς [A.], β εθσαιμυς [L.]), perhaps = (2), if the latter lay in the extreme south of Naphtali.

¹ The double mention of Beth-shean probably arises from a corruption of the text.

² The latter was discovered by Sayce at Medinet Habû in 1892.

4. A city of Egypt, mentioned in Jer. 43 13, (η λιου πολεις [BNAQ]) 'he shall break the obelisks of Bethshemesh in the land of Egypt.' It is commonly supposed (e.g., by Griffith in Hastings' *DB*) that what is meant is Heliopolis, the city of the sun (see ON); but בֵּית is simply dittographed from בית in עֲבֹתָיו. We should read שֵׁשֶׁת עֲבֹתָיו, 'pillars of the sun' or obelisks (Wi. *AT Unters.* 80 f.; Che. *Intr. Is.* 102, n. 2).

BETH-SHITTAH (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה)—i.e., 'place of acacias' is mentioned in Judg. 7 22 (β ηθσείτα [B], β ΑCΕΙΤΤΑ [A.], β ΑΙΘΑCΕΙΤΤΑ [L.]) as a point to which the panic-stricken Midianites fled before Gideon. It was on the way toward ZERERAH (see ZERETHAN, *begin.*), but has not been identified; probably it was well down in the Jordan valley, at the mouth of some wady where acacias flourished. The identification with Shatta on the north side of the W. Jâlid, 5 m. NW. of Beisân and 6 m. E. of Zer'in (cp Kob., Conder, etc.) has little to recommend it: it lies much too near the supposed scene of the surprise. More, perhaps, could be said for Beisân. Others compare el-Meshetta (see *MDPV*, 1895, pp. 81 ff.; Schumacher, *ZDPV*, 1564 writes *mashatta*) 14 m. SSE. of Jogbehah. The whole narrative is, however, composite (see JUDGES, § 8), and the Heb. construction favours the assumption that Zererah does not belong to the same source as Bethshittah. In J Midian flees east from Shechem to the other side of the Jordan, whereas from v. 24 it appears that in E's narrative they turn S. (to Zarethan) through the Jordan valley, where they are intercepted by the Ephraimites (cp Moore, *Judg.* 212).

BETH-SURA (בֵּית שֻׁרָא [A.]), 1 Macc. 4 6; 2 Macc. 11 5 RV *Bethsuron*. See BETH-ZUR.

BETH-TAPPUAH (בֵּית תַּפּוּחַי) § 103—i.e., 'place of tappuah'; see APPLE, a town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 53, β αιθταχου [B.], β εθταφουε [A.], β ηθταφ. [L.]), having a traditional connection with its greater neighbour Hebron (1 Ch. 24 3, see TAPPUAH, 1), and very possibly identical with the fortified town called TAPHON (q.v.) in 1 Macc. 9 50. If the similarity of names, the vicinity of Hebron, and the fruitfulness of the district prove anything, the modern *Tuffih* is the ancient Beth-tappuah. The village so named is 3½ m. W. by N. from Hebron, and stands on a high hill, the slopes of which are planted with aged olive-trees; indeed, the whole of the *Wady Tuffih* abounds in fruit-trees of all kinds. Traces of old buildings remain, and there are two ancient wells (Rob. *LBR* 2 428; Guérin, *Judée*, 3 374). Several ancient sites named *Beth* have lost this prefix. Thus the בֵּית נַחֲמֵה of Nu. 32 36 is modern Nimrin.

The notices of Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 235 17 104 17; cp 156 20) are of interest only as showing that there was another place on the confines of Palestine and Egypt bearing the same name. Whatever the fruit called tappuah was (see APPLE), it was as common in Palestine as quinces and apricots are now.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּלָה, בְּתוּלָה), 'man of El' ?—cp Methushael, and see CAINITES, § 7; hardly for Ass. *bit ilî*, 'house of a deity'; β ΑΘΟΥΛΑ [ADELK].

1. B. Nahor; father of Laban and Rebeckah (Gen. 22 22 f. 24 15 [J]). In Gen. 25 20-28 5 [P] he is called an 'Aramæan', as is also his son Laban in 31 20 24. See ARAM, § 3.

2. See BETHUL.

BETHUL (בְּתוּלָה), a Simeonite town (Josh. 19 4, β ΟΥΛΑ [B.], β ΑΘΟΥΛΑ [AL]), called BETHUEL (בְּתוּלָה, β ΑΘΟΥΛΑ [B.], -ΟΥΛΑ [A.], -ΟΥΛΑ [L.]) in 1 Ch. 4 38, and corruptly CESHUL (בְּשִׁילָה) in || Josh. 15 30 (β ΑΙΘΟΥΛΑ [B.], χ ΑCΕΙΡ [A.], κ ΕΙΕΙΛ [L.]). The form בְּתוּלָה may perhaps be classed with Penuel; for elision of N cp HAMUL. It is doubtless the BETHEL (בְּתוּלָה, β αιθηλ [A.L.], β αιθsurp—i.e., Beth-zur [B])¹ of 1 S. 30 27, mentioned along with

¹ The situation of Beth-zur is less suitable (Wee., Dr.).

BETHULIA

Jattir and other places in the Negeb; but the site has not yet been identified. There was probably a Bethel near Gaza.¹

BETHULIA (Βετυλοια [BNA], [the preferable reading; but Βαιτογλοια [BN], Βαιτυλοια [BNA] are also found]; **BETHULIA** [Vg.; **בֵּתּוּלְיָה**]) the centre of the action in the book of Judith (2:1 [N*] 4:6 [N], Βαιτογλοια 5:10 f. 14:7 f.). In the shorter version of the narrative its place is taken by Jerusalem, and there is little doubt that Bethulia (properly Betylua) represents **בֵּית־יְהוָה**,² the house of God—viz., Jerusalem (see JUDITH, ii.). So already Reuss, who, however, together with Welte, derived the name from **בֵּית־יְהוָה**. Bertholdt's conjecture **בֵּית־יְהוָה**, 'virgin of Yahweh,' may be worth noticing.³

According to the representations of the book (cp 4:673). Bethulia lay near Jezreel, upon a rock by a valley, commanding the passes to the S. (so Buhl, *Pal.* 201, n. 627). Various identifications have been suggested.

Some have sought for it near the modern Kef Kād, formerly Aparcotta, N.E. of the plain of Dothan (Hi., cp also Riehm); other suggestions are the fortress Samir (Grove in Smith's *DB*), Kfr. Haraz el-Mellah (Martin, quoted in *JHU* 12:27), Joum (Ew.), Beit Ila (Schultz), and plausibly no doubt *U* and *u* being often confounded), Mithilyeh or Misilia (Conder; Socin, also inclines to this view, *Bād.* (2), 226). More recently, Torrey (*Trans. Amer. Or. Soc.* 20:196 f. [1911] argues ably in favour of Shechem.

So large and important a place as Bethulia—with its rulers and elders (6:14, 16), its streets and towers (7:232), and its siege, lasting for four-and-thirty days, by an immensely superior army (7:20)—cannot reasonably be identified with any small and insignificant locality. It remains to be added that the mention of Jerusalem and Bethulia as two distinct places (cp 4:6 15:5 f.) is probably to be assigned to a time when the identity of the ideal Bethulia with Jerusalem was forgotten.

S. A. C.

BETHZACHARIAS, AV (by misprint? **BATHZACHARIAS** [Βεθζαχαρια [A], Βαθθ. [NV]; Jos. **Βεθζ., Βητζ.**], the scene of the defeat of Judas the Maccabee by Lysias, and of the death of his brother Eleazar (1 Macc. 6:32 f.). Its position is defined by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 94) as 70 stadia (N.) from Bethsur; it is thus represented by the modern *Beit-Sakriya* (described by Robinson (2) 3:283 f. and *PEF. Mem.* 3:35 108).

BETHZATHA (Βηθζαθα), the reading adopted by Ti. WH in Jn. 5, where TR has BETHESDA. For the evidence, see WH, ii. App. 76: perhaps the purest form would be **Βηθζαθα**, 'the place of the olive' (cp **Βηθθη**).

BETH-ZUR (בֵּית־זֵר, Βεθζορ [AL], § 96, 'house of rock,' or, on the analogy of Beth-el, 'house of Zur'—a divine name, Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 47, n. 1; Hommel *AHT* 319; see ZUR), a city in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned between Hahul and Gedor⁴ (Josh. 15:48, Βαιθζορ [B]; cp 1 Ch. 24:5, where Βηθζορ **βηθσορ** [B], **βηθσορ** [AL]—is the 'son' of Maon), is stated in 2 Ch. 11:7 (Βαιθζορ [B], **την βαιθ.** [A], **την βαιθσορ** [L]) to have been fortified by Rehoboam. It was head of a district in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:16, **βηθσορ** [B], **βηθσορ** [A]). Frequently an object of struggle in the Maccabean wars (*η βαιθσορ*, τὰ β. [NV], *η βαιθ.*, τὰ β. [AN], 1 Macc. 4:40:16 7:30:10 9:52; 10:14 **βαιθσορ** [V*]; 11:65 14:7 33).⁵ It was in the time of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 56) 'the strongest place in

BEZAAANANIM

all Judaea,' and was still an inhabited village (βηθσαωρα Bethsora) in the days of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 104:27; 326:66). It is represented by *Beit Sur* (*Jourj Sur*), and occupies a position of strategic importance as commanding the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, 4½ m. N. from the latter city. The modern village has a ruined tower, and 'there are hewn stones scattered about, as also some fragments of columns, and many foundations of buildings. . . . It must have been a small place' (Robinson).

If the statements in 1 Macc. 11:5 (RV BETHSURON) are reliable there must have been a second Beth-zur in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Grimm suggests the modern village of Beit-Schür, half-an-hour SE from Jerusalem. Schick, with more probability, identifies it with the modern *K'ef-ef-Tur* (the Ar. form of Beth-zur) on the central height of the Mount of Olives (*PEFQ*, Jan. 1895, p. 37, see *Cantab. Bible* on 1 Macc. 4:40). See, however, BETHTHALGE.

BETOLIUS (Βετολιω [B]). 1 Esd. 5:21 AV; RV **Betolion** = **עֲזַרְיָהוּ**, BETH-IL.

BETOMESTHAM, RV **Betomesthaim** in Judith 16, or **Betomasthem**, RV **Betomasthaim** in 15:4 (Βαιτομασθημαι [B], **ΑΒΕΘΝ Ν**), **ΒΕΤΟΜΑΣΘΑΙΜ** [A]; **بیت مستهم**; om. **Θ** Vg. in 4:6 and **Θ** Vg. Syr. in 15:4 lay 'over against Jezreel in face of the plain that is near Dothan.' If 'toward' (*κατὰ πρόσωπον*) can be taken as meaning 'eastward of' the plain of Dothan, we are able to determine its position pretty nearly; but the exact site has not been identified.

BETONIM (בֵּת־נִים, § 103—i.e., 'pistachio nuts,' **ΒΟΤΑΝΕΙ** [B], **-ΝΙΝ** [A], **-ΝΕΙΜ** [L], in Gadite territory (Josh. 13:26), may perhaps be *Batanak*, 3 m. W. from es-Salt (Ramoth-gilead).

BETROTHAL. The Heb. verb is **אָרַס** 'aras' (**Α** **ΑΝΗΧΤΕΥΕΘΑΙ**), on which see MARRIAGE, § 1. In 2 S. 3:14, RV rightly has 'betrothed' instead of AV 'espoused.' So also in Mt. 1:8 Lk. 1:25. In Lev. 19:20[†] the verb is **קָח**, and plausibly no doubt marriage by capture rather than marriage by purchase. In Ex. 21:8[†] it is **קָח**, RV 'espouse.' There is some disorder in the text.

BEULAH (בְּעֻלָּה, 'married'; **ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ** [BNAQ], **ΑΙ. ΕΥΧΗΜΕΝΗ**, Symm. Theod. **ΕΥΧΗΜΕΝΗ**), the symbolical name (Is. 62:4) by which Zion may fitly be called when her land is 'married' (**קָח**); cp **ΒΑΛ**. Two primitive and related ideas underlie the expression. The first is that the people of a land, as well as all other 'fruits' (Dt. 28:4), arise from the fertilising influence of the land's Baal or divine Husband (cp *RS*¹² 107 f.); the second, that a people which remains faithful to the land's divine Husband is sure of his protection. The former is merely hinted by means of the contrast of the two names 'Desolate' and 'Married' (Is. 62:4); in Is. 54:1-6, on the other hand, it engrosses the mind of the prophetic writer. It is on the latter, as the context shows, that the writer of Is. 62 (who is not the author of Is. 54) wishes to concentrate our attention. Zion is at present despised (v. 7), and her harvests are plundered by the heathen (τ. 8 f.); but when her land is once more 'married,' she will be entitled to the protection of the God of the whole earth.

The sense of the passage has been obscured by an error in the vowel points. For **בְּנֵי**, 'thy sons' (v. 5), read **בְּנֵי** 'he who buildeth thee up' (cp 54:1 f. Ps. 147:2). See Du., *Ch.* (*SBOZ*), and on the other side DL, who gives no parallel, however, for the startling play upon meanings which he assumes.

T. K. C.

BEZAAANANIM (בְּעֻלָּנִים) occurs in Josh. 13:33 RV^m, 'the oak of Bezaananim,' where EV has 'the oak in ZAAANANIM,' a view of the text now pretty generally abandoned. The 'oak (or sacred tree) of Bezaananim' is a landmark on the W. border of Naphtali, following Heleph, and preceding Adami-nekeb and Jahneel, and is usually identified with 'the oak of Bezaananim' (following the points), or of 'Bezaanin,' or 'o of Bezaananim (K're) in Judg. 4:11, where RV has 'the

¹ Bethel (**Βηθλ**), a populous village of Gaza with very ancient and much-revered temples, is mentioned by Sozomen (v. 15:14, p. 292). [MS. note at WRCS.]

² For the form Betylua, cp the magical stones Betylia, which derive their name from Beth-el; and on interchange of the forms Bethu- and Beth-, see BETHUL.

³ See Jerusalem is referred to as **κόρη** in Sibyll. 3:784-786 (APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 86 f.). Cp DAUGHTER, 4.

⁴ Possibly also in 1 S. 30:37 (see BETHEL, 2).

⁵ In 1 Macc. 13:19:22 **Θ**A has τ. **βαιθ.** 11:5 **βηθσορ** [AL], **βαιθσορ** [V].

oak in Zaanannim,' and has inconsistently omitted to record the modern view of the text in the margin. **Ⓢ** reads in Josh. 19¹¹ καὶ μυδά καὶ βεσααννίμ [B], κ. μῆλαν καὶ βεσααννίμ [A], κ. ὠλάμ βεσααννίμ [L]; in Judg. 4¹¹ ἐως ὁρίων περανοῦκτόρων [B]; so Theod., πρὸς ὁρίων ἀναπαυομένων [A]; see Field's *Hexapla*.

The difficulty connected with the phrase is twofold. (1) In Joshua *l.c.*, this famous tree is placed on the border of Naphtali; but Judges *l.c.*, read in the light of Judg. 4:17 5:24, makes the tree much nearer to the battlefield, which, according to Judg. 5:19²¹, was by the stream Kishon. (2) The name is inexplicable, whether we read בעצנים (Bezaanim?) or בעצנינים (Bezaanannim?). If, however, several times in Judges (see KADESH), and once in Judg. 4 (see HAROSHETH), the name קדשון = קדש has been correctly restored, it is plausible to suppose that the incomprehensible name, pronounced sometimes Bezaanim or (better) Bezaanim, sometimes Bezaanannim, may conceal the same old name, especially as in Judg. 4:11 the words 'which is by Kedesh' are added. It is extremely probable that both in the far north (see KADESH, 2) and in the territory of Issachar there was a place which bore the name of Kadshon (Kidshon); the people of either place could be called Kadshonim (Kidshonim). Nor need we hesitate to amend בעצנים (the form which the best critics prefer) to קדשנינים, a form which should be restored, as the present writer has sought to show, in Judg. 5:22b (see KADESH¹). It is easier to suppose that the 'oak' or 'sacred tree' which forms the subject of this article was near the Kidshon (Kedesh) of Issachar than to follow the Priestly Writer in Joshua, who places it on the border of Naphtali. The error of the latter seems to have arisen from the statements in Judg. 4:6⁹, which place the mustering of the Israelitish warriors at Kedesh-Naphtali. The error of the scribe who wrote בעצנים was facilitated by an inopportune recollection of the form כענינים Kēna'anim (Canaanites). Whether he also thought of the new Heb. בעצנה, 'ditch, dike, pond' (cp בוצת, 'marsh,' Job 8:11 40:21), cannot be determined (cp Neub. *Geogr. Talm.* 225).

An identification of 'Bezaanim' with Khibet Bessim, E. of Tabor, on the plateau of the West of Galilee, was proposed by Conder in *PEFQ* 77, p. 25 (so *Tent Work*, 2:132); cp GASm. *HG* 396, who considers it 'well supported.' But we must first of all be sure of the reading of the name. It is remarkable that tradition still affirmed that the 'oak of . . .', which was a fixed element in the story, was 'by Kedesh.' Of course, עץ אֲשֶׁר אֲחִירָשׁ is not required when we read עֵץ אֲשֶׁר אֲחִירָשׁ; to the sacred tree of the Kidshonim.

T. K. C.

BEZAI (בְּצַי, § 52; Hilprecht has found the Jewish name Bišā on a tablet from Nippur *PEFQ*, Jan. 1898, p. 55]). The b'ne Bezai, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, II., §§ 9, 8c), Ezra 2:17 (בְּצַוֵּי [B], -cc. [A], בְּצַעִי [L]) = Neh. 7:23 (בְּצַעִי [B], בְּצַוֵּי [A], -cch [L]) = 1 Esd. 5:16 BASSA, RV BASSAI (בְּצַעִי [B], -cca [A], -ccai [L]); represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, I. § 7), Neh. 10:18 [19] (בְּצַעִי [B], בְּצַוֵּי [N], בְּצַעִי [L]).

BEZALEEL, RV Bezalel (בְּצַלְאֵל, §§ 22, 29, 'in the shadow of God'; cp BESODEIAH; בעזלעל [BAL]). The form is improbable. Šil-Bel, 'Bel is a shelter,' the name of a king of Gaza in Sennacherib's time (*KAT* 162), even if correctly represented, is not parallel. Read הַלְצֵל, 'God rescues,' and cp the Phoen. names הלצבל, אַמְצַלְצֵל. The number of the artificial religious names of later times has been exaggerated.

1. In Uri b. Hur of the tribe of Judah, a Calebite (1 Ch. 29), a skilled workman in gold, silver, and brass, who together with Aholiab executed the work of the tabernacle (Ex. 31:2 35:30 26:1 37:1 38:22, all P). He is mentioned in 2 Ch. 15 as having made the brazen altar.

2. One of the line Pahath-Moab in the list of those with

foreign wives (see EZRA, I. § 5, end), Ezra 10:30 (בעזלה [BA], בעס. [N], בעסלעה [L]) = 1 Esd. 9:31, ΣΕΒΛΗ (σεσλή [BA]), T. K. C.

BEZEK (בְּצֶק, cp § 100, 'gravel'? cp Syr.; Bezek [BAL]; BEZEK). 1. A place at which Saul mustered the force he had raised for the relief of Jabesh-gilead; 1 S. 11:8 (αἰβήσεκ ἐν βίμα [D]; ἐν βεζεκ [A]; Σαουλ ἐν ραμα [L]). Eusebius (*OS* 237 52) locates two neighbouring villages of this name 17 R. m. from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis; beyond doubt Khibet Iuzik, 14 Eng. m. from Nābulus and nearly opposite the lower end of Wādī Yābis, with which Eshtori Parchi (A. D. 1322) identified it. See *PEF Mem.* 2:231 237.

2. A place at which Judah and Simeon, in invading the S. of Palestine, encountered and routed the Canaanites under Adoni-bezek; Judg. 14 f. (βαζεκ [A]; om. B* in v. 5). Many scholars, from Eusebius downwards, identify this with No. 1; but this is inadmissible.

Judah and Simeon set out from the neighbourhood of Gilgal (Judg. 1:16 f. 21) to invade the region in which they afterwards settled; the end of the story of Adoni-bezek conducts him to Jerusalem, which was probably his own city (Adoni-zedeq, king of Jerusalem; see ADONI-BEZEK and ADONI-ZEDEQ). It lies wholly out of this sphere of action and in a quite different direction.

The Bezek of Judg. 1 must be sought much farther south. Conder would find it at Bezekh, 6 m. SE. of Lydda (*PEF Mem.* 3:36); but this view is scarcely probable. In view of the change which the name of the king has suffered, it may be questioned whether the name of the place has been correctly preserved.

G. F. M.

BEZER (בְּצֵר, § 106, 'fortress'; ΒΟCOP [BAL]), a leitical city and city of refuge, Dt. 4:43 Josh. 20:8 21:36 (om. MT; ΒΟCOP [L], 1 Ch. 6:72 [8] — the ΒΟΖΡΑΗ [1] (בְּצֵרָה) of Jer. 48:24 (Ⓢ Βοσρορ) — is described in Josh. 20:8 as lying in the wilderness on the (Amorite) 'Mishor' or Tableland, and is usually identified with the modern *Kēyūr el-Beshir* (or *Beshir*), about 2 m. SW. of Dibon, and about the same distance N. of Aroer. King Mesha of Moab in his inscription (L. 27) says: 'I built Bezer, for ruins had it become.' With this place some have identified ΒΟCOP (*g.v.*, 2).

BEZIER (בְּצִיר; ΒΟΒΑΛ [B], ΒΑCΑP [AL]), in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 *iii*), 1 Ch. 7:37 f.

BEZETH (ΒΗΖΕΘ [A], ΒΗΘΖΑΙΘ [N], ΒΑΙΘΖΗΘ [V], ΒΗΡΖΗΘΑ [Jos. *Ant.* xii. 102; but ΒΗΘΖΗΘΑ, *ib.*, ΒΗΡΖΗΘΑ, xii. 11 1; Schlatter, *ZDP* 19:224]), a place near Jerusalem where Bacchides encamped, and, having slain some deserters and prisoners, threw them into 'the great pit' which was there (1 Macc. 7:19). The readings of Ⓢ and Syr. in this passage (בֵּית חֹב [ed. Lag.]) point to an original Beth-zaiith (house of the olive). Hence it is possible that Bezeth may be the later Bezetha ('place of olives'), the name given to the N. end of the plateau, on the S. part of which lay Jerusalem. See BETHZATHA, JERUSALEM, OLIVES, MOUNT OF.

BIATAS (βιαθας [A]), 1 Esd. 9:48 AV = Neh. 8:7, PELATAH, 2.

BICHERI (בִּיכְרִי, § 61; ΒΟΧΟΡΕΙ [BA], ΒΕΔΔΑΔΙ [L]) in Sheba b. Bichri (2 S. 20:1 ff.), a gentile from BECHER (*g.v.*). The plural Bichrites (בִּיכְרִיִּם) is postulated by Ⓢ^{BA} (καὶ βίχριτες ἐν Χαρρα) in 2 S. 20:13 in place of BERITES (*g.v.*). See SHEBA, II. (1), BENJAMIN, § 9, II. β.

BIDKAR (בִּדְקָר; ΒΑΔΕΚ [L], -κα [B], -καP [B^{BA}]),

ΒΑΔΕΚΑP [B^{BA} 26]. Jehu's adjutant (בִּדְקָרִי, 2 K. 9:25)

The name is noteworthy, because the chief support of the theory that ב at the beginning of proper names sometimes stands for 'son of' is that Pesh. here has *bar-dikar* (hence ב = בְּדִקְרִי, 'son of piercing' — a suitable name for a warrior; cp Lanzknecht; cp Ass. *bindikiri* [Del. *ZKF*

which makes Jesus give the same promise to Peter individually (Mt. 16:19). Nowhere is it recorded that the great Teacher made Peter the president (κύριος) of his council of wise men. The words which immediately precede Mt. 16:19 are—self-evidently taken by the editor from another context—represent Peter, not as an expounder of the new transfigured Law, but as a practical administrator (cp Is. 22:22). It is in favour of the view here adopted (viz., that the words on 'binding' and 'loosing' were addressed to the disciples in general and not to Peter individually) that in Jn. 20:23 the power to remit and to retain is granted to the disciples collectively, not to any one of them individually. Though the use of *κταρεύειν* in that passage has no exact Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent, the saying is not a new one, but a paraphrase of Mt. 18:18.

T. K. C.

BINEA (בִּנְיָה, בִּנְיָמִן), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [3]), 1 Ch. 8:37 (BANA [B], BAAN. [AL])=943 (BAANA [BNI.], BAN. [A]).

BINNUI (בִּנְיָו, 'a building up'; on form cp NAMES, § 5).

1. Family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 8 c), Neh. 7:15 (BANIUS [BNAI.], BANIUS [D]—Ezra 2:10, BANI [D], cp [BANIUS] [B], BANI [A], BANIUS [L])=1 Esd. 9:12, BANI (BANIUS [BAI.], BANIUS [L]).
2. A Levite, temp. Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 [14]), Ezra 8:33 (BANIUS [BAI.], BANIUS [L])=1 Esd. 9:12, BANIUS [BAIUS], RV SABANUS (σάβαυος [BAI], υἱός βαβαίου [L]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'כֹּהֵן הַיָּוֵד'; καὶ οὐνοῦ [BNAI], καὶ οὐνοῦ [L])=cp Smead, *The Levites*, etc. Most probably the same as—
3. A Levite in the list of wall-builders (see NEMEMIAH, § 1 c, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [14], 35 [37], Neh. 3:24 (BANIUS [BNAI.], BANIUS [L])=signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), 10:9 [10] (BANIUS [BNAI.], AB. [B²]), possibly the same as the Levite Binnui in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6 [5] 22:8 (BANIUS [BNAI.], καὶ οὐνοῦ [L]). In Neh. 3:8, BAVAI (C²: βόδοι [B], βόδοι [B], βόδοι [A], BAVAI [L]) seems a textual error.
4. and 5. One of the b'ne Pahath-moah, Ezra 10:30 (BANIUS [BNAI.], BANIUS [L])=1 Esd. 9:31, BANIUS (BANIUS [B], BANIUS [A], BANIUS [L])=1 Esd. 9:34, ELIAH; both in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end).

BIRD. References to birds generally are very frequent in OT and NT.

The following terms (translated in EV 'bird' or 'fowl') are used to denote the members of the family *Aves* collectively:

1. **Kinds referred to.** צִפְּרִיָּוֹת, Gen. 7:14 Lev. 14:6 f. 51 ff. צִפְּרִיָּוֹת, *ba'al kânâph*, Prov. 1:17 and [of birds of prey] צִפְּרִיָּוֹת, Gen. 15:11 Is. 18: 4+11 Jer. 12:9 Ezek. 39:4 Job 38:7 (צִפְּרִיָּוֹת, *ayyâh*), Mt. 23:35 Mt. 20:13-12 Lk. 9:58 Rom. 12:13 Jas. 3:7 τὰ πτηνά, 1 Cor. 15:39, and [of birds of prey] ὄρνιθες, Rev. 18:2-19:17-21.

Birds of the smaller kinds are not so often distinguished as the larger; but special reference is made to several species, both large and small. Mention seems to be made, for example, of the BITTERN, Buzzard (see GLEBE), Blue Thrush (see SPARROW), CORMORANT, CRANE, DOVE, Egyptian Vulture (see GIER EAGLE), Griffon (see EAGLE), HAWK, HERON, HOPOE, Sacred Ibis (see SWAN), KITE, NIGHT HAWK (?), OSPREY, OSSIFRAGE, OSTRICH, OWL, Pigeon (see DOVE), PARTRIDGE, PEACOCK, PELICAN, QUAIL, RAVEN, STORK, SWALLOW, Tern (see CUCKOW), Black Vulture (see VULTURE), and the domestic fowl (see COCK), details and discussions concerning all of which will be found in the special articles. SPARROW occurs occasionally in the EV as a translation of the word (צִפְּרִיָּוֹת) which denoted any small passerine bird.

That feathered animals (בְּהֵמָה צְמִיָּוֹת) abounded in Palestine is clear from the many references to them in OT and NT, and lapse of time has produced no change in this respect (see PALESTINE).

Naturally the eggs and the birds themselves were used for food (Ex. 16:12 f. Nu. 11:32 Job 66 Neh. 5:18 Ps. 78:27 Lk. 11:12 Acts 10:12 11:6; see FOWLS, §§ 4, 6, and cp

Food, § 8); the Torah divides them into clean and unclean (Lev. 11:13 Dt. 14:10; see CLEAN and UNCLEAN, § 9). Many contrivances for capturing birds were in common use (Ps. 91:3 124:7 Prov. 1:17 6:5 7:3 Am. 3:5 Eccles. 9:12 Jer. 5:27 Hos. 7:12 9:8 Eccles. 11:30). The Torah protects them against cruelty (Dt. 22:6 f.). Sometimes the captives were tamed and treated as pets (Job 41:5 [40:29], Bar. 3:17 Eccles. 27:19 Jas. 3:7). Only in cases of extreme poverty does the Torah allow birds to be used for sacrifice (see SACRIFICE). Naturally, common small birds, on account of their abundance, were of little value; they were probably so numerous as to prove a nuisance (Mt. 10:29 31 Lk. 12:6 f.; cp *Land and Book*, 43). To what extent—if any—birds were studied for omens in Israel as in Babylonia (see BABYLONIA, § 32, MAGIC, BABYLONIAN, § 3) it is difficult to determine (see Lev. 19:26 Dt. 18:10 2 K. 21:6 2 Ch. 33:6 1 K. 4:33 [5:13], and cp DIVINATION, § 2, *beg.*, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1:250 ff. ET).

Allusions to their habits in metaphors, similes, and proverbial expressions prove how prominent they were in the life and thought of the people (cp

3. **Literary and popular allusions.** AGRICULTURE, § 15, and see Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, Lect. vii. vol. i. ET 1787).

They were evidently observed with the keenest interest as being links between earth and heaven, and regarded with a certain awe (Job 12:7 28:21 35:11 Eccles. 10:20). It was noticed how they cared for and protected their young (Dt. 32:11 Ex. 19:14 Is. 31:5 Mt. 23:37); how and where they made their nests (Ps. 104:12 17 Ezek. 31:6)—sometimes (according to a pleasing but very doubtful interpretation) in the very temple itself! (Ps. 84:3 [4]); in what sad plight they wandered about when cast out of the nest (Prov. 27:8 Is. 16:2 Ps. 102:7 [8]); how swiftly they flew away when scared (Hos. 9:11 Ps. 11:1); how eagerly they returned to their nest (Hos. 11:1); how free from care they were (Mt. 6:26); how regularly they migrated (Jer. 8:7 Prov. 26:2); how voracious they were (Gen. 40:17 Mt. 13:4 Mk. 4:4 Lk. 8:5); how they descended from the clouds in a bevy (Eccles. 43:17), and with what delight they gathered in a leafy tree (Dan. 4:9 [12] Eccles. 27:9 Mt. 13:32 Lk. 13:19); how sweetly they warbled (Eccles. 12:4 Wisd. 17:18 Cant. 2:12 [see, however, VINE] Ps. 104:12); how God recognises and protects them (Ps. 50:11 Lk. 12:24); and how they praise and reverence him (Ps. 148:10 Ezek. 38:20). Further, Israel's enemy is often pictured as a rapacious bird that sights its prey afar off and swoops down upon it (Is. 46:11 Jer. 12:9² Dt. 28:49 Rev. 19:17 21). Thus, 'to destroy' is to give a man's flesh to the birds of the air for meat (Gen. 40:19 Dt. 28:26 1 S. 17:44 46 1 K. 14:11 16:4 21:24 Ps. 79:2 Jer. 7:33 16:4 19:7 34:20 Ezek. 29:5). A place is desolate when its only inhabitants are the birds of the air (Jer. Ezek. 31:13 32:4 Is. 18:6), and an utter desolation when even these too have perished (Jer. 4:25 12:4 Hos. 4:3 Zeph. 1:3). The saying in Mt. 8:20, where Jesus contrasts himself with the birds which have nests, has not yet been made perfectly clear (but see SON OF MAN).

BIRSHA (בִּרְשָׁעִי, scarcely 'with [or, in] wickedness': the name is corrupt; cp BERA), king of Gomorrah who

1 Cp WRS *R-A Sem.* 2 *ib.*, and Che's note, *Psalm* 13. The common view of the meaning is untenable on all grounds—exegetical, historical, metrical. 1. No natural exegesis can be given, if 'מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים', 'thine altars', has any relation to the birds. 2. The sanctity of the temple proper would certainly have excluded the winged visitors; Jos. *EJ* v. 56 speaks of pointed spikes on the top of the (Herodian) temple to prevent birds from sitting even on the outside. This seems to have been generally overlooked. 3. The psalm consists of long verses (lines) divided by a caesura into two unequal parts. 'Thine altars, my King and my God,' is too much to give the second and shorter portion of one of these verses. See Che. *Psalm* 13, and cp Baethg. *ad loc.* who attempts an exegetical compromise. 4. Read thus, 'Do I count my heritage a carcass torn by hyenas (צִפְּרִיָּוֹת) מִבְּהֵמָה צְמִיָּוֹת=צִפְּרִיָּוֹת)? Are vultures round about it?'

joined the league against CHEDORLAOMER (§ 21, Gen. 14; ΒΑΡΚΑ [A/D/L]; ΒΑΛΔΙΑΣ, Jos. Ant. 1.91).

BIRTHDAY (בְּיוֹם הַיּוֹם, ΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ [AD/E], Γ. H. [L], Gen. 40²⁰; ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ [T, WHI], Mt. 146 Mk. 6²¹). The only express mention of the celebration of the anniversary of birth in OT or NT is in connection with kings: Pharaoh's birthday (Gen. 40²⁰), when the 'chief butler' was restored to his office and the 'chief baker' hanged; Antiochus Epiphanes' birthday (2 Macc. 67);¹ and Herod's birthday (Mt. 146 Mk. 6²¹), when Herodias's dancing was the occasion of the execution of John the Baptist. When it is said in Job 14 that Job's sons 'were wont to go and feast in the house of each one upon his day,' 'his day' denotes a weekly and not an annual feast; and in Hos. 75 'the day of our king' may refer to the anniversary of his succession quite as well as to a birthday. However, this silence on the subject is no warrant for us to conclude that the Israelites did not follow the general custom of observing birthdays, especially those of kings (see, for Egypt, R¹ 47, and for Persia, Herod. 910). The curses invoked by Job (31-12) and Jeremiah (2014-18) on the days of their birth imply that under happier conditions these days would have been remembered in more cheerful fashion.

Doubts have been raised as to whether Herod's γενεσία meant his birthday or the anniversary of his accession. The Mishna *Aboda Zara*, 1:2 mentions as heathen festivals, calends, saturnalia, *κρατήσεις*, kings' days of γενεσία (יום נביא), and the day of birth and the day of death. It is probable that the last two mean the actual days and not the anniversaries; and the *κρατήσεις* would naturally be the anniversaries of accessions and the *יום נביא* the birthday. So Talm. Jer. *Aboda Zara*, 130a takes יום נביא as יום הולדת (birthday), but Bab. *Aboda Zara*, 102 understands יום נביא as anniversary of accession. *Γενεσία* is used as birthday in late Greek (in classical Greek it is anniversary of death) and never as anniversary of accession: thus the sense of birthday seems well established. Cp Schürer, *Hist.* 2.26, and the Talm. Lexx. of Levy and Jastrow on נביא; and Grütz, *MGW* 20.230 [71]. See also LORD'S DAY, § 2.

W. H. B.

BIRTHRIGHT (בְּכוֹרָה, Gen. 25³¹; ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΙΑ, Heb. 1210; see FIRSTBORN, LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14. On the story of ESAU and JACOB see ESAU, § 2.

BIRZAIṬH (בִּרְזַיִת, Kr.), AV Birzavith (בִּירוֹת, Kt.; ΒΗΖΑΙΘ [B], Βερζαίε [A], Βερζαθ [L], in genealogy of ASHER § 4 n. 1 Ch. 7.1). The name זַיִת 'olive', 'well of the olive tree' seems to suggest a locality.

BISHLAM (בִּשְׁלָם, EN EIPHNH [BA], EN EIPHNH ΡΟΥΜ ΒΕΛΤΕΜ [L]), Ezra 17, for which 1 Esd. 210 has BELTEMUS (ΒΗΛΕΜΟΣ [BA] or ΒΕΑΧΙΜΟΣ [L]), the name of a Persian officer of unknown origin, who joined with others in writing a letter of complaint against the Jews. *Ἐβια* takes the name as descriptive of the tranquil state of the writers of the letter (*ἐν εἰρήνῃ*); but Bishlam is clearly a proper name. It either means 'in peace,' cp BEZALEEL, BIRSHIA, or, more probably, like those names, it is a corruption. The true name may be Babylonian. It may perhaps be recovered if we start from one or the other of the forms presented in the MSS of 1 Esd., where the proper names are sometimes more accurately preserved. Ball (*Var. Apocr.* ad loc.), adopting βήλειος, supposes a corruption of Bab. Bel-i-bus—i.e., 'Bel made.' It would seem, however, that the *βελταμιος* of *Ἐβ* must be more original, and this form may have arisen from Bel-šum-iškun—i.e., 'Bel made a name' (Nestle, *Marg.* 23, 29).

T. K. G.

¹ EV 'the day of the king's birth every month'; so *Ḥ* and Pesh. Vg. om. *κατά μηνά*. Grimm suggested that 'every month' is from 1 Macc. 159; but it is probably genuine (see LORD'S DAY, § 2).

BISHOP (ἐπίσκοπος). The word is of rare occurrence in the NT.¹

The elders of the church, summoned from Ephesus to Miletus to receive Paul's charge (Acts 20:17), are thus addressed:

1. Occurrence. Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, whom the Holy Ghost hath set you over as overseers (ἐπίσκοποι . . . ἄλλοι ἀποστολόμενοι) to feed (or rule): *ποιμαίνετε* the church of God' (v. 28). It is not clear from this passage whether the word is used as a definite title, or merely as a description implying that *ἐπίσκοπος*, oversight or superintendence, was a function of the presbyterate. In the address of the Epistle to the Philippians, however, we have 'bishops and deacons' formally mentioned; it is difficult, in view of the later usage of the words, to suppose that this is merely a general description of 'those who rule and those who serve.' In 1 Tim. 3:1 ff. the bishop and the deacon are again brought together. The qualifications of a bishop are enumerated: *ἀγαπᾷ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καθ' ἑαυτόν*, whom *θεομάχος* is commonly regarded as generic, or at least as not implying that there was only one bishop in the Ephesian church. In Tit. 1:5 ff., in connection with the duty of appointing presbyters in the towns of Crete, a similar description of a bishop's qualifications is given (*ὅτι γὰρ τὸ ἐπίσκοπον κτ.λ.*); but *τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους* is made to deacons. The only other occurrence of the word is in 1 Pet. 2:25 where it is applied to Christ himself, 'the shepherd and bishop of your souls.' It is not necessary to interpret these titles as metaphors drawn from the Christian ministry.

We note, then, that the word is found in all cases on Greek ground, and it would seem as if those who in the Palestinian churches were called 'presbyters' were in the Greek churches spoken of at first as 'bishops' and then indifferently as 'presbyters' or as 'bishops.' This view, however, assumes that *ἐπίσκοπος* was already at this time in use as a title of office; and the assumption requires a careful examination. It will be best to begin such an examination with what is admittedly the latest portion of the NT evidence.

1 Tim. 3:1 ff. 'If a man seeketh *ἐπίσκοπὴν* he desireth a good work. The bishop, therefore, must be without

2. Pastoral Epistles. *ἡμετέροις* καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιπέτοις, *ὅσοι οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀγαπᾷσαντες οὖσαντες* κ.τ.λ.). The whole conception of the function of an *ἐπίσκοπος*, as it is here described, suggests that the authority which he wields is independent, not merely that of a member of a governing board. To begin with, *ἐπίσκοπὴ* does not give any idea of assessors: it is distinctly personal. It is a position of independent importance and control, such as a man may naturally desire. Secondly, the epithet 'given to hospitality' (*φιλόξενος*) suggests a personal responsibility; the Church's duty of showing hospitality to Christians from other parts seems naturally to centre in some one person; we could scarcely have had 'Presbyters must be given to hospitality' (*ὅσοι ἂν προσδοκῶντες φιλοξενῶσαν ἑαυτοὺς*).

In like manner, 'apt to teach' (*διδάκτικός*) would scarcely be a qualification for a member of the presbyterial body as such; and the same may be said of the epithets *μη πάροους*, *μη πλεγκτός*, 'not passionate or ungoverned in temper.' The control of his own house, again, gives the thought of independent jurisdiction in the case to which it is made a parallel—'how shall he act as *ἐπιμελητής* of the church of God?'

The singular noun with the article may, according to Greek usage, be taken generically; but we must observe that (1) when the writer passes on to give a similar list of qualifications for a deacon the plural is used: 'Deacons in like manner . . . Women in like manner . . . Let deacons be husbands of one wife' [*διακόνους ὡσαύτως . . . γυναίκακας ὡσαύτως . . . ἀγαπᾷσαντες ἑαυτοὺς μᾶς γυναῖκός ἀνδρες* (in the last case the use of the singular with the generic article would have avoided an awkward phrase)]; (2) in Tit. 17, we have an exact parallel: *δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.*, where we might easily have had *δεῖ γὰρ ἐπισκόπους κ.τ.λ.*; (3) the usage of the article in the Pastoral Epistles is a further reason for hesitating to explain it here as generic, for the article is very sparingly employed, and there

¹ [Analogous to MH 17], superintendent in the synagogue or elsewhere. See JASTROW'S Lex. I.

seems no example at all parallel to these in any of the three Epistles.

The difficulty is to some extent met by insisting on the use of *ἐπίσκοπος* as a descriptive epithet rather than as a formal title: 'He who exercises *ἐπίσκοπή*.' In so far as his status in the Church is dwelt on, such a man would be spoken of most naturally as 'one of the elders'; but here the subject in hand is the function to be exercised by him individually. That function is *ἐπίσκοπή*: in the exercise of it he is *ἐπίσκοπος*. The watchful oversight which is regarded as 'an excellent work' is not an eminent position, but a responsible activity. He who is to exercise it needs to have certain special qualifications. We feel the contrast when we come to *διακόνους ὡσαύτως*, which introduces in an ordinary way the members of a large and subordinate class.

The passage in Acts 20 is, as we have seen, quite indeterminate. If *ἐπίσκοπος* can be shown to be a title in use at the time in question, we may render the words, 'hath set you as bishops.' Otherwise we should perhaps render them, 'hath set you for oversight.' The phrase in the Epistle to the Philippians, if taken quite by itself, would, in the light of later history, be naturally rendered 'with the bishops and deacons' (*σὺν ἐπίσκοποῖς καὶ διακόνοις*), notwithstanding the absence of the definite article. If, however, *ἐπίσκοπος* be not yet found as a title, a less definite interpretation may be allowed. The decision between the two views must depend on a further consideration which shall include the use of the term *διάκονος* at this period [see DEACON, § 6], and the use of *ἐπίσκοπος* outside the NT, in other than Christian contexts, and in the earliest Christian writings.

In the use of *ἐπίσκοπος*, *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, in other than Christian contexts, a great width of meaning is noticeable, due, no doubt, to the original signification which fitted the words for application to any person who exercised an office of superintendence. The commissioners who superintended Athenian colonies, various other commissioners or inspectors, magistrates who regulated the sale of provisions, and, apparently, financial officers of a temple or of a guild (Lightf. *Phil.* 95; Hatch, *Organisation of Early Christian Churches*, 37 f.)—all these are spoken of as *ἐπίσκοποι*, or are said *ἐπισκοπεῖν*. Nor was this the only term which had a similar largeness of reference: quite parallel is the usage of *ἐπιμελεῖν* and *ἐπιμελητής* (Hatch, see above).

In the LXX the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is equally wide in the persons and offices which it embraces. Taskmasters, captains or presidents, and commissioners, are in turn so entitled; and as a synonym in the last of these cases we find also *ἐπίσταται* (Lightf.; see above).

All this evidence points to the fact that *ἐπίσκοπος* and *ἐπισκοπεῖν* were words which naturally offered themselves as descriptions of any persons charged with responsible oversight, and were the more available in that they had no predominant association with any one class of officers in particular. The words were, as far as possible, colourless, much as our words 'preside' and 'president' are to-day.

Hatch's position, adopted by Harnack, in reference to *ἐπίσκοποι* is as follows:—The most important corporate function of the earliest Christian communities

5. Hatch's theory. was that of providing for their poor and sick members. They were, in fact, benevolent societies, and as such they had parallels all around them in the heathen world, in the countless clubs and guilds which combined social purposes with certain religious practices. The finance officers of these heathen societies were called *ἐπίσκοποι*. Now, the duties which the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* had to perform are described as intimately connected with the care of the poor, with hospitality to travelling brethren, and with the manage-

ment of the common fund which was devoted to these and similar purposes. It is probable, therefore, that both the title and the functions of the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* are directly derived from his heathen counterpart.

The best examination of this theory is that by Loening (*Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 21 ff.).

6. Criticism of it. After pointing out the very general signification of the word *ἐπίσκοπος* in Greek literature—a signification which enabled it to be applied to any person in authority for whom there was no fixed title already, and so to be used with great freedom by the LXX as a rendering for various officers mentioned in the OT—he takes up the evidence of the inscriptions on which Hatch's theory mainly rests. They fall chronologically into two classes. The first class is pre-Christian: one inscription of the Macedonian period in the island of Thera, which contains a decree ordering certain *ἐπίσκοποι* to receive moneys and invest them; and two inscriptions of the second century B.C., in the island of Rhodes, relating to municipal officers not further defined. Those of the second class belong to the second and the third century A.D., and are found in a district E. of the Jordan. They are, then, and refer to municipal officers. In one case the officers are charged with some responsibility for the moneys of a temple. In this district they seem to have formed a kind of municipal board, chosen from various tribes or divisions of the community. Further, in a Latin inscription of the fourth century certain *episcopi* regulate prices in the market.

This appears to be the whole of the evidence on which the statement that *ἐπίσκοποι* were the finance-officers of clubs and guilds is found to rest. In Loening's opinion it points exactly in the opposite direction.

As to the other part of the argument,—viz., that the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* is, as a matter of fact, a finance-officer,—that is no peculiarity of function linking itself especially to the title. To the presbyters at Jerusalem gifts are brought; and presbyters are warned not to exercise their office 'for filthy lucre' (EV; *αἰσχροκερδῶς*, 1 Pet. 5:2); moreover, in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians (chap. 11) presbyters are charged with duties towards the poor and are warned against covetousness. The word *ἐπίσκοπος* in itself suggests a far wider responsibility than the mere charge of finance: it implies superintendence of persons as well as of things.

Loening even goes so far as to suggest that the word *ἐπίσκοπος* was chosen just because it had no fixed associations either in the Jewish or in the Greek world, and was, therefore, free to be used in a community which stood in contrast to all other communities surrounding it.

In the extreme scarcity of evidence, we may be content to say that the theory that the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* derived his title and functions from those of the officers of the Greek guilds or of the Greek municipalities has not been established.

We may say, then, that the NT evidence seems to point to the existence in the apostolic age of two classes

7. General conclusions. of administration—a class of rulers and a class of humbler ministrants who acted under their orders. As far as the first of these has a distinctive official title its members are called Elders; but, since their function was summed up in the general responsibility of oversight (*ἐπίσκοπή*), they could be spoken of as 'overseers' (*ἐπίσκοποι*), a term which was already passing from a mere description of function into a definite title. The men of the second class aided those of the first in the humbler parts of their ministrations. They were naturally described by the general designation of 'servants' (*διάκονοι*); but this term too is passing in the apostolic age into a recognised title. On the whole, it seems simpler to suppose that the latter stage has been reached in Phil. 1: and in the Pastoral Epistles; but the decision of this point is not a matter of serious importance.

In the later history, the second class retains its designation, which in some localities comes to be a title of considerable dignity. The first class, on the other hand, presently undergoes a subdivision: one member comes to stand out above his fellows, and whilst all continue alike to be Elders, the title of *ἐπίσκοπος*, which in itself connotes an individual responsibility and importance, is not unnaturally appropriated as the designation of the one who has come to be the supreme officer of the community. The causes which led to a monarchical development are still wrapped in obscurity; but the appropriation of the name *ἐπίσκοπος* to the chief ruler is not hard to understand. We are fortunate

in possessing a document of the last decade of the first century, by which we can, to some extent, test the position which we have taken up. The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians was occasioned by the ejection from their office of certain Elders of the church in Corinth. As the writer may quite well have had personal knowledge of one or more of the apostles, his evidence is of high importance, not only for determining the existing organisation of the church in Corinth (and probably in Rome as well) in his time, but also as indicating the belief that this organisation was instituted by the apostles themselves.

First let us consider the use of the designations in question in the most important passage.

(§ 42) The apostles . . . appointed their first fruits (cp 1 Cor. 16:13), having tested them by the Spirit, to be ἀποστολῶν ἀνάλογοι ἀποστόλων (ἐπίσκοποι καὶ δάκοντες) of them which should believe. The words have nearly become obsolete, and their use as such is justified as being not new, but foretold in Is. 61:6. It is curious that δάκοντες in this citation is an insertion of Clement's, and is not found in the I.XX. He is clearly quoting from memory, and his memory has played him false. (§ 44) The apostles foresaw that there would be strife about the title (or office) of ἐπίσκοπος (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐπίσκοπῆ). Hence they appointed the aforesaid and provided for successors to them. It is a sin to turn such, if they have discharged their ministry blamelessly, out of their ἐπίσκοπῆ. 'Blessed,' he goes on at once, 'are the Elders who have gone before,' and are safe from such treatment. In § 47 we have the office described as a revolt 'against the Elders'; in § 54 we read 'Let the flock of Christ be at peace along with the appointed Elders'; and in § 57, 'Do ye who began this sedition submit yourselves to the Elders.'

It is plain, then, that the persons whom the apostles 'appointed as ἐπίσκοποι,' and as their successors, are spoken of also as 'the appointed Elders.' These Elders are not to be rashly ejected from their λειτουργία or ἐπίσκοπῆ.

The difficulty which Clement's epistle presents in the matter of these designations belongs to the earlier chapters, before he has come to speak definitely of the Corinthian disorders: he seems to use the term 'elders' as though he referred not to an office, but only to a grade of persons dignified by that name in contrast to the young (οἱ νέοι).

In the first of the passages in question (§ 1) he praises their former orderliness, 'submitting yourselves to your rulers (οἱ ἄρχοντες, τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἡμῶν), and practising the same honour to the elders that were among you; and on the young ye enjoined modesty and gravity; and on the women certain appropriate duties.' Similarly, in § 21 we have, 'let us reverence our rulers (τοὺς προηγούμενους ἡμῶν), and let us honour our elders, let us instruct the young . . . let us guide our women aright.' Here we seem to have a contrast between 'rulers' and 'elders'; and it has been held (e.g., by Harnack) that the 'rulers' are a class of persons whose authority came from their possessing the ἀρχαία of teaching (cp Heb. 13:7, 24), whilst the Elders are an undefined grade of senior members of the Church to whom honour is due on account of age and length of discipleship. But the word ἄρχων, occurring in both passages (not ἡγεῖται, as elsewhere so often), is an important clue, which has not been sufficiently attended to. Clement is in fact alluding to a passage of Isaiah, which he cites with some additions in § 3: 'so,' he says, 'of old the man rose up against the honourable, the young against the elder (οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους)' Is. 53:5. It would be possible to interpret 'the rulers' as the civil rulers to whom Clement several times applied the term ἡγούμενοι (§ 37); but on the whole it seems most natural to suppose that at first he is carefully avoiding definite references to the Corinthian revolt, and only preparing the way for its direct rebuke. Thus he speaks in the most general terms of 'the rulers,' and passes rapidly away from the word 'elders,'

just introducing it as a hint beforehand, but dwelling on the root-meaning which was still strongly felt in the word, and contrasting it with αἱ εἰς in accordance with the OT passage which is in his mind.

No argument, therefore, can safely be based on the rhetorical use of the word 'elders' in the opening part of the letter. No doubt the Elders were elder men; and no doubt the revolt came from some of the younger men: this was a part of its heinousness, and the covert allusion would be understood by those to whom the letter was addressed.

The development of the monarchical episcopate lies outside the limits of the NT; but even within the Canon we find indications of a tendency which the later history enables us to interpret as moving in this direction.

We have noticed that all passages which describe the functions and responsibilities of Elders speak of them as a class and in the plural number; whilst, on the other hand, where the duties of oversight (ἐπίσκοπῆ) are portrayed, the ἐπίσκοπος is spoken of as a single person, charged with responsibility—and this in one place in sharp contrast to the δάκοντα, and in the other immediately after Elders have been mentioned in the plural number. From this we may gather that, in as far as a member of the ruling class was thought of as ἐπίσκοπος, it was natural to consider him by himself as exercising an independent control and holding a position of eminent authority.

As far as terminology, then, is concerned, the way was prepared for the distinction that presently came into force.

The word ἐπίσκοπος suggests an individual, just as the word πρεσβύτερος suggests the member of a ruling class, or the word δάκων the member of a serving class. The class of rulers, however, did not need two designations, and when the course of development led to a supreme officer it was easy and natural to appropriate to him the word ἐπίσκοπος, while his inferior colleagues were simply termed πρεσβύτεροι.

But this consideration does not really give us any guidance as to the causes of the change from government by a body of co-ordinate ἐπίσκοποι or πρεσβύτεροι to government by a single ἐπίσκοπος with a consultative college of πρεσβύτεροι, among whom he is πρῶτος inter pares.

The apostolic age, however, presents us with several foreshadowings of the monarchical rule which presently became universal. In the church in Jerusalem the position of James, the Lord's brother, was one of real if undefined authority, and, though not marked by any special title, it closely resembles that of the bishop of the second century. We have the statement of Hegesippus that on the death of James his cousin Symeon was appointed by general consent to fill his place (Eus. HE iii. 11). Here, then, was a monarchical type of government, naturally evolved and continuously recognised; and such an example could not fail, as time went on, to exercise an influence on other communities.

In the Greek world the churches of Paul's foundation were from the first controlled by the strong hand of their founder. It is true that he urged them to corporate action of their own in the exercise of jurisdiction and discipline; but he himself commanded them with an authority beyond challenge, and his commands were obeyed. In certain cases he transferred this apostolic authority to delegates, such as Timothy and Titus; but only, it would seem, for a period, and in order to cope with special needs. Still, in doing this, he had given a practical proof of the advantage gained by the presence in a community of one who could rule with supreme authority; and this temporary sway would doubtless help in determining the tendency of subsequent development.

These examples, however, would have been powerless

by themselves to produce so great a change, had there not been elements in the life of the communities which made for the concentration of authority in particular hands. It is often said that such an element is discoverable in the working of the presbyteral college itself. Any board which meets for the transaction of business must needs have a president. The holder of this position would naturally acquire a large share of the authority of the board itself; in time he would tend to become a supreme officer over the whole community. This suggestion is open to two serious criticisms. On the one hand, there is no ground for thinking that in parallel cases at that period such a development from oligarchical to monarchical rule came about. Presidents of this kind were often elected for a month or for a year, and in any case did not acquire an independent authority. Moreover, the term 'presbyteral college' may be challenged, if it is intended to suggest that the practical administration of the Church was carried on by means of formal meetings of the Elders as such. We have no evidence of any kind that they regularly met in this way. It is probable that they had special seats in the assembly of the community; but that they met by themselves for the transaction of business and required a chairman is a hypothesis for which no evidence has yet been given.

It is only when we turn our attention away from the administration and fix it on the common worship of the church, that we begin to get any rays of light on this problem. If we knew better the history of the eucharist, it is not unlikely that the history of the episcopate would cease to be so perplexing. In the disorders which disgraced the Lord's Supper in Corinth, and in Paul's regulations for checking them, we hear nothing at all of any kind of presidency or leadership. In the same church before the end of the century we find elders spoken of as the leaders of the eucharistic worship and as 'offering the gifts.'

The picture which, fifty years later, Justin draws of the eucharist in Rome, shows us a single officer, spoken of simply as 'the president' (ὁ προσεστὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν), receiving and offering the eucharistic elements, and making the eucharistic prayer, to which the whole congregation responds with the AMEN (§ 3). Likewise, after the reading of the Gospels or the Prophets 'the president' makes an exhortation based upon what has been read. He is, moreover, the depositary of the collection made in behalf of the poor, and has a general responsibility for widows and orphans, for the sick and needy, for prisoners, and for travelling brethren from other communities (A.p. i. 65-67). This president is clearly the bishop, though Justin's language does not help us to decide whether he was at that time known in Rome by the title ἐπίσκοπος or not. If he was, it by no means follows that Justin would have said so. He is writing for heathen readers, and he avoids technical terms; or, if he finds it convenient to use them, he explains them. Thus, in speaking of the deacons, he describes them as 'those who with us are called διάκονοι' (οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῶν διάκονοι); and his usual term for the Gospels is 'the memoirs of the apostles,' to which in one place he adds 'which are called gospels' (ἀ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια). We can argue nothing from the absence of the designation 'bishop': had he cared to introduce it, he would no doubt have done so by the phrase 'he who with us is called ἐπίσκοπος' (ὁ καλούμενος παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπος). But the person is there, if the name is not; and we see that important collateral functions belong to the officer who presides at the eucharistic service. He appears as at once the instructor and the almoner of the whole community.

It is a long step, however, from Clement to Justin, and it is of some importance to us that we should have evidence

of a like development in other parts of the Church. Two passages may be cited which point in the same

direction for the eastern side of the Mediterranean. 1. In the *Didachè* (chap. 10, f.) the prophets are spoken of as holding a position of special importance in reference to the eucharist: they are not bound by the prescribed formulæ of thanksgivings, but may 'give thanks as they will.' This implies that, if present, they naturally take a prominent part in the service. They may order an *agapè* to be held (ἀρξέειν τράπεζαν); and to them the first fruits are to be given, 'for they are your chief-priests' (chap. 13). The same document declares, however, that the ministry (λειτουργία) of the prophets and teachers was likewise exercised by the bishops and deacons (chap. 15). It is safe to suppose that if no prophet were present the conduct of the service would be in the hands of the permanent local ministry, although in this case there would be no exemption from the duty of using the prescribed formulæ.

2. The Ignatian Epistles, as is well known, portray the completed development of the three orders for certain Asiatic churches at a comparatively early period. It is noteworthy that the one bishop is expressly connected with the one eucharist (for references, see EUCHARIST). No eucharist is to be held without the bishop, or some person deputed by him to conduct it. There is 'One bishop, one altar, one eucharist' (εἰς ἐπίσκοπος, ἐν θιασασκήνορ, μία εὐχαριστία). We may feel confident, then, that in the development of the eucharistic service we have an element—perhaps the most important element—of the development of the monarchical episcopate.

As soon as this monarchical rule had been established in a church various sacred parallels which would be taken as confirmatory of the divine order of the institution, would be observed. The bishop and his presbyters might be compared with Christ and his apostles. Or again, the three orders of the Christian Church—bishop, presbyters, and deacons—would find a ready analogy in the high priest, priests, and Levites of the Jewish ritual. Such parallels would serve to confirm the validity of the institution, and would facilitate its adoption in other localities.

Meanwhile, the extraordinary ministry of apostles and prophets had passed or was rapidly passing away. Some of the functions which they had exercised were essential in the Church; and these devolved as a heritage upon the permanent ministry. The prestige which had attached to their exercise passed over in the main to the chief officers of the community, who thus came to be regarded, with a large measure of truth, as the successors of the apostles, wielding apostolic authority as the rulers of the Church and the defenders of the Christian faith.

J. A. R.

BISON (בִּישׁוֹן, *bīshōn*), Dt. 14⁵+ AV^{MG}; RV^{ES} PYGARG (*g.v.*).

BIT (בִּיתָה), Ps. 32⁹ EV. See BRIDLE, 3

BITHIAH (בִּיתְיָה; פֶּלִיא [B], בֶּחֱוִיא [A], פֶּלֶחֶת־בְּחִיָּה [L]), 'daughter of Pharaoh,' and wife of Mered ben Ezra, in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4:18). On the assumption that 'Pharaoh' (פֶּרַח) is correctly read, Bithiah (which might be explained 'daughter—i.e., worshipper—of Yahwe' [Olsb. § 277 A]) might be a Hebraised form of an Egyptian name such as Bint-Anta, 'daughter of Anta' ('Anath), to indicate that the bearer of the name had entered the Israelitish community.

This, however, does not accord with the view implied in the vowels of the name of Bithiah's husband. Mered apparently means 'rebellion,' and suggests a warning against the wickedness of taking foreign wives (see Ezra 9:1, and cp 2 Ch. 24:26). It would be inconsistent with this that Mered's wife should bear the honourable

name 'daughter of Yahwè' : we should expect to find the old heathen name retained. Perhaps, then, Bithiah is not the right name; Θ 's $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ suggests to Kittel $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$, and Θ 's $\phi\alpha\theta\iota\theta\iota\alpha$ may conceivably be based on $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$, which in turn may have sprung from $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$, producing a description of Mered's non-Jewish wife as 'a young Egyptian princess' (Mered's other wife 'the Jewess' [JEHUDIJAH (q.v.)] is not named). However, the corruption is antecedent to Θ , and the whole story (half-told, half-implicit, by the text as it now stands) is imaginary. The idea of the double marriage of Mered had not occurred to the original compiler; the true text conveys no warning against mixed marriages. Four at least out of the five names, Mered, Bithiah, Pharaoh, Jehudijah, and Hodiiah, are corrupt; or perhaps indeed all five are. Mered, or, more strictly, M-R-D, has probably come from M-R-TH, which is an incorrect form of R-M-TH—i.e., Ramoth—or rather of Jarmuth (see MERED). 'Bithiah' is not improbably a corruption of 'Beithiah' (ביתיה), 1 Ch. 12, 4 [Gt. Ht. 6]. PHARAOH should rather be $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$, a clan name (cp PIRATHON). Ha-Jehudijah (RV¹⁹⁰⁶) and Hodiiah are plainly the same name (in v. 19 read $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$, 'his wife'). Accepting this view, we have two accounts of the family of Mered. It is not quite certain, however, that the person mis-called Mered is represented as having two wives. Hodiiah may have been deliberately substituted for Beithiah, from a dislike to the first element in that name.

We are now rid of the only case in the OT of a name compounded with Jah (יה)—of such names there are 157—being borne by a foreigner (cp Gray, *HPV* 158). Next, another mistake has to be noted. It is plain that 1 Ch. 4:17 as it stands is not right. The remedy is (with Berth. and Kitt.) to transpose v. 18 to the middle of v. 17, inserting of course $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ after $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$. This gives us, as the children of Bithiah or Beithiah, Miriam (?), Shammai, and Ishlah the father of Eshtemoa. Eshtemoa also occurs (together with Keilah) in the list of the children of Hodiiah (v. 19), while Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah are connected with Mered through Hodiiah's double, Ha-Jehudijah—an important notice (see MERED). It is perhaps sad to have lost what was supposed to be an early testimony to the presence of an Egyptian element at and about Eshtemoa, as contrasted with the more purely Jewish character of Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah; but we gain an attestation of the traditional importance of Jarmuth. It may be added that in Jewish legend Bithiah becomes the foster-mother of Moses (*Leviticus*, R., par. 1). T. K. C.

BITHRON (בִּיתְרוֹן, τὴν παρὰ τὴν ἰουδαίαν [BAI].

لا بيهرون, BETH-HORON) 'the groove' or 'cleft' for excellence situated between the Jordan and Mahanaim (2 S. 2:29), and possibly to be identified with the W. 'Ajlun, along which, though at a later time, ran a Roman road from 'Ajlun to Mahanaim (Buhl, *Pal.* 121); see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF. For the sense of Bithron cp Θ 's rendering of בִּית in Cant. 2:7 (בִּית) $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\omega\sigma$ (like $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\delta$ in Θ for $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$). The reading Bithron is not certain, and the Vss. give little help,¹ although Vg. (cp also Aq. $\beta\epsilon\theta\alpha\rho\omega\sigma$) suggests that there was another Beth-Haron E. of Jordan (see HORONAIM). Thenius's conjecture, BETH-HARAM, is improbable.

BITHYNIA (Βιθυνία [Ti. WH]), the district round the central Sangarius (*Sakaria*) in the NW. corner of

1. **Geography.** Asia Minor, extending from the mouth of the Rhyndacus (*Euxronis Chai*) eastwards to that of the Sangarius.

The boundary between Bithynia and the province of Asia coincided, not, as might have been expected, with the line of the Rhyndacus, but with that of the range of the Mysian Olympus (*Kioshiak Dagh*) lying N. of the river (Pliny, *HN* 5:12). The

¹ Θ is unintelligible and, to judge from its similarity to the Heb. (cp We. *Dr. ad loc.*), has arisen perhaps from a transposition.

eastern frontier is often made to coincide with the Bithynia with the Partinienis, or even to extend beyond the latter river; in spite of Strabo's statement that the mouth of the Sangarius marked the boundary Θ (cp *Βιθυνία* $\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$). Indeed it ran east by E. of the river; but this line is indeterminate. According to Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5:13) the Bithynia in Siberia separated Bithynia from the province Galatia; but the boundary fell some 12 m. E. of that stream (Rams. *Hist. Geogr.* of *AM* 1905), whence it ran W. between the Sangarius and the tributary, the Tembris.

The will of Nicomedes III., the last of its kings, left Bithynia to the Romans in 74 B.C.; but it was not until 64 B.C., when the senator of Pontus (Livy, 41:10),

2. **History.** finally expelled from Asia, that Pompeius could undertake the organisation of the province (cp Plin. *Ep. ad Trai.* 79). With it was now combined the whole of the kingdom of Pontus, with the exception of those districts towards the E., as well as those in the interior (Paphlagonia), which were assigned to native dynasts in recognition of their services to Rome (Str. 54:1. See Niese in *Hermes*, 13:39, and *Rhein. Mus.* 38:567 [83]). $\alpha\mu\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$, which lay immediately E. of the Halys (*Kizil Irmak*), was the most easterly community of that part of Pontus which was combined with the old kingdom of Nicomedes to form the Roman province.

This dual origin of the province was recognised in its official title, *Pontus et Bithynia* (so generally in inscriptions, both Lat. and Gr.; cp Appian, *Misc.* 102: 675, see also 6:2, 6:10). The reverse order is perhaps upon the whole later, encouraged by the gradual growth in importance of the western section. Either name, apparently, might be used to denote the entire province (cp Tac. *Ann.* 12:21 with Dio Cas. 60:33; *CG* 255: *Bull. Hell.* 11:212). In administration also the two parts retained a certain degree of formal independence, each having its own metropolis and Diet (*comitia*).

In the distribution of provinces by Augustus in 27 B.C. Pontus-Bithynia remained senatorial—i.e., its

3. **Post-Apostolic.** governors, who were of Proconsular rank, bore the title 'proconsul' (Str. 8:40, Tac. *Ann.* 1:74:167). The official residence was Nicomedia. Under the ineffective supervision of the Senate the province gradually became disorganised; its finances fell into disorder, and unregulated *collegia* gave birth to turbulence and faction. In order to carry out the necessary reforms, the younger Pliny was sent into the province in 112 A.D. His importance arises from his official contact with Christianity (*Ep. ad Trai.* 96 and 97. See Hardy, *Pliny's Correspondence*, 51 f., Rams. *Church*, 196 f., and cp CHRISTIAN, § 6 f.).

In the early period of post-apostolic history Bithynia is illustrious; but it has little connection with the apostles themselves. The salutation of 1 Pet. 1:1, where Pontus and Bithynia are mentioned separately, bears witness to the rapid evangelisation of the province. Before 112 A.D. Christianity had made such progress in Bithynia that pagan ritual was interrupted and the temples in great part deserted (Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 96). We get a hint that there, as in Ephesus, trade interests were at the bottom of the attack then made upon the Christians. The *contagio istius superstitionis* (*superstitio prava immoedica*), as Pliny calls the faith, would most easily enter the province by way of $\alpha\mu\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$, along the route leading from the Cilician Gates by Týana and Caesarea Mazäca in Cappadocia. Ramsay (*Church*, 225) conjectures from Pliny's letter that its introduction must fall about 65-75 A.D.

$\alpha\mu\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$ is now *Samsun*. Even in Strabo's time it was gradually displacing Sinöpe (*Sinöpe*) as the great harbour on the north coast. The route from Caesarea Mazäca northwards was the only road practicable for arabs, and must always have been a great trade-route' (Rams. *Hist. Geogr.* of *AM*, 268).

The interpretation of the word Bithynia in Acts 16:7 is connected with the question concerning the Galatian churches (see GALATIA). On the N.

4. **Acts 16:7.** Galatian theory, the object of Paul's vain attempt to enter Bithynia must have been to reach either $\alpha\mu\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$ or Amastris; for a design of preaching in the barbarous interior is improbable. The direct route to Amastris went, it is true, by way of Ancyra in Galatia;

but on the other hand no such route could have brought the apostle 'over against Mysia' (so RV; *κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν*). Further, both in Roman and in ordinary usage Amastrius, and still more Amisus, was a city of Pontus, not of Bithynia; and only the word Pontus could have been allowable as a single term to express the dual province to which it belonged (as is clear from Str. 541 compared with 543, in speaking of Heraclea). The expression 'to go into Bithynia' can only be taken to imply W. Bithynia—i.e., the district round Nicæa and Nicomedia, where the wealth and administrative machinery of the province were centred. Dorylaion (*Eschi-shehr*), only a few miles S. of the Bithynian frontier, was the point to which all the roads from the south converged; Paul and his companions must have been somewhere in this neighbourhood when they were suddenly diverted westwards (Acts 16:7). W. J. W.

BITTER HERBS, BITTERNESS (קָרְיִים; ὀκρίματα) *C. lactuca scariola*, Ex. 12:8 Nu. 9:11; ὀκρία, *amaritudines*, Lam. 3:15; in Mishna also in sing., are twice mentioned along with קָרְיִים as the accompaniment of the paschal feast. Probably such herbs—whether separately or mixed—as lettuce (*Lactuca Scariola*, var. *sativa*), chicory (*Cichorium Intybus*), and endive (*Cichorium Endivia*) are meant. Doubtless they originally came into use simply as a relish or salad,² though the prescription of them in the Law may have to do with the atoning significance of the Passover; their association with the sufferings of the people in Egypt is probably a later view (Nowack, *HA* 2:173). See, further, PASSOVER.

'Bitter herbs,' rather than 'bitterness' (ס, EV), seems to be the proper rendering in Lam. 3:15, where קָרְיִים answers to לַעֲנֵי, 'wormwood,' in the parallel clause. N. M.—W. T. T. D.

BITTERN. RV Porcupine (פֶּרְעִי) עֵינָאוֹס, *ornis*; Is. 14:23 34:11 Zeph. 2:14†). The identity of this animal

1. **Phiology.** (פֶּרְעִי, *kippod*) is far from certain: opinions of great variety have been held.

The ancient versions unanimously render 'Hedgehog' or 'Porcupine'—the two were scarcely distinguished, and this is in general supported by Jewish tradition, though Rashi thinks that in Is. 14:23 Zeph. 2:14 a bird is meant, and J. Kimhi interprets 'Tortoise,'⁴ in all three passages (see their commentaries *in loc.*). Of modern Bibles Wycliffe's has in all three places 'Urchin,' and so Luther (followed as usual by the Dutch), 'Igel.' Junius and Tremellius in their Latin OT render *anatoria* ('duck-eagle'); Coverdale, followed by the Great Bible, has 'Otter' in Is. 14:23 and 'Stork' in Is. 34:11 Zeph. 2:14, while the Geneva Bible has in Isaiah 'Hedgehog' (14:23 mg. or 'tortoise'), and in Zephaniah 'Owl' (mg. or 'hedgehog'). The French Protestant version seems alone to have anticipated AV in the rendering 'lutor' (mg. or 'bièvre'). The Roman Catholic Bibles follow the Vulgate.⁵

The etymology of the Hebrew word is not, however, uncertain.

It is derived from a verb which in Assyrian means 'to plot,' transitively (Sargon, *KTB* 2:66 f.), and in Arabic (1) 'to inflict a blow on the neck of another'; (2) 'to have a thick or loose neck.' The original sense is perhaps better seen in Syriac, where the same verb means 'to gather into a heap or ball (trans. or intrans.); the sense of 'drawing together' also underlies the Assyrian use (cp 'intrigue,' *intricare*). The verb occurs but once in OT Hebrew (in Piel form), Is. 88:12—'I have rolled up (or possibly 'shortened,' see Dillmann *ad loc.*) like a weaver my life,'—a simile referring to the treatment of the finished

¹ *אקאוס* is, according to Dioscorides (2:150), the wild variety of *scirpus* (chicory or endive); Pliny (xix. 8:38) mentions it as the bitterest sort of *lactuca* (see the ref. in Di. on Ex. 12:8, and in Nowack, *HA* 2:173); *Picris echioides* is probably intended by both. It does not of course follow that the meaning of קָרְיִים is identical with that of *אקאוס*.

² Vegetable food with meat is a dietetic necessity, and would naturally be eaten raw until it was discovered that certain kinds were best cooked. It is a matter for curious inquiry why so many salad herbs were bitter, at any rate in their feral form. Dandelion is a striking example.

³ Also used to render קָרְיִים, Is. 13:22, and קָרְיִים, Is. 34:15.

⁴ Which he wrongly supposes to be the meaning of Ar. *kuḥfūkh*.

⁵ Explanations of these various renderings will be found in Fuller's *Miscellanea Sacra*, 1:18; Bochart's *Hieros.* 3:36.

web:¹ the use of the noun קָרְיִים in Ezek. 7:25 accords well enough with this derivation.

Kippod is equivalent in form to Aram. *kuppēdhā*, Ar. *kuḥfūkh*;² and that these are the words for 'hedgehog' in their respective languages is made clear for Ar. (e.g.) by Damiri's account (*Hayāt al-Haiwan*, Büllé edition, ii. 219) and for Aram. by the Syr. *Physiologus* (Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, 442 f.).³ The instances of קָרְיִים, פֶּרְעִי, in late Heb. and Aram. prove the same for post-biblical Jewish usage (see Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 100).

Whilst the philological evidence is thus entirely in favour of the rendering 'hedgehog' or 'porcupine,' it

2. **Zoology.** it must be admitted that, zoologically, there are considerable difficulties. The animal is always spoken of in connection with desolation, and once in relation to pools of water; and, whilst both these conditions would be natural in the habitat of the Bittern, they have no particular association with either the Hedgehog or the Porcupine. Again, in Is. 34:11 the פֶּרְעִי is mentioned among birds; and in Zeph. 2:14 it is prophesied that the Pelican and the *kippod* shall lodge together in the capitals of ruined Nineveh, while 'a voice' (if the text may be trusted) shall sing in the windows. The answers made by Bochart to these objections—that the Porcupine or Hedgehog was regarded as an unfriendly, desert-loving animal on account of its formidable equipments; that we can find parallels to the mention of a beast among birds in such enumerations as Lucian's 'large oxen, and horses, and eagles, and bears, and lions'; and that the capitals on which the animal is to sit may be those of fallen columns—are ingenious, but perhaps scarcely satisfying. It has been suggested that the translation 'bittern' may be reconciled with the etymology by considering the fact that this bird has the power of *draving* in its long neck so that its head almost rests upon its breast.⁴ Still, it is not easy to set aside the argument derived from the meaning of the word in the cognate languages.

The Bittern, *Botaurus stellaris*, is found in marshy and reedy places throughout Europe, Asia (including India), and Africa. Canon Tristram records its occurrence in the marshes of Hüleh. It is a nocturnal bird of considerable size, and is remarkable for its loud booming note. Formerly a common bird in suitable localities in Britain, it is now but a winter visitor. It is grouped with the Herons in the family Ardeidae. (Cp also CORMORANT and PELICAN.)

For Is. 34:11 (קָרְיִים); RVmg. 'bitterness' see Owt. § 2 (a)

N. M.—A. E. §.

BITTERNESS, WATER OF (מַי הַקָּרְיִים), Nu. 5:18 RV, AV 'bitter water.' See JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF.

BITUMEN, the proper rendering (1) of הַבְּרִיטָה, RVmg. recognises (ἄσφαλτος; *bitumen*; EV has

¹ This evidence seems enough to show that the original sense was 'to contract' or 'cause contraction by striking,' not 'cut'; and that those were misled who, like Fuller and nearly all the older scholars, explained the name of the animal from the latter sense. In post-biblical Hebrew and W. Aramaic the sense of cutting is fairly common; but this may be explained partly perhaps from a misinterpretation of קָרְיִים in Is. 88:12, and partly from association with Gr. *κόμρω* and its derivatives: cp Syr. *Kupdā* (N.S. *ḥūpā*), 'a piece of flesh'—late Gr. *κομωδω*.

² So *Æthiopic kenfa*. It seems more probable that the Arabic word is a loan-word from Aramaic, than that *kuḥf* is borrowed. Fränkel, however (*Aram. Fremdw.* xiv.), holds that the latter is the case.

³ Cp, for Syriac, the other references cited by P. Smith. *Kuppōdhā* appears to be used for the 'owl' in *Kal. w. Dim.* (367).

⁴ Cp Brehm's *Thierleben* (Leipzig, '79) 6:388. 'When it (the Bittern) rests and is at ease, it holds the body erect in a somewhat forward position and draws in its long neck to such an extent that its head rests upon its neck.'

⁵ Ar. *ḥomār*. Perhaps with reference to the reddish colour occasionally observed? (Diosc. 1:99).

'slime') in Gen. 11:4 14:10 Ex. 2:1†; but also (2) of נָפֶת, which, like its Aram. cognate, is an Ass. loan-word (EV PITCH) in Gen. 6:14†, where its occurrence furnishes one of the proofs of the Babylonian origin of the Deluge-Story (see DELUGE, § 13). In the Bab. Deluge Story six 'bars' of *kupra* (כֶּפֶר, 'bitumen') and three of *iddu*¹ (נַפְתָּה: Jensen) are poured upon the outer and inner sides of the ship, respectively. *Iddu*, 'naphtha', is the word used in the legendary account of the infancy of Sargon I. (3 R. 4:58a; RP² 5:56):—'she placed me in a basket of reeds, with *iddu* my door she shut'; in the similar story of Moses the words נָפֶת, 'bitumen,' and נֶפֶס, PITCH (*g. s.*), are combined (Ex. 24:10 אֶשְׁפָּרֶת טַרְטָרָה [B²AF]). The origin of bitumen, but asphalt, and naphtha need not delay us long. Together with petroleum and mineral tar, they form a series of substances which are the result of certain changes in organised matter. These substances merge into each other by insensible degrees, and it is impossible to say at what point mineral tar ends and asphalt begins.

Naphtha, which is the first of the series, is in some places found flowing out of the earth as a clear, limpid, and colourless liquid. As such it is a mixture of hydrocarbons, some of which are very volatile and evaporate on exposure; it takes up oxygen from the air, becomes brown and thick, and in this state it is called petroleum. A continuation of the same process of evaporation and oxidation gradually transforms the material into mineral tar, and still later into solid glassy asphalt.

Asphaltic deposits are widely diffused throughout the world, more especially in tropical and sub-tropical regions—for example in the basin of the DEAD SEA (*g. v.*, § 6). The asphalt of the Dead Sea (which was very well known to the ancients) is not at present of commercial importance; but the sources of the supply of ancient Babylon, the bitumen springs of Hit (the Is of Herod. 1:79), are still used. At this very old city on the Euphrates the shipwrights adhere to the ancient fashion of boat-building. Tamarisk and mulberry branches form the substratum, which is covered with mats and thickly besmeared with bitumen (cp Ex. 23).² Bitumen was much used in architecture (see Gen. 11:3). Unburned brick protected by a plaster of bitumen proved the most indestructible of materials (see ASSYRIA, § 6, BABYLONIA, § 15, and cp Peters, *Nippur*, 2:162). Bitumen was used in ancient times as a fuel (Verg. *Ecl.* 8:83), for medicinal purposes (Jos. *BJ* iv. 8:4) and for embalming (see EMBALMING).

BIZJOTHJAH, RV *Bizothiah* (בִּזְיֹתְיָה), among the cities of Judah in the Negeb (Josh. 15:28). עָרֵי אֲשָׁרֶיךָ אֲנִי מְבַרְכִים אֶתְּךָ אֶתְּעָרֶיךָ אֲנִי מְבַרְכִים (1. sm.) | enables us to restore thus—בִּזְיֹתְיָה ('and her villages'). See We. *CH* 132, and Hollenberg, *Alex. Uebers. d. B. Jos.* ('76), 14.

BIZTHA (בִּזְתָּה) [Bā, Ginsb. for common בִּזְתָּה, MAZAN (מִזְנָה), BAZ. (B²), זַעֲבָ [A], a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1:10). If any reliance could be put on the reading of the Vss., one might, with Marq. (*Fund.* 71), compare *μαζα* with O. Pers. *masāna*—i. e., טוּר, or *βιζαν*, with *βαζανης*, the name of a eunuch of Darius III.

BLACK (חֹסֶם, יֵהָרֵךְ, קָרָר, הַיֵּהָרֵךְ) and **BLACKISH** (לָרֵךְ) Job 6:16; see COLOURS, § 8. **BLACKNESS**; for Prov. 7:9 RV and Joel 2:6 Nah. 2:10, see COLOURS, § 17; for Job 33: *ib.* § 8 n., for Is. 50:3 *ib.* § 8.

BLAINS (אֲבַעְבֵּעֵת), Ex. 9:9 f.†. See BOIL, § 3.

BLASPHEMY (בְּזֵיפָה 2 K. 19:3 Is. 37:33 נִבְזָה Neh. 9:26; בְּזֵיפָה Ezek. 35:5; ΒΛΑΦΗΜΙΑ Tob. 1:8 1 Macc. 2:4 Mt. 12:31 26:65). The word so translated is derived from a root (נָזַח) meaning literally 'to scorn or reject' (see 2 S. 12:14 Ps. 74:10 Is. 52:5). In Hebrew, therefore, it can naturally be used to describe an attitude of hostility

1. The word. ¹ Perhaps connected with *hamtu*, 'burning, fiery' (Halévy).
² See the illustration called 'A Noachian Boatyard at Hit,' Peters, *Nippur*, 2:162.

towards God or man, things holy or things profane (Jer. 23:34 Is. 60:14 1 S. 2:27).

'Blasphemy' (cp the verb 'to blame,' *Επιτιμια* *Admonitory*, L. *blasphemare*, and see Murray, *s. v.*), however, occurs in the EV as a rendering also of the following words: 2 K. 11:10 1 K. 21:10 14 AV (RV 'curse' RVmg 'anathema'; cp 14:10, 15:10 15); 2 K. 19:22 EV = Is. 37:33 EV; Ezek. 29:21 EV, N. 15:10 RV (AV 'blasphemous'), Ps. 44:18 [21] EV; (22:778) 27:14 21:4 (C 22) 2:16 EV, and the GK *βλασφημια* 1 Macc. 10:1 (not V) 12:14 Mt. 27:29 Mk. 3:28 (followed by 29 *ἁμαρτία ἁμαρτίας* Rev. 12:1 1 Pet. 4:14).

In 1 Macc. 7:38 'blasphemies' is the rendering of *βλασφημια*; in v. 41 'to blasphemy' represents the related verb *βλασφημειν*; and the object of the blasphemies is the temple. It is important to determine the sense of *βλασφημειν* accurately, because the sense of 'to blasphemy' in EV follows this exactly. In a word, the conception of 'blasphemy' in current English is narrower than the conception that we find in this supposed pattern of English speech, which includes all modes of reviling or calumniating God or man (see 2 K. 19:6 [Heb. 27:1; 19:4 [Heb. 27:1] and Is. 52:5 [Heb. 70:2 uncertain conj.], and cp Acts 13:45 18:6 Jude 9 with Lk. 5:21 Jn. 10:36).

Among the Hebrews (whose view, it is needless to say, profoundly affected our own common law)

2. OT senti- ¹ blasphemy or the expression of unbelief.
ment. derogatory opinions regarding God or his government of the world was made a capital offence (Lev. 24:11; cp 1 K. 21:13, and see Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8:6); the blasphemer must be 'cut off' from his people (Lev. 24:13; P. see LAW AND PUNISHMENT, § 13). It was forbidden to use the name of God lightly (צִוֶּה Dt. 5:11), whether to ask a blessing or to invoke a curse (cp Ex. 20:7, and see BLESSING AND CURSING, § 1, and Schultz, *OT* *Book* 2:206 § 114). *Wippen* (1:1) is brought to shame God's name is scoffed at by the heathen (Ps. 74:10-18). At a later date it was held to be a mark of profanity even to pronounce the real name of the God of Israel (see Lev. 24:11 and cp NAMES, § 109). Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8:6), and the Rabbis interpret Ex. 22:28 as a prohibition of blaspheming 'strange gods'; but the interpretation, however much in the interests of the Jews themselves, implies a misunderstanding of the use of *elohim* (see Schultz, 2:127). It was on a charge

3. NT. of blasphemy—claiming to be the Christ, the Son of God—that Jesus was found worthy of death (Mk. 14:61-64 Mt. 26:65; cp Jn. 10:33), and for blasphemous words against 'the holy place and the law' Stephen was condemned to be stoned (Acts 6:13 7:56 ff.). See STEPHEN. By blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in Mk. 3:29, Mt. 12:32, was meant originally a definite offence of the scribes and Pharisees, who had ascribed Jesus' cures of demons to a power derived from the prince of the demons. This was blasphemy against the divine power which had come upon Jesus at his baptism (Mk. 1:10 Mt. 3:16 Lk. 3:22). In Mt. 12:32, however, a later interpretation is given, which implies that the disciples of Jesus had thoroughly absorbed the idea of the indwelling Spirit. The Holy Spirit is put in antithesis to the 'Son of Man.' One who fails to pierce below the humble exterior of Jesus may be forgiven. One who not merely rejects, but openly disparages, that great gift which 'the Heavenly Father will give to those who ask him' (Lk. 11:13) cannot be forgiven: the inward impediment in the man himself is too strong. The idea of the original distinction was suggested by that in the Law (Num. 15:27-31). 'A parallel to it will be found in the Mishna (Sanhedr. 10:1)—'He who says that the Law is not from Heaven has no part in the world to come' (קוּלֵי דְרַבָּנָא). The later interpretation, however, has no parallel, and is a

¹ This rendering of בְּזֵיפָה is very doubtful; but it is quite possible that in passages like Job 15:1 21:10 33: a later editor substituted בְּזֵיפָה for שָׂקָה or נָזַח. In Ps. 19:3 we may even have side by side the correction בְּזֵיפָה and the original reading [נָזַח].

product of the Spirit of Christ working in the hearts of the first disciples.

BLASTING (בִּרְבֵּץ); ἘΒΛΑΣΤΗΣ ἀνεμοφοβία [Dt. 28.22 2 (Ch. 6.28), ἐντυγνισμός [1 K. 8.37]; ἘΒΛΑΣΤΗΣ πύρωσις (Am. 4.9); ἘΒΛΑΣΤΗΣ ἀφθία, ἘΒΛΑΣΤΗΣ ἀπ. 41. (Hag. 2.17)] is, as we learn from Dt. 28.22, a term specially applied to the blighting effect of wind upon corn. The root in Arabic means blackness; and the Heb. word thus describes a blackening (almost burning) process which is regarded as due to a severe wind—a sense which is expressed by the various renderings of Ἐ. The word is in each passage coupled with בִּרְבֵּץ 'mildew.' Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether wind is in itself sufficient to account for such a blackening. In the British Islands wheat when young assumes a yellow colour from cold, a well-known physiological effect. Under a burning drying wind, it might turn brown, but scarcely black. Further, it must be noted that in Gen. 41.6 the corn was in ear; it had made its growth, but the ears were *thin*—i.e., diseased. It seems probable, then, that the effect conceived in the dream was that produced by 'corn smut,' *Ustilago Carbo*; and that this is the real meaning of בִּרְבֵּץ. 'Mildew' is the other common disease of corn, *Puccinia graminis*.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BLASTUS (βλαστός [Ti. WH]), the chamberlain (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινῶσι, *praefectus cubiculi*) of King Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12.20).

BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS (בֵּרַךְ, to bless—a denominative from בִּרְךָ, the knee, with the lower part of the leg; perhaps 'to cause to make progress,—and אָרַר, to curse [cp Ass. *arāru* (1) 'to curse', *arāru* (2) 'to bind'], and their derivatives בִּרְכָה, בִּרְכָה, in parallelism, chiefly in poetic and legal sources of JED and later imitations; cp Gen. 27.29 Dt. 11.26 Josh. 8.34 etc.).

Ἐ represents בֵּרַךְ by εὐλογεῖν, בִּרְכָה by εὐλογία (also NT words). In Hebrew for 'cursing' we find also (a) קָלַל (to prop. to belittle?) frequently. (b) אָרַר, verb and noun, cp שִׁבְעָה אָרַר 'oath of cursing' Nu. 5.21 (RVmg. 'adjuration'), rendered 'execration', Jer. 42.18 44.22, and RV only Jer. 29.18; its derivative אָרַר occurs in Lam. 3.65. (c) הָרַם, הָרַם see BAN. (d) קָרַב only in the Balaam stories (Nu. 22.11 23.8 24.10) and possibly to be connected with קָרַב (prop. 'to pierce') rendered in Lev. 24.11 16 'blasphemy.' From the Jewish tradition which explained it to mean 'pronounce, speak aloud' arose the deep-rooted belief that the divine name was not to be uttered under any circumstances (see NAMES, § 100 n.). IDOLATRY, § 8. (e) שָׁבַח, Is. 65.15, EV 'curse', properly 'oath' as in RVmg.; see OATH and CP COVENANT, § 5.

The NT words are (a) ἀναθεματίζω Mk. 14.71 (in Ἐ for הָרַם; καταθεματίζω), Mt. 26.74 Rev. 22.3; see BAN. (b) καταραζομαι Rom. 12.14 Jam. 3.6 (in Ἐ for קָרַב, also καταραζομαι Gal. 3.10 13 and καταραζομαι (RVmg. 'anything accursed') Rev. 22.3; cp also ἐπικατάρατος 'under a curse', Gal. 3.10. (c) καταλογεῖν Mt. 15.4 Mk. 7.10, RV 'speak evil of' (in Ἐ for קָלַל); see OATH.

In the primitive sense of the word, a blessing or a curse was a spell, pronounced by 'holy' persons, and containing a divine name, or divine names, which drew down the divine favour or disfavour (i.e., prosperity or adversity), as the case might require, on certain other persons. It was a consequence of the hardness of life that curses were more frequently in demand than blessings. Thus (a) the breaking out of hostilities between states naturally led to the solemn utterance of formulae of cursing against the enemy. These invocations would be uttered at the opening of a campaign, and especially when the warriors were on the point of advancing against the foe. Goliath, we are told, 'cursed David by his gods' (1 S. 17.43). The battle-shout certainly had a religious character; and, if it did not always devote the enemy to destruction, at any rate it invoked a blessing on the national side. Cp Ps. 68.1-3 and the story of BALAAM [v. v.].¹ (b) The laws too had

¹ Nu. 22.6 shows that Balaak, according to the narrator, was about to fight with the Israelites.

sometimes an increased sanction through the cursing formulae attached. Thus KB iv. mentions a statute respecting the maintenance of boundaries, which is enforced by a curse on any one who should violate it. To this category of curses belong those in Dt. 28.

It is true that a series of blessings is attached to the series of cursings. Moses, from his close connection with the Deity, had a special power of blessing and cursing. After him the priests had a similar power, which they exerted in the interests of the faithful community (cp URIM AND THUMMIM, § 6). The uplifted hands of the priest drew down (as it were) a blessing on Israel (cp Lev. 9.22 Nu. 6.23-27) and a curse on Israel's enemies. So potent, indeed, were the blessings and the curses of the reputed founder of Israel that they could be said to lie on the two sacred mountains which enclose the original centre of the people—the valley of Shechem—ready to descend, as the case might be, with rewards or punishments (Dt. 11.29).¹

Within the family it was the father who (according to primitive ideas not unconnected with the worship of ancestors) had the mystic privilege of determining the weal or woe of his children (Gen. 9.25 ff.), and more especially when his days were manifestly numbered (see ESAU, § 2, ISAAC, § 5, JACOB). Nor does it appear that the early Israelites limited this power by moral considerations (see Gen. 27.35). Obviously, however, such a limitation was a necessary consequence of a pure monotheism. The post-exilic writers declare that only the offspring of the righteous can be blessed (Ps. 37.26), and that the observance of God's laws ensures his favour without the aid of priests or enchanters. Fear not, then, said the later sages to their pupils, if thine enemy curses thee: 'the curse causeless shall not come' (Prov. 26.2).

Still, even in post-exilic time we sometimes find a strange half-consciousness that curses had an inherent power. It was worth while to curse a bad man, to ensure his full punishment—such is the idea of Ps. 109—a strange survival of primitive superstition.

In the discourses of Jesus we find blessings and curses. They are, however, simply authoritative declarations of the eternal connection between right-doing and happiness, wrong-doing and misery (e.g., in the case of Judas).

Parallels to the Israelitish view of blessings and cursings outside of the Semitic peoples hardly need to be quoted. The objective existence of both, but especially of curses, was strongly felt by the Assyrians and Babylonians, as the magical texts show. The Arabian beliefs on the subject are also very suggestive, as Goldziher has pointed out. See MAGIC, § 2 n., and on the 'curse-bringing water' (Nu. 5.18 ff.) see JEALOUSY, WATER OF. T. K. C.

BLINDNESS (עִוְרָה), Gen. 19.11 2 K. 6.18; עִוְרָה, Dt. 28.28 Zech. 12.4). See EYE, DISEASES, and MEDICINE.

BLOOD. For blood in law and ritual, see SACRIFICE; PASSOVER; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1. ff.; COVENANT, § 5. f.; KINSHIP, § 1. f.; and FOOD, § 9. For 'avenger of blood' (אֲשֵׁר דָּם; Dt. 19.6), see GOEL. For 'issue of blood' (שִׁטְטֵי אֵימָתוֹ; Mk. 5.25), see DISEASE, MEDICINE.

BLOOD, Field of (ἀγρός αἱματός), Mt. 27.8. See ACELDAMA.

BLUE (תְּכֵלֶת), Ex. 25.4, etc., a variety of Purple. See COLOURS, §§ 13, 15.

¹ Blue is employed in EV of Esth. 1.6 to distinguish certain kinds of stones. Thus for שָׁבַע we have AV 'blue marble,' AVmg.

¹ The blessing and the curse referred to were those attaching to the fulfilment and the non-fulfilment of the commands of the Law. They were 'laid before' Israel by Moses, and were to be 'laid' by them on their arrival in the promised land, probably by solemn proclamation, on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal respectively. In Dt. 27.12 ff. we have a later writer's interpretation of this command. See Kue. *THAT*, 1878, pp. 297 ff.

'marble', RV 'white marble'; and for בִּזְמָן EVING: 'stone of blue colour,' EV 'black marble.' See, however, MATTHEW, and cp. GOSPELS, § 4f.

For 'blueness' in PHOEN. 20 and AV בְּחִינֵי 'blueness of wood' RV has, better, 'strips that wound.'

BOANERGES (ΒΟΑΝΗΡΓΕΣ [Ti. Treg. WH following NAHC, etc.; ΒΟΑΝΑΡ· Δ'Α], TK BOANER.), a name given, according to Mk. 3:17, to JAMES [1] and JOHN the sons of Zebedee. The reading of Ν , etc., points to βωανηρες as the accepted analysis of the name, and the evangelist explains it by ὡς υἱοὶ βροτῆς , 'sons of thunder.' Each element, however, presents some difficulty.

1. The difficulty in taking BOAN- to be $\text{בּוֹ, ב'נֵה, 'sons of,'}$ is to account for $\text{oa} = \text{sheuā}$.

Attempts to explain it as a phonetic 'corruption' have been unsuccessful. There does not appear to be any historical foundation for Breitenheider's explanation of oa as a corrupt pronunciation of a provincial Galilean a , or for Hugh Broughton's statement (*Hörbuch*, 100) that the Jews pronounced sheuā as oa .

It is more plausible to regard the corruption as textual. Since $\text{sheuā} = \text{a}$ is natural enough (cp. βωανηραυκ , Josb. 19:45 [A]), and $\text{sheuā} = \text{o}$ is not unknown (cp. e.g. εσοβοθου), oa might be a conflate reading.⁵ Dalman (*Gramm.* 122, n. 2)⁶ supposed the transcription of an o which originally stood after p (see below). He now prefers to regard sheuā or oa as a gloss (*ll. orle* *Exs.* 39, n. 4). In some such way the double vowel must have arisen; it is strange that the MSS⁷ have not preserved any trace of variation in the first syllable.

The orthography, therefore, cannot be explained quite satisfactorily. We may be reasonably certain, however, about the signification.

2. This cannot be said of the second element in the word. The evangelist (or a scholiast) understood pves to mean βροτῆς , 'thunder'; but we do not know what Semitic word it was supposed to represent, nor can we say whether the interpretation was an original hypothesis or a really current belief.

(a) In the Syriac versions (Pesh. and Sin.) pves appears as pva . That may, however, be nothing more than a transliteration. Only in Arabic does pves mean 'thunder.' If it occurs in the OT at all⁸ it probably means 'throng.' In Aram. it means 'tumult,' 'rushing,' etc. If pves is pves , therefore, it can hardly mean 'thunder.'⁹

Jerome, indeed, conscious of this, declares (*Comm. ad Dan.* 1) that the true reading is (*emendatius legitur*) *beuerem* (var. *beuerem; beueremorum*) i.e., sons of *beuā*, בְּוִי, בְּוִי (cp. *Ex.* 15:15 Pseudo-Jon.)—and this reading he quietly assumes in his *Lit. de nomm. Heb.* under 'John.' That he ignores it in the *Comm.* on Mk., however, probably shows that it is a mere hypothetical emendation,¹⁰ not a variant reading (cp. BARTIMAEUS, § 2). Apparently, therefore, we must adhere to pves .

(β) The second letter of pves , however, might represent not p but y , as in $\text{peya} = \text{pves}$; but pves is no nearer βροτῆς than pves . Besides, y becomes y , as a rule, only when it is represented in Arabic by y , not by y ; but although there is in Ar. a word ragasa , the phonetic equivalent of which in Hebrew would be pves , rā'āsa (not rā'āsa) agrees most closely with pves in meaning, and a $\text{pves} = \text{rā'āsa}$ would not as a rule appear as pves .

The common word for 'thunder' in Hebrew and Aramaic would not conflict with this phonetic principle; and the nearest word in Arabic to Hebrew rā'āsa is ragama . Drusius (*Adv. voces NT* *Comm.* *prior* 39 [1616]) was ragama and Glassius (*Phil. Sacra*, [1623]) revived the theory of Jerome that pves should be pves , regarding the r as merely a Greek termination substituted for a final consonant, dropped as, e.g., in Gehenna. No doubt pves would be rather a strange termination for a man's name; but Boanerges is not a man's name; it is the name of two men. Indeed Nudius gives the name as Boaneperes (as if the

¹ There is no hint of such a name anywhere else in the NT (cp. however, *ll.* 6:14 [D]); but too much must not be made of that. Glassius pointed out that Boanerges is professedly a name shared by two men (more conveniently called 'the sons of Zebedee'), one of whom met an early death (Acts 12).

² Cp. the strong language of Kautzsch, *Gramm. d. Bibl. Aram.* 9.

³ *NT Lex.* s.v.

⁴ Adopted by Lightf. (*Hor. Heb. ad loc.*), who instances

Moerāsa (Strabo, 764) for מִרְיָה .

⁵ So (practically) Glassius (l. 1636).

⁶ So now Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*.

⁷ See below (β).

⁸ MT has pves in Ps. 56:15 and in pves in pves (2); but in each case it has been questioned whether the text is correct. See *Ch. Ps.* (2).

⁹ There is no reason to suppose that in the passage cited by Lightfoot (*Megillah* B. 29a, mid.) the word means 'thunder.'

¹⁰ A corruption of pves into pves (see β) would be easy.

plural of Boaneperes . Boza, on the other hand (*Adnotationes in Mattheum*, ad loc. [1624]), tried to improve on Drusius by suggesting that a mistake had occurred in a Semitic text: pves was misread pves . It is difficult to see how this could be. A Semitic text containing the name pves would not need to give an explanation of the name (cp. col. 490, n. 1). On the other hand, a Greek translator could not have given the supposed correct translation if he had misread the word!

(γ) There remains the possibility that pves (see e.g. AHAB, BOAZ). Kautzsch (*loc.*) suggests that pves may represent pves ('anger' (cp. Dan. 3:13 and, as used of thunder, the Ar. *irajaza = rā'āsa*); and this solution is adopted by Dalman (*loc.*), who further accounts for the translation βροτῆς by comparing Job 37:2, pves used of thunder: pves).

The historical origin of the name not being known (cp. JAMES, l. § 1), we cannot determine the second Semitic element with certainty. There is no evidence that 'Boanerges' can ever have meant strictly 'sons of thunder.' On the other hand, what is said in the Gospels of the sons of Zebedee gives a certain approximation to such a title as pves (cp. *ll.* taken in the sense of 'angry,' 'soon angered' (or the like). H. W. H.

BOAR (בֹּאֵר, pves , Ps. 80:13 [14]. See SWINE, *REID*).

BOAZ י. (בֹּזַי, hardly, 'quickness' [BDB *Lex.*]; Ass. *piazu* or *biazu* means a wild boar or the like; but see JACHIN AND BOAZ; BOOC [BA], -OOC A and L in Ru. 2:15 4:8 1 Ch. 2:11 f.), of Bethlehem, kinsman of Naomi and husband of RUTH [*p. v.*]. According to the post-exilic genealogy, Ru. 4:18 ff. (cp. 1 Ch. 2:11 ff.), he was the son of SALMON or SALMAH, and the ancestor of DAVID [*ll.* 1, n. 2]. See RUTH, BETHLEH.

2. The name of one of the two pillars set up before Solomon's temple (1 K. 7:21 = 2 Ch. 3:17). See JACHIN AND BOAZ.

BOCCAS ΒΟΚΚΑ [BA], 1 Esd. 8:2 = Ezra 7:15 *REK*, 1.

BOCHERU (בְּכֵרִי, § 61; for the ending -u, cp. JETHRU and see GESHEM), a son of Azrikam, Saul's descendant (1 Ch. 8:38 = 9:44). BOCHERU , however, punctuated and read—doubtless correctly—'Azrikam his firstborn' (πρωτοτοκος αυτου : pves).

BO makes up the six sons of Aziel by enumerating BO in the fifth place, besides BO in the third.

BOCHIM (בְּכִים, § 103, 'weepers,' κλαυθμωνων [BAL]), the name of a place near Gilgal, where the b'ne Israel sacrificed after the visit of the angel of Yahweh (Judg. 2:10 בְּכִים ; pves κλαυθμωνων [11]; and also probably of a place in Judah (Mic. 1:10 emended text; see below). The name of the former place is interpreted 'Weepers'; but the passage which refers to this (*rev.* 16:5a) is an insertion (see JUDGES, § 4) based upon *ia*, where we may expect to find the older and more generally used name of the place. Here, however, BO combining two readings gives BO κλαυθμωνων και BO βαθυ (on the corrupt κα [ετι] των οικων ισραηλ , see Moore *ad loc.*), and the latter, which suits the context well, is accepted as correct by most critics (*ll.* *Ri. Sam.* 20 ff., We., Mey., Kue., Bu., Kitt.). We must therefore correct Bochim in *ia* to 'Bethel.' The explanation of 'Bochim' in *iv.* 5a suggests a doubt as to the correctness of the present form, which may have been changed to agree with a more than half sportive derivation from BO , 'to weep.' The correct pronunciation must have been Bēkāmim (בְּכָאִים, pves)—i.e., 'Baca-trees' (see MULBERRY). These trees were probably abundant near Bethel, and it is possible that the 'Tree of Weeping' (ALLOE BACUTH) grew near there. The play on the name would, at any rate, be familiar to the ancient Israelites, and may have led to a variety in the pronunciation of the name (cp. Mareshah, Moresheth).

¹ Of course a gloss embodying a true tradition may have made its way into a translation of a faulty MS.

² J. F. K. Gurlitt had considered this word in his careful discussion in *St. Kr.* (1829, pp. 715-738).

³ So now also Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 51 f.

There is an early testimony to the form Bochim in Mic. 1.10, *בְּכִי אֵלֶיכֶם* (EV 'weep not at all') may be emended into *בְּכִי בְּכִי* (שׁו"ט [EV] *ḥaxxax*), 'in Bochim (Bekā'im) weep' (Elhorst, *We. Now.*, Che., omitting the intrusive *כִּי*, 'not'; cp *Ch. JQR*, July 1898). No locality called Bekaim near Micah's native town is known to us. This causes no difficulty. There may have been many places where Baca-trees grew. The alternative correction, 'In Acco weep not' (Reland, Hitzig, etc.), is geographically inadmissible. We cannot well suppose a Philistine city of that name (G. A. Smith), nor does Micah concern himself with Philistia (cp GILOH).

BOHAN, THE STONE OF (בֹּחַן, בַּיָּדָה, ΒΑΛΩΝ [BA]), an unknown point on the boundary between Judah and BENJAMIN (שׁ 31. Josh. 15.6 ΒΑΛΩΝ [L.]), 18.17 (BAAM [A. -N] [L.]). Bohan is called in both places the son (sometimes sons [שׁ^{pl} in 18.17]) of REUBEN; possibly, however, the stone or rock was a well-known landmark, thus designated on account of its supposed resemblance to a thumb (יָדָה).

BOIL, BOIL (Botch)¹ of Egypt. The Heb. word בֹּחַח, *ḥōḥin* (lit. 'an inflammation,' from a root found

1. **OT names** and **reff.** in Syr. and Ar., meaning 'to be hot') for the 'boil' in the sixth plague of Egypt, and the 'botch of Egypt' in Dt. 28.27, is applied again to the 'boil' of Hezekiah and to some diagnostic sign that occurred in one or more of the various contagious and mostly parasite skin-affections included under the common name of מַצַּר (see LEPROSY) in Lev. 13.18 f. 20-23—the variety called 'burning boil'² (really a plemson) being clean, and the variety of boil which gave place to a white or bright spot being unclean. The reference is almost certainly to local or limited spots of inflammation, although it is hardly possible to give a modern name to them or to identify them.

In Dt. 28.28 and Job 2.7 the same word is applied to a skin-disease 'from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head'; but presumably it is a skin-disease of any remote pathological intention, and merely to express a peculiarly loathsome affliction.

It is only the boil disease specially associated with Egypt that is here considered.

There occur four other references to diseases specially Egyptian here not called *ḥōḥin*. Two of these (Dt. 7.15 and 28.37) *מַצַּרִים* (מַצַּר, 'the evil diseases of Egypt,' and 'all the diseases of Egypt') are in admonitory passages written in a popular style. In the third (Zech. 14.15), a plague is to smite the Egyptians if they do not come up to keep the Feast of Booths. It is the same affliction that is to befall the other peoples who neglect this ordinance, and there is nothing, as the text now stands,⁴ to indicate that the writer is

1 Botch is a name commonly, and with the definite article distinctively, given to plague in the Elizabethan and the Stuart periods. In the Edinburgh treatise on plague by Dr. Gilbert Skene (1668) it occurs in the form of 'botche'. In the *Vision of Piers Ploughman* the spelling is *boche*, and the meaning specific or generic ('byles and boches and brennyng agues'). The most probable etymology is Fr. *poché*, meaning pocket, poke, pock (cp also It. *bozza*, a bubble), and applied in the plural, *les poches*, like the Spanish *las bubas*, to epidemics of camp sickness, about A.D. 1528, which seem to have been typhus, but may have included bubonic cases, or perhaps cases of true plague. The translators of the AV seem to have meant by 'botch' the familiar bubo plague of their time. Milton also may use the word in its exact sense of bubo plague, where he says of the sixth plague of Egypt: 'botches and blains must all his flesh emboss' (PL 12.180). With the disappearance of plague from Britain after 1666, the word lost its technical meaning.

2 Rather, 'scar of the boil,' מַצַּרִים מִבֹּחַח (v. 23; cp RV).

3 [As Budde points out, the expressions in Dt. *l.c.* are borrowed from the Prologue to Job. That section of the book appears to be based on a folk-tale; the designation which it gives to Job's malady is, therefore, general, not technical. We must remember, however, that in Lev. 13.18 f. the מַצַּר is the forerunner of leprosy, and that in the speeches of Job the symptoms of his malady, though poetically expressed, point (as most scholars admit) to leprosy in its worst form. See LEPROSY.]

4 [The text is disfigured by two errors due to dittography. One is the word 'not' before 'upon them,' repeated from v. 17; the other is 'the nations that go not up to keep the Feast of Booths,' repeated from v. 19. שׁ has simply *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτους*,

thinking of the 'botch of Egypt.' The reference in the fourth (Am. 4.12), however, may possibly be to some actual epidemic in the history of the northern kingdom. The 'pestilence in the manner of Egypt' may well be equivalent to the *ḥōḥin* or 'botch' of Dt. 28.27, which should mean some specific disease, such as the 'emerods' (KV 'tumours'; or plague-boils) of 1 S. 6.6, with which it is coupled, certainly means. As the sixth plague is specially called one of 'boils and blains,' this also may be taken to stand for some definite boil-disease of Egypt.

We must now consider which of the boil diseases of Egypt is meant by *ḥōḥin*. It is stated that the boil

2. **Shēḥin** accompanied by blains broke forth upon

the man and beast. This, if nosologically meant, would exclude bubo plague, as being unknown in cattle. On the other hand, anthrax, which might be correctly described as the boil of cattle, is equally excluded, inasmuch as in man it is never epidemic, but only sporadic. If we might suppose the narrative, or (as the critics say) the interwoven narratives, of the plagues to be based on a simpler narrative, or simpler narratives, which would bear to be treated as matter-of-fact description, we might expect that in the original narrative the sixth plague represented the plague proper (bubo plague), which is confined to man, whilst the fifth stood for epizootic disease in general.¹

Certainly the special association of bubo plague with ancient Egypt is historically correct, so that the word 'botch' in the AV is a happy choice (cp § 1. n. 1). Besides the constructive evidence as to the disaster which is said to have befallen Sennacherib's army before Pelusium (see PESTILENCE, and, on the historical points, HEZEKIAH, 1), there is, indeed, no extra-biblical testimony to bubo plague in Egypt earlier than about 300 B.C., and even this testimony has been only indirectly preserved.

Orbasius, who was physician to the Emperor Julian, cites a passage from Rufus of Ephesus, a physician in the time of Trajan, wherein he describes bubo plague with singular clearness; it is indeed rare, as Daremberg remarks, to find in ancient authors such positive marks of the identity of a pestilential type. Rufus says that the disease was most common, and very mortal, in Libya, Egypt, and Syria. He adds that Dioscorides and Poseidonius had enlarged upon pestilential buboes in writing upon the pestilence which in their time ravaged Libya—supposed to have been the same great epidemic, about 127 A.C., which is mentioned by Livy, Julius Obsequens, and Orosius. Rufus further says that the pupils of one Dionysius, δ *εὐρύπτος*, make mention of these pestilential buboes. An ancient Greek gloss to the Vatican codex of Orbasius explains that Dionysius with the above surname ('Hunchback') comes into the biography of Herippus. This would fix his date prior to 280 B.C.

Whilst the botch of Egypt cannot, upon independent testimony, be traced farther back than 300 B.C., it is highly improbable that it was first seen then. As Lorinser points out, the endemic influences favouring plague in Egypt, depending upon the peculiar alternations of wet and dry soil (caused by the periodic rise and fall of the Nile), were there long before.

Pariset (*Causes de la Peste*, etc., Paris, 1837) has argued with great cogency that the elaborate pains taken in the best period of ancient Egypt to preserve the soil from putrefying animal matters, human and other, were inspired by the risk of plague, and must have been in a high degree effective. It is clear, however, that any failure of the sanitary code would give plague its opportunity, the pressure of population and the climate or hydrology being constant, and that such failure may reasonably be assumed at first as an occasional thing, and then— from the time that the ancient civilisation, with sanitation (enforced by religious sanctions) a principal part of it, began to decay under the influence of Persian, Greek, and Roman conquests—as permanent.

without the negative particle, but it has the second insertion. A critical edition should give the text thus: 'And if the Egyptian people do not up nor come, upon them will the stroke come with which Yahweh will strike. . . . The close of the sentence may early have become effaced. The plague intended was, at any rate, not that of the other nations, which was want of rain.]

1 The qualification ('in general') is designed. What is said of the 'murain' upon the horses, camels, asses, oxen, and sheep is expressed in a sense too comprehensive for any single epizootic malady (e.g., anthrax is a disease that oxen and sheep suffer from in common, but not horses, nor, so far as is known, asses and camels).

That the sanitary precautions did utterly break down under Mohammedan conquest, and that bubo plague did become for fourteen centuries the standing pestilence of Egypt, we know as matter of fact. We know also that it was from Pelusium that the great plague of Justinian's reign (542 A. D.) started—to overrun the whole known world. It is probable, further, that the pestilence in Lower Egypt at the time of the massacre of Christians in the episcopate of Cyprian included bubo plague. The valuable testimony preserved by Orbasius as to Egyptian, Libyan, and Syrian pestilential buboes, as early as 300 B. C., has been already cited. If beyond that date we are left to conjecture, there is still a high probability that the plague was known in Egypt at a much earlier date.

This historical bubo plague of Egypt answers best to the sixth plague. The boil breaks out in the manner of the plague bubo, which may be single or multiple. Its situations are arms, groins, and the sides of the neck;

3. Nature of disease. and it consists of one (or of a packet) of the natural lymphatic or absorbent glands of those regions enlarged to the size of a hen's (or even a turkey's) egg, often of a livid colour, hard, tense, painful, and attended with inflammatory swelling of the skin for some distance around it. Just as in Asiatic cholera and yellow fever there are 'explosive' attacks so suddenly fatal that the distinctive symptoms have hardly time to develop, so there may be death from plague without the bubo or the botch. Still, the latter is the distinctive mark of plague, the same in all countries and in all periods of history.

Chilicars of plague were livid or red haemorrhagic spots of the skin (cutis) the tubercles or large carbuncles (especially on the fleshy parts), and blains (אֲרָבִים), which were really smaller carbuncular formations or cores with a collection of fluid on their summits. Besides the pain of the hard and tense buboes, there were often delirium, gentle or raving, vomiting, quivering of muscles (affecting gait and speech), and many other symptoms as if from a deadly poison. About three days was perhaps the average duration of fatal cases.

Usually half the attacks were mortal. In the beginning of the epidemic there would be but few recoveries, while

4. Mortality. at the end of it as many as four out of five might recover. Recovery was most likely when the buboes broke and ran; sometimes the suppuration, especially in the groin, would continue for months, the victims being able to go limping in the streets. In the history of plague in London, which is continuous from the Black Death of 1348 to 1666, the great epidemics came at intervals, and, in those for which we have the statistics, carried off from a fifth to a sixth of the population, including but few of the richer class. With a population of nearly half a million in 1665, the highest mortality from plague was 7165 in the week 12th-19th September. Sometimes for a succession of years the deaths from plague kept at a high annual level, especially during the summer and autumn months. During the whole three centuries of plague in London there were few years which did not have some deaths in the warmer months. From what is known of the mediæval history of plague in Cairo (from Arabic annals; cp von Kremer in *SWAH*, Phil. Hist. Class. Bd. xvi.), and of its modern history (cp Pruner, *Krank. des Orients*), it appears to have come, as in London, in terrific outbursts at intervals of years, and to have been at a low level or apparently extinct in the years between.

The plague season in Egypt, within the period of exact records, has begun as early as September and as late as January, has reached its height in March and April, and has ended with great regularity, almost suddenly, about St. John's day (24th June), the height of the epidemic corresponding with the lowest level of the Nile. There has been no plague since 1844. The last great epidemic was that of 1835, described by Kinglake in 'Eothen.'

BOILS, PLAGUE (בִּילַיִם), Deut. 28:7 RV^{ms}. See EMERODS.

BOILING PLACES (בִּישְׁלוֹת), Ezek. 46:23, EV; and **BOILING HOUSES** (בֵּית הַבִּישְׁלָה), v. 24, RV. See COOKING, § 1.

BOLLED (i. e., 'swollen,' see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*; RV^{ms} 'in flower'; בִּבְלָה; ΣΠΕΡΜΑΤΙΖΩ [BAI.]; Ex. 9:31†). The Hebrew word occurs only once, but s evidently (see Ges. *Thes.*, Levy, *Targ. W.* 1421, *NHWB* 1:26) connected with בִּבְיָ, 'cup'; and the Mishnic usage (Ges. *l. c.*) is in favour of its referring to the flower-cup (perhaps as a closed bud), rather than (as G supposed) to the formation of the seed-pods (see, however, Tristram, *NHB* 445).

BOLSTER (בִּטְרָה), 1 S. 19:13, 26:7. See BED, § 4 (2).
BONDAGE (בְּרֵחַ), ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ, Ex. 1:14 Rom. 8:15, etc., and **BONDMAN** (עֶבֶד), ΔΟΥΛΟΣ, Dt. 15:13 Rom. 6:16, etc. See SLAVERY.

BONNET (בִּנְיָה), *migbi'ah*, Ex. 28:40, etc. (RV 'headtire'), see MITRE, § 1 (1); for בִּנְיָה, *pe'er*, Is. 3:25 (RV 'headtire'), Ezek. 44:18 (RV 'tire'), see TURBAN, § 2.

BOOK (סֵפֶר), Gen. 5:1 etc.; ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ, Lk. 3:4 etc., ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ, Lk. 4:17 etc.). See WRITING, § 3, end; HISTORICAL LIT., § 3, 5, 16; CANON, §§ 1-4, 20.

BOOK OF LIFE (הַבִּיבְלוֹס [THC] ΖΩΗΣ), Philip. 4:3 Rev. 3:5. Cp Ex. 32:32 Is. 4:3, and see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14.

BOOT (בִּטְאָן), Is. 9:5 [4]†, RV^{ms}. See SHOES, § 3.

BOOTHES (בִּטּוֹת), Lev. 23:42 f. See TABERNACLE, PAVILION, 1, SUCCOTH, and cp TENT, § 1, and CATTLE, §§ 1, 5.

BOOTY (בַּיָּהוּ, etc.), Jer. 49:32, etc. See SPOIL.

BOOZ (בּוֹעַז [Ti. WH]), Mt. 15, BOOC [Ti. WH], Lk. 3:32. RV has BOAZ.

BOR-ASHAN (בּוֹר־אַשָׁן; ΒΩΡΑCΑΝ [A], ΒΗΡΑCΑΒΕ [B]), Vg *Boru Assan*; Pesh. *Borashan*, the true MT reading (G. B. 1 in 1 S. 20), where HARKNESS pointed edd, have בּוֹר־עֲשָׂן (AV CHOR-ASHAN, RV COR-ASHAN). Probably the same as ASHAN (q. v.).

BORDER. For בִּסְרֵית, *migsereth* (q. v.) in Ex. 25:27 (σφραῖμα), 37:12, 14 (B om.), in P's description of the table, see ATLAS, § 10; (11) 1 K. 7:23 f. 27 f. 28 f. 29 f. 30 f. 31 f. 32 f. 33 f. 34 f. 35 f. 36 f. 37 f. 38 f. 39 f. 40 f. 41 f. 42 f. 43 f. 44 f. 45 f. 46 f. 47 f. 48 f. 49 f. 50 f. 51 f. 52 f. 53 f. 54 f. 55 f. 56 f. 57 f. 58 f. 59 f. 60 f. 61 f. 62 f. 63 f. 64 f. 65 f. 66 f. 67 f. 68 f. 69 f. 70 f. 71 f. 72 f. 73 f. 74 f. 75 f. 76 f. 77 f. 78 f. 79 f. 80 f. 81 f. 82 f. 83 f. 84 f. 85 f. 86 f. 87 f. 88 f. 89 f. 90 f. 91 f. 92 f. 93 f. 94 f. 95 f. 96 f. 97 f. 98 f. 99 f. 100 f. 101 f. 102 f. 103 f. 104 f. 105 f. 106 f. 107 f. 108 f. 109 f. 110 f. 111 f. 112 f. 113 f. 114 f. 115 f. 116 f. 117 f. 118 f. 119 f. 120 f. 121 f. 122 f. 123 f. 124 f. 125 f. 126 f. 127 f. 128 f. 129 f. 130 f. 131 f. 132 f. 133 f. 134 f. 135 f. 136 f. 137 f. 138 f. 139 f. 140 f. 141 f. 142 f. 143 f. 144 f. 145 f. 146 f. 147 f. 148 f. 149 f. 150 f. 151 f. 152 f. 153 f. 154 f. 155 f. 156 f. 157 f. 158 f. 159 f. 160 f. 161 f. 162 f. 163 f. 164 f. 165 f. 166 f. 167 f. 168 f. 169 f. 170 f. 171 f. 172 f. 173 f. 174 f. 175 f. 176 f. 177 f. 178 f. 179 f. 180 f. 181 f. 182 f. 183 f. 184 f. 185 f. 186 f. 187 f. 188 f. 189 f. 190 f. 191 f. 192 f. 193 f. 194 f. 195 f. 196 f. 197 f. 198 f. 199 f. 200 f. 201 f. 202 f. 203 f. 204 f. 205 f. 206 f. 207 f. 208 f. 209 f. 210 f. 211 f. 212 f. 213 f. 214 f. 215 f. 216 f. 217 f. 218 f. 219 f. 220 f. 221 f. 222 f. 223 f. 224 f. 225 f. 226 f. 227 f. 228 f. 229 f. 230 f. 231 f. 232 f. 233 f. 234 f. 235 f. 236 f. 237 f. 238 f. 239 f. 240 f. 241 f. 242 f. 243 f. 244 f. 245 f. 246 f. 247 f. 248 f. 249 f. 250 f. 251 f. 252 f. 253 f. 254 f. 255 f. 256 f. 257 f. 258 f. 259 f. 260 f. 261 f. 262 f. 263 f. 264 f. 265 f. 266 f. 267 f. 268 f. 269 f. 270 f. 271 f. 272 f. 273 f. 274 f. 275 f. 276 f. 277 f. 278 f. 279 f. 280 f. 281 f. 282 f. 283 f. 284 f. 285 f. 286 f. 287 f. 288 f. 289 f. 290 f. 291 f. 292 f. 293 f. 294 f. 295 f. 296 f. 297 f. 298 f. 299 f. 300 f. 301 f. 302 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f. 589 f. 590 f. 591 f. 592 f. 593 f. 594 f. 595 f. 596 f. 597 f. 598 f. 599 f. 600 f. 601 f. 602 f. 603 f. 604 f. 605 f. 606 f. 607 f. 608 f. 609 f. 610 f. 611 f. 612 f. 613 f. 614 f. 615 f. 616 f. 617 f. 618 f. 619 f. 620 f. 621 f. 622 f. 623 f. 624 f. 625 f. 626 f. 627 f. 628 f. 629 f. 630 f. 631 f. 632 f. 633 f. 634 f. 635 f. 636 f. 637 f. 638 f. 639 f. 640 f. 641 f. 642 f. 643 f. 644 f. 645 f. 646 f. 647 f. 648 f. 649 f. 650 f. 651 f. 652 f. 653 f. 654 f. 655 f. 656 f. 657 f. 658 f. 659 f. 660 f. 661 f. 662 f. 663 f. 664 f. 665 f. 666 f. 667 f. 668 f. 669 f. 670 f. 671 f. 672 f. 673 f. 674 f. 675 f. 676 f. 677 f. 678 f. 679 f. 680 f. 681 f. 682 f. 683 f. 684 f. 685 f. 686 f. 687 f. 688 f. 689 f. 690 f. 691 f. 692 f. 693 f. 694 f. 695 f. 696 f. 697 f. 698 f. 699 f. 700 f. 701 f. 702 f. 703 f. 704 f. 705 f. 706 f. 707 f. 708 f. 709 f. 710 f. 711 f. 712 f. 713 f. 714 f. 715 f. 716 f. 717 f. 718 f. 719 f. 720 f. 721 f. 722 f. 723 f. 724 f. 725 f. 726 f. 727 f. 728 f. 729 f. 730 f. 731 f. 732 f. 733 f. 734 f. 735 f. 736 f. 737 f. 738 f. 739 f. 740 f. 741 f. 742 f. 743 f. 744 f. 745 f. 746 f. 747 f. 748 f. 749 f. 750 f. 751 f. 752 f. 753 f. 754 f. 755 f. 756 f. 757 f. 758 f. 759 f. 760 f. 761 f. 762 f. 763 f. 764 f. 765 f. 766 f. 767 f. 768 f. 769 f. 770 f. 771 f. 772 f. 773 f. 774 f. 775 f. 776 f. 777 f. 778 f. 779 f. 780 f. 781 f. 782 f. 783 f. 784 f. 785 f. 786 f. 787 f. 788 f. 789 f. 790 f. 791 f. 792 f. 793 f. 794 f. 795 f. 796 f. 797 f. 798 f. 799 f. 800 f. 801 f. 802 f. 803 f. 804 f. 805 f. 806 f. 807 f. 808 f. 809 f. 810 f. 811 f. 812 f. 813 f. 814 f. 815 f. 816 f. 817 f. 818 f. 819 f. 820 f. 821 f. 822 f. 823 f. 824 f. 825 f. 826 f. 827 f. 828 f. 829 f. 830 f. 831 f. 832 f. 833 f. 834 f. 835 f. 836 f. 837 f. 838 f. 839 f. 840 f. 841 f. 842 f. 843 f. 844 f. 845 f. 846 f. 847 f. 848 f. 849 f. 850 f. 851 f. 852 f. 853 f. 854 f. 855 f. 856 f. 857 f. 858 f. 859 f. 860 f. 861 f. 862 f. 863 f. 864 f. 865 f. 866 f. 867 f. 868 f. 869 f. 870 f. 871 f. 872 f. 873 f. 874 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1015 f. 1016 f. 1017 f. 1018 f. 1019 f. 1020 f. 1021 f. 1022 f. 1023 f. 1024 f. 1025 f. 1026 f. 1027 f. 1028 f. 1029 f. 1030 f. 1031 f. 1032 f. 1033 f. 1034 f. 1035 f. 1036 f. 1037 f. 1038 f. 1039 f. 1040 f. 1041 f. 1042 f. 1043 f. 1044 f. 1045 f. 1046 f. 1047 f. 1048 f. 1049 f. 1050 f. 1051 f. 1052 f. 1053 f. 1054 f. 1055 f. 1056 f. 1057 f. 1058 f. 1059 f. 1060 f. 1061 f. 1062 f. 1063 f. 1064 f. 1065 f. 1066 f. 1067 f. 1068 f. 1069 f. 1070 f. 1071 f. 1072 f. 1073 f. 1074 f. 1075 f. 1076 f. 1077 f. 1078 f. 1079 f. 1080 f. 1081 f. 1082 f. 1083 f. 1084 f. 1085 f. 1086 f. 1087 f. 1088 f. 1089 f. 1090 f. 1091 f. 1092 f. 1093 f. 1094 f. 1095 f. 1096 f. 1097 f. 1098 f. 1099 f. 1100 f. 1101 f. 1102 f. 1103 f. 1104 f. 1105 f. 1106 f. 1107 f. 1108 f. 1109 f. 1110 f. 1111 f. 1112 f. 1113 f. 1114 f. 1115 f. 1116 f. 1117 f. 1118 f. 1119 f. 1120 f. 1121 f. 1122 f. 1123 f. 1124 f. 1125 f. 1126 f. 1127 f. 1128 f. 1129 f. 1130 f. 1131 f. 1132 f. 1133 f. 1134 f. 1135 f. 1136 f. 1137 f. 1138 f. 1139 f. 1140 f. 1141 f. 1142 f. 1143 f. 1144 f. 1145 f. 1146 f. 1147 f. 1148 f. 1149 f. 1150 f. 1151 f. 1152 f. 1153 f. 1154 f. 1155 f. 1156 f. 1157 f. 1158 f. 1159 f. 1160 f. 1161 f. 1162 f. 1163 f. 1164 f. 1165 f. 1166 f. 1167 f. 1168 f. 1169 f. 1170 f. 1171 f. 1172 f. 1173 f. 1174 f. 1175 f. 1176 f. 1177 f. 1178 f. 1179 f. 1180 f. 1181 f. 1182 f. 1183 f. 1184 f. 1185 f. 1186 f. 1187 f. 1188 f. 1189 f. 1190 f. 1191 f. 1192 f. 1193 f. 1194 f. 1195 f. 1196 f. 1197 f. 1198 f. 1199 f. 1200 f. 1201 f. 1202 f. 1203 f. 1204 f. 1205 f. 1206 f. 1207 f. 1208 f. 1209 f. 1210 f. 1211 f. 1212 f. 1213 f. 1214 f. 1215 f. 1216 f. 1217 f. 1218 f. 1219 f. 1220 f. 1221 f. 1222 f. 1223 f. 1224 f. 1225 f. 1226 f. 1227 f. 1228 f. 1229 f. 1230 f. 1231 f. 1232 f. 1233 f. 1234 f. 1235 f. 1236 f. 1237 f. 1238 f. 1239 f. 1240 f. 1241 f. 1242 f. 1243 f. 1244 f. 1245 f. 1246 f. 1247 f. 1248 f. 1249 f. 1250 f. 1251 f. 1252 f. 1253 f. 1254 f. 1255 f. 1256 f. 1257 f. 1258 f. 1259 f. 1260 f. 1261 f. 1262 f. 1263 f. 1264 f. 1265 f. 1266 f. 1267 f. 1268 f. 1269 f. 1270 f. 1271 f. 1272 f. 1273 f. 1274 f. 1275 f. 1276 f. 1277 f. 1278 f. 1279 f. 1280 f. 1281 f. 1282 f. 1283 f. 1284 f. 1285 f. 1286 f. 1287 f. 1288 f. 1289 f. 1290 f. 1291 f. 1292 f. 1293 f. 1294 f. 1295 f. 1296 f. 1297 f. 1298 f. 1299 f. 1300 f. 1301 f. 1302 f. 1303 f. 1304 f. 1305 f. 1306 f. 1307 f. 1308 f. 1309 f. 1310 f. 1311 f. 1312 f. 1313 f. 1314 f. 1315 f. 1316 f. 1317 f. 1318 f. 1319 f. 1320 f. 1321 f. 1322 f. 1323 f. 1324 f. 1325 f. 1326 f. 1327 f. 1328 f. 1329 f. 1330 f. 1331 f. 1332 f. 1333 f. 1334 f. 1335 f. 1336 f. 1337 f. 1338 f. 1339 f. 1340 f. 1341 f. 1342 f. 1343 f. 1344 f. 1345 f. 1346 f. 1347 f. 1348 f. 1349 f. 1350 f. 1351 f. 1352 f. 1353 f. 1354 f. 1355 f. 1356 f. 1357 f. 1358 f. 1359 f. 1360 f. 1361 f. 1362 f. 1363 f. 1364 f. 1365 f. 1366 f. 1367 f. 1368 f. 1369 f. 1370 f. 1371 f. 1372 f. 1373 f. 1374 f. 1375 f. 1376 f. 1377 f. 1378 f. 1379 f. 1380 f. 1381 f. 1382 f. 1383 f. 1384 f. 1385 f. 1386 f. 1387 f. 1388 f. 1389 f. 1390 f. 1391 f. 1392 f. 1393 f. 1394 f. 1395 f. 1396 f. 1397 f. 1398 f. 1399 f. 1400 f. 1401 f. 1402 f. 1403 f. 1404 f. 1405 f. 1406 f. 1407 f. 1408 f. 1409 f. 1410 f. 1411 f. 1412 f. 1413 f. 1414 f. 1415 f. 1416 f. 1417 f. 1418 f. 1419 f. 1420 f. 1421 f. 1422 f. 1423 f. 1424 f. 1425 f. 1426 f. 1427 f. 1428 f. 1429 f. 1430 f. 1431 f. 1432 f. 1433 f. 1434 f. 1435 f. 1436 f. 1437 f. 1438 f. 1439 f. 1440 f. 1441 f. 1442 f. 1443 f. 1444 f. 1445 f. 1446 f. 1447 f. 1448 f. 1449 f. 1450 f. 1451 f. 1452 f. 1453 f. 1454 f. 1455 f. 1456 f. 1457 f. 1458 f. 1459 f. 1460 f. 1461 f. 1462 f. 1463 f. 1464 f. 1465 f. 1466 f. 1467 f. 1468 f. 1469 f. 1470 f. 1471 f. 1472 f. 1473 f. 1474 f. 1475 f. 1476 f. 1477 f. 1478 f. 1479 f. 1480 f. 1481 f. 1482 f. 1483 f. 1484 f. 1485 f. 1486 f. 1487 f. 1488 f. 1489 f. 1490 f. 1491 f. 1492 f. 1493 f. 1494 f. 1495 f. 1496 f. 1497 f. 1498 f. 1499 f. 1500 f. 1501 f. 1502 f. 1503 f. 1504 f. 1505 f. 1506 f. 1507 f. 1508 f. 1509 f. 1510 f. 1511 f. 1512 f. 1513 f. 1514 f. 1515 f. 1516 f. 1517 f. 1518 f. 1519 f. 1520 f. 1521 f. 1522 f. 1523 f. 1524 f. 1525 f. 1526 f. 1527 f. 1528 f

JG²¹ 212, n. 1). Herod the Great, in order to keep the Lejā in his power (Jos. Ant. xvii. 13), fortified a village called Bathyra, and this may have been the same as Bosor (cp GAsM, HG 618). G. A. S.

BOSORA (Βοσώρα [A], -oco, [B], -ocopra [V]; cp 61 (Ch. 144), 1 Macc. 7:39; Jos. Βοσώρα [Ant. xii. 8:3]), in Gilead, held by some to be the Bozrah in Moab spoken of in Jer. 48:24, must have lain farther N. (see BOSOR, ii.). Hence many (Ewald; PEF Map; etc.) more plausibly take it to have been Bostra, the capital of the Roman province of Arabia, modern *Busrā*, 22 m. SE. of Edrei (cp Porter, *Five years*², 12; Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, 53, 58; Rey, *Dans le Haouran Atlas*; Buhl, *Pal.* 251). See, however, Bathyra under BOSOR, ii. G. A. S.

BOSZ (בֹּזֵז, text doubtful), Job 15:26. See SHIELD.

BOUCH (בֹּיֹחַ), Dt. 28:27³⁵ AV; RV BOIL (*g.v.*, § 2 f.).

BOTTLE. The statement that 'what we call bottles were unknown to the Hebrews' (Riehm, *Hilf*², art. 'Flasche') needs qualification. It has long been known that the Egyptians manufactured glass from an early period. The Phœnicians and the Assyrians were well acquainted with glass (see the relative volumes of Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc.), that manufactured by the former being of special repute in antiquity (see GLASS). It is impossible, therefore, that among the imports from Phœnicia, glass bottles should have had no place. They must always, however, have been a luxury of the rich (cp Job 28:17 [RV]).

The 'bottles' of Scripture fall into two very different classes: (1) leather skins for holding and carrying water, wine, and other liquids, and (2) earthenware jars for the same and other purposes.

For the Hebrews in the nomadic stage of civilisation, as for the Bedouin of the present day, the skins of

1. Skins as bottles.

beasts of their flocks supplied the readiest and most efficient means of storing and transporting the necessary supply of water in the camp and on the march. This method was found so simple and so satisfactory that it was retained in a more settled state of society, and, indeed, has prevailed throughout the East until the present day. The writers of classical antiquity, from Homer downwards, contain many references to this use of the skins of domestic animals. The skins used by the Hebrews for this purpose, as in modern Syria and Arabia, were chiefly skins of the goat and of the sheep. When a smaller size than ordinary was required, the skin of a lamb or of a kid sufficed; for larger quantities there was the skin of the ox,¹ and, perhaps, of the camel (Herod. 39). Among the Hebrews the pig-skin was, of course, excluded.

The method of preparation varied in complexity and efficiency according as the peasant prepared his own skins (cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:227) or employed a professional tanner. The head and the lower part of the legs are cut off (such is the method at the present day), and the animal is skinned from the neck downwards, somewhat as one removes a tight-fitting glove, care being taken that no incision is made in the skin of the carcase. When the tanning process is completed (cp Tristram, *NH B*⁶ 92, Robinson, *BR*¹¹ 240), all other apertures having previously been closed, the neck is fitted with a leather thong, by means of which the skin is opened and closed (cp LEATHER).

In the OT we find such skin bottles designated by a variety of names.

Such are (a) בִּיָּה, *biyah* (ἀσῶς [ADL]), the water-skin (probably of a kid) which Abraham put upon Hagar's shoulder (Gen. 21:4 ff.). The Bedouin name is *girbya*—i.e., *kirbyayun* (Doughty, *op. cit. index*). In Hos 7:5 (RV 'heat'), and in Hab. 2:15 (RV 'venom', mg. 'fury'), the RV more advisedly finds another word of similar sound (רִבְיָה). (b) נֹחַת, *nōth*, like the *semity* (*sanilatun*) of the modern Bedouin, is the milk-skin of the nomad Jael (Judg. 4:19; cp Doughty *op. cit. passim*). It

also occurs frequently as a wineskin—Josh. 9:4 13 1 S. 16:20, etc. As a water-skin it is used metaphorically in Ps. 68:9 (‘put my tears into thy bottle’), where there is no reference to the much later ‘tear-bottles,’ so called, and where the text is doubted (see 6). The exact sense of Ps. 119:83, where the poet likens himself to a ‘bottle (RV mg. “wine-skin”) in the smoke,’ is doubtful (see the comm. in *loc.*). (c) נֶבֶל, *nēbel*, and בֶּלֶל, *belel*, also frequently of the ordinary wine-skin (ἀσῶς [BAL]), 1 S. 10:3, etc. (d) מִיָּה, *mīyah*, has the same signification in Job 32:19, where we read of ‘new bottles . . . ready to burst.’ Budde (95) renders ‘skins with new (wine),’ which gives us an O1 parallel to the familiar passage in the NT (Mt. 9:17 = Mk. 2:22 = Lk. 5:37 f.)—‘Neither do men put new wine into old wine-skins, etc.—where the RV has rightly discarded the misleading rendering ‘bottles.’ In Judith 10:5 we have the curious word ἀσκονίην [BA],—RV ‘a leathern bottle’ of wine.

Vessels of earthenware also are mentioned in the OT as receptacles for wine. Such was (a) the בִּצְתָה, Jer.

2. Earthenware bottles.

19:110 (בִּצְתָה, בִּצְתָה), made by the potter, perhaps with a narrow neck which caused a gurgling sound (Ar. *bakbakātun*) when the jar was being emptied. It was also used to hold honey, 1 K. 14:3 (σῶμας [AL; om. B]; EV CRUSE [*g.v.*, 2]). (b) The name בֶּלֶל was also given to wine-jars or *ampullæ* of earthenware, as is clear from Is. 30:14 (EV ‘[potters’] vessel’; AV mg. ‘bottle of potters’), and Lam. 4:2 (EV ‘pitcher’). In both these passages 6 has ἀγγύον. We have no indication of the size or even of the shape of the earthen *nēbel* (see POTTERY; also CRUSE). A. R. S. K.

BOW (קֶשֶׁת), Gen. 27:3. **Bowstrings** (מִיתְרֵי), Ps. 21:12, RV. See WEAPONS.

BOWL. The various Hebrew and Greek words will be dealt with in the articles mentioned below.

1. גִּבְיָה, *gibyah*, Ex. 25:21. See CUP, MEALS, § 12.
2. גִּלְיָה, *gilyah*, the bowl or reservoir of a lamp, Josh. 4:2 f. (λαμπάδιον); see CANDLESTICK, § 2. Used in a simile in Eccles. 12:6 (τὸ ἀθήμιον). The globe-shaped bowls or capitals of the twin pillars of JACHIN and BOAZ (1 K. 7:41 f., τὰ στέρητα [as though ἄνθη] see FRINGES) || 2 Ch. 4:12 f., AV ‘pommels,’ γυαλῶ [BA], βάσεις [L]. See PHENIX.
3. קֶפֶר, *kaphar*, 1 Ch. 28:17, etc., RV. See BASON, 2.
4. מִצְרָה, *mizrah*, Ex. 27:3. See BASON, 3.
5. קִנְיֹת, *keniyoth*, *kenothos* [BAFL], used in temple ritual especially upon the table of shew-bread, Ex. 25:29 37:16 Nu. 4:7 Jer. 52:19 (where AV ‘cups’).
6. קֶבֶל, *kaphel*, 1 K. 7:50; see BASON, 4.
7. סֶפֶל, *sephel*, a larger bowl or bason, probably of wood, Jud. 5:25 6:38 (ἀσκῶν [BAL]; in 5:25 אַס. [AL]); cp Pal.-Syr. ܩܫܘܘܐ.
8. סֶפֶל, *sephel*, Bel, 33, a vessel for holding food (in Acts 27:16 30:32, a boat).
9. φιάλη, Rev. 5:8 15:7, etc. (AV ‘vial’). In OT it represents קֶבֶל; see BASON, 3; MEALS, § 12, and cp generally BASON, CUP, GOBLET, POTTERY.

BOX, synonymous in AV with jar or cruise, not a case of wood or metal.¹

1. קֶבֶל, *kaphel* (2 K. 9:13; RV and in 1 S. 10:1, AV ‘vial’; 6BAL φάσος). Shape and material are both uncertain.
2. For the ‘alabaster box’ (τὸ ἀλάβαστρον) of Mk. 14:3, etc. AV (RV ‘alabaster cruse’) see CRUSE, 4, ALABASTER.
3. In RV mg. of Jn. 12:13 29, where EV has BAG, ‘box’ is suggested as an alternative rendering of γλωσσόκομος, which originally and etymologically signified a case in which the mouth-pieces (γλωσσάται) of wind instruments were kept. Later it assumed a more general significance and denoted any similarly shaped box or case. 6BAL employs it to indicate the chest (קֶבֶל) set up by Josiah in the Temple (2 Ch. 24:8 ff.), whilst Josephus uses it of the ‘coffer’ (τὸ κῆρ) 1 S. 6:8 ff. EV; see COFFER), or small chest, in which the Philistine princes deposited the golden mine. In the Mishna it is used to signify a case for books (קֶבֶל) in Lexx. and even a coffin (cp the parallel use of *loculus*); in the latter sense also in Aquila (Gen. 50:26, of Joseph’s mummy-case; see COFFIN). Thus it would appear that the preferable rendering in John (*loc.*) is that of RV mg.

A. R. S. K.

BOX TREE, BOX, RV mg. ‘cypress’; once (Ezek. 27:6; 6 oikous ἀλωάδεις) RV **Boxwood** (קֶבֶל, 6BAL).

¹ For this EV employs ‘chest.’

¹ According to Lane (*Mod. Eg.*) an ox-hide holds three or four times as much as a goat-skin (*kirba*).

κέδρος = Is. 41. 19, 60. 13) by several modern scholars identified as the 'sherbini' (Ar. and Syr.), a kind of juniper. = Ass. *karmera* (see below). RV⁹⁸ and *SBOT*, however, give 'cypress'; the sherbin resembles the cypress in its habit and general appearance (Tristram). Cp note 4, below.

The Hebrew word was formerly explained as derived from the root קשר (akin to קשר, Ar. *yasara*) 'to be straight' (Goss. *Thes.*), and so as denoting a tall straight tree; but such different views have recently been put forward as to the affinities and meaning of the root that it is unsafe to form any inference from this etymology.² Hoffmann, indeed, rejecting the traditional vocalisation of קשר, suggests that it is philologically akin to Assy. *šerbinu* (Del. *Pers.* 107), Aram. *šerbinu* or *šerbinu*.³ If this were made out we should be tolerably certain that קשר is the *sherbini* or a similar tree; but the philological step is difficult. Cheyne (*Is.*, *SBOT* [Heb.] 129) can hardly doubt that the obscure קשר in Is. 40. 13 is a corruption of קשר, 'sherbini'. If so, קשר would seem to be distinct from the sherbin.

The interesting mention of this tree in Ezek. 27.6 (RV 'box-wood') is concealed in AV by a false division of the word in MT;⁴ the second clause most probably means 'thy deck they have made of ivory inlaid in *box-wood* from Cyprus' (see C. H. EFFINGHAM).

It is clear from Is. 60. 13 that קשר was a familiar tree in the forest growth of Lebanon; and this favours the identification with the box (*Buxus longifolia*), which grows there as a small tree about 20 ft. high (Tristram, *NHB*, 339). In support of this Rosenmüller (*Mineral. and Bot. of Bible* [ET], 301 f.) aptly compares Verg. *Æn.* 10. 137 ('quale per artem inclusum buxo . . . lucet æbur') with Ezek. 27.6.⁵ Others (Ges.⁶, Bu.⁷) have thought that the latter reference rather points to a pine tree, so often used in antiquity for ship-building; but קשר is at least distinct from קרן (fir) and קרן (pine?), along with which it is twice mentioned in Is. 40-66.

The *sherbini*, according to Tristram (*Is.*) is *Juniperus phoenicea*, and in the Survey of W. Palestine he expressly says of this *non vidi*; nor does it, according to the authorities, grow on Lebanon. It seems non-possible that the *sherbini* is *Juniperus oxycedrus*, which is known to grow on Lebanon.

On the whole there seems no sufficient reason for abandoning the tradition that קשר is the box.

N. M. — W. T. T. D.

BOZEZ (בֹּזֶזַע; ΒΑΖΕC [B].) — [L.] and **Seneh** (נֶזֶה; CENNAAP [BL]), two rocky points, one on the N. the other on the S. side of the Michmash gorge (r S. 144, f. 1). See MICHMASH.

BOZKATH, and 2 K. 22. 17 AV BOZATH (בֹּזְאֵת; BUB) Lex. quotes Ar. *bozkath*, an elevated region covered with volcanic stones). One of the towns of the lowland of Judah mentioned between Lachish and Eglon, but as

1 Θ 's rendering of Is. 41. 19 is so defective that it is impossible to tell which Greek word represents קשר; but in 60. 13 it is κέδρος [BRAQ]. Aq. and The. simply transliterate (θεσσαρα); Syr. has θεσσα in chap. 41 and θεσσα in 60. 13 (unless θεσσα is out of its order). Pesh. also is defective in Is. 41. 19, giving for קשר קשר simply 'goodly cypresses' (*karvavini*), while in Is. 60. 13 קשר is rendered 'cypresses'. Targ. has in both places קשר, 'box trees' (so the Jewish commentators); Vg. renders *buxus* in 41. 19, but *pinus* in 60. 13.

² See especially N. S., in *ZfN* 10. 103, 104; Habel, *ibid.* 46-531 [90]; Lag. *Übers.* 143. N. S. connects all Heb. derivatives of קשר with the single root (meaning 'to go' or 'step') which appears in Ar. *ithr* and Syr. *athra*; Hommel still maintains a second root, akin to קשר, Ar. *yasara*; while Lagarde explains קשר (Ps. 1 etc.) by invoking a third Ar. root *aiara*.

³ P. 27 of his tract 'Ueber einige phonik. Tuschriften' (in *Ahamit*, II, *Abhandl. Vordruck* d. B. des. an. Gott. 30).

⁴ Löw (387 f.) holds that the two Syr. words do not mean quite the same tree; that the former is *Juniperus oxycedrus*; the latter (Gem. in form *šarbinā*) is the ordinary cypress *Cupressus sempervirens*; but he does not make out a clear case. Boissier (*Flora Orientalis*, 5. 705) has under *Cupressus sempervirens* as a locality—'Persia borealis in montanis *thi Sa'avi Kuku* audit'. This looks as if it might be philologically akin to *yasara* and *šerbinu*.

⁵ For קשר קשר read קשר קשר.

⁶ According to Sir Joseph Hooker the wood of *Buxus longifolia* is still prized in Damascus for making domestic utensils and inlaid wood.

yet unidentified (Josh. 15. 3; פֶּשֶׁת־בְּרַחַב [B].) — אֶרְבָּאֵל [L.] פֶּשֶׁת־בְּרַחַב [A]. A certain Adahai (r) of Bozath was the grandfather of King Josiah (2 K. 22; — אֶרְבָּאֵל [B. A.]).

BOZRAH (בֹּזְרָה). § 100; Βοζροπᾶ [BAD in Gen. Ch.], Βοζορ [BRAQT in Is.].

Elsewhere Θ translates: ἐν πόσει αἰνός [BRAQ], Jer. 49. 1; ἀρραβυθία αἰνός [BRAQ], 7. 20; τρεχόμο αἰνός [BAQ], Am. 1. 12; ἐν θαλάσῃ [BAQ], Mic. 2. 12.

1. A capital of the land of Edom (Am. 1. 12 Is. 34. 6 63. 1; ¹ *βόρα* [Q⁹⁸]; Jer. 49. 12), also mentioned in Gen. 36. 33 [Zarapat], 1.], Gen. 36. 32 (f. 144 *βόρα*, [L.]) as the city of Jobab b. Zerah, king of Edom, and less certainly, though still probably, under the name MIRZAR (q. v.) in Gen. 36. 42. All these passages may be exilic or even post-exilic; but it is hardly safe to infer that Bozrah was not known to the Jews before the Exile; indeed, Gen. 36. 33 may be ultimately derived from a pre-exilic document. Bozrah is the *Bozor* (βόσορ) of OS² 232.58 102.18, described as 'in the mountains of Idumaea'. It seems to be the modern *Buseire*, in the district of Jebel (Gabal) northward from Petra, and 2½ hours SSW. from Tafleeh, called 'little Bozrah' to distinguish it from the more famous Bozrah in the Haurān. So Buhl, *Edomiter*, 37; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1. 31 3f.

2. (Jer. 48. 24.) See BEZER, ii. T. K. C.

BRACELETS. Bracelets were worn to protect the exposed parts of the arm and hand against physical injury, and as amulets against the malign influences which were believed to affect the organs of action (WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 453). They served also as ornaments. They were made of gold (Gen. 24. 22 Nu. 31. 50); but doubtless, like other ancient peoples, the Hebrews employed other less precious materials, as horn and enamelled earthenware. Signet rings were sometimes worn round the wrist (see RING). Bracelets were worn by men and women; the finer forms were among the insignia of royalty and the adornments of brides (for references see below).

Five words may first be considered.

Of these we may first of all reject two words, (1) קָטָל (Ex. 25. 22), and (2) קָטָל (Gen. 38. 18 25), which are wrongly rendered 'bracelet' in AV. See HOSKOT, 2; RISS, § 12 and esp. 124.

3. קָטָל, *qatal* (Gen. 24. 22, etc.; Nu. 31. 50; Ex. 19. 13; EV 'bracelets', Θ $\phi\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$); cp Ass. *qamdu*, to bind on; the same root appears in the Heb. קָטָל, *gamdu*. Golden קָטָל, weighing ten shekels, were given to Rehekah by Eleazar, who placed them on both her hands. So in Ezek. 60. 13, the bracelets are worn on both hands. In Nu. (*Ec.*), קָטָל is conjoined with אֶזְרָיִתָּה, and the Commentators mostly explain the former as an ornament for the wrist, the latter for the upper part of the arm. Targ. usually renders 'ז' by קָטָל, 'chains'. The form of these bracelets varied, a favourite device being the serpent. On Egyptian bracelets see Wilk., *Anc. Eg.* 2. 342; on Assyrian, Per. and Chipr., *Art in Chaldee*, 2. 257, and see fig. 241.

4. קָטָל, *qatāh*, Is. 3. 19 (EV 'bracelets', RV⁹⁸ 'chain'; Targ. $\phi\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$, 'chains of the hands'). Cp modern Arabic ornament *šawār* (Fränk. 56). The root is קָטָל, to twist. Perhaps a row of spirals made of twisted gold is meant. In the Mishnah $\phi\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$ is applied to chains round the necks of horses and also to bracelets worn by women.

5. אֶזְרָיִתָּה, *ezra'itah*. This word occurs in MT in Nu. 31. 50 (AV 'chains', RV 'ankle-chains') and 2 S. 1. 10 (EV 'bracelet'; Θ in both places $\chi\lambda\alpha\delta\alpha\upsilon$). Wellhausen's suggestion to render אֶזְרָיִתָּה, after Is. 3. 20, has been widely accepted; but Nestle (*Marg.* 15) defends MT and supposes that Saul was despoiled by the Amalekites of only one of the several bracelets that he wore. Budge in *SBOT* accepts Wellhausen's correction, but (on the basis of Nu. 31. 50) regards אֶזְרָיִתָּה as also possible. That kings went into battle with various ornaments is well attested (see CROWN); this is further supported by 1 K. 22. 39. It may be that Saul's bracelet contained his signet (King, *Antique Gems*, 1. 38). As with Saul, so with Josiah, the crown and bracelet are associated as royal insignia if (with We.) אֶזְרָיִתָּה is read for אֶזְרָיִתָּה, 2 K. 1. 12 (WRS, *OTTC* 241, 10).

¹ Text doubtful: see TEXT, § 64; and cp *SBOT* [Heb.] and *loc.*

Kimhi, however, obtained much the same sense by connecting קִימִי with קִי , 'ornament.' The Targum on 2 S. 110 renders קִימִי as קִימִי , which is usually applied to the phylactery (Dt. 6.8). A phylactery was, however, also worn on the left arm. קִי is apparently connected with קִימִי (occurring only in Is. 5.20), into which We.'s emendation reduces קִימִי . If the arrangement in Is. 318-23 is suggested by the natural order of the parts of the body, קִימִי may be an ornament rather of the arm than of the leg. Barth, *NB* 151, compares Ar. 'adud, 'arm,' which removes some of the difficulty presented by the usual derivation from קִי , to step or walk. See, however, ANKLETS.

BRAMBLE has in EV three meanings.

1. רִמְסֵי (*rīmāyos, rhamnus*); Gen. 50.10 f. (EV ATAD as in (Θ)) Judg. 9.14 f., EV 'brambles,' and Ps. 58.9 [10], EV 'thorns.' It is a genuine Semitic word, found also in W. Aramaic as רִמְסֵי or רִמְסֵי in Syriac as ħattā^1 (ħ *ħattā*), in Arabic as *atād* (*ligna rhamni nigri*, Fr.), and in Assyrian as *etidu, etidū* (Ges.-Bu., s.v.). The root with which it appears to be connected (רִמַּס) has in Arabic the sense of 'uttering a rushing, though not loud, sound'; and the possibility of a connection with the sense of pricking or tearing like a thorn is apparent. There is general agreement that *rāmūs* was about equivalent to the modern botanical genus *Rhamnus*. Dioscorides² distinguished three sorts (cp Fraas, *Syn. Plant. Flor. Class.*); while in modern times Tristram (*FEP* 264 f.) has enumerated sixteen species of *Rhamnus* as found in Palestine.

Perhaps the most likely identification for רִמְסֵי is with *Rhamnus palestinae* (Boiss.), which represents in Syria the *R. oleoides* of Greece and S. Europe.

2. חִיט , *hīṣā*, very frequent; EV usually 'thorn' or 'thistle,' AV once (Is. 34.13) 'bramble.' It denotes a plant of the thorn or perhaps of the thistle kind: see THORN.

3. בָּרוֹס , which occurs seven times in Θ (in six of these as the rendering of רִמְסֵי) and five times in NT, is once (Lk. 6.44) rendered 'bramble bush,' elsewhere BUSH (*q.v.*, § 1 (1)).

N. M.—W. T. T. D.

BRAN (דָּא פוּרְטַרָא [BAQ]). The 'burning of bran for incense' (*θεομωσαυ τ. π.*; to Mylitta?) is mentioned in Bar. 6 (Ep. Jer.) 43 [42] as one of the incidents in the unchaste idolatrous worship of the women of Babylon. See INCENSE, § 8.

BRASEN SEA (יַם הַנְּהוּשָׁת), 2 K. 25.13; see LAVER; SEA, BRAZEN.

BRASEN SERPENT ($\text{נָחִשׁ הַנְּהוּשָׁת}$), 2 K. 18.4. See NEHUSHTAN, § 2.

BRASSIER (רִחָא), Jer. 36.22 f. RV. See COAL, § 3.

BRASS, or **BRASEN**, EV's rendering of נְחֹשֶׁת , *n'chōsheth* (Gen. 4.22 and often), נְחֹשֶׁת , *n'chōsheth* (Job 6.12), נְחֹשֶׁת , *n'chōsheth* (Lev. 26.19, etc.), נְחֹשֶׁת , *n'chōsheth* (Dan. 2.32 etc.), ΧΑΛΚΟΣ (Mt. 10.9, 1 Cor. 13.1, Rev. 18.12), and ΧΑΛΚΙΟΝ (Mk. 7.4).

EV invariably renders thus except in Ezra 8.27 AV (see COPPER), in 2 S. 22.35 AV, where נְחֹשֶׁת , *n'chōsheth*, is rendered 'steel,' and in Jer. 15.12 AV has 'steel,' see IRON, § 2; cp 2 Tim. 4.14, where χαλκείος is 'coppersmith.' In Gen. 4.22 RVing gives '*cupber*, and so elsewhere' as a note on 'brass.' In Ezek. 1.7 יָסֵד נְחֹשֶׁת is rightly rendered 'burnished brass' ($\text{Ἰσίδαστραβῆντος χαλκός}$; Tg. below), as also is χαλκοίβαρος (in Rev. 11.5 218). In Ezra 8.27 נְחֹשֶׁת is qualified by the epithet קִימִי (RV 'bright'), which we should probably point קִימִי-קִימִי , 'glittering' (in Tg. Ezek. 1.7 for הִלָּל , 'polished'). מְרִקָה , which follows (EV 'fine'), arises out of dittography, and should not be rendered (Che.).

That copper is meant is shown by the words, 'out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass' (Dt. 8.9); cp the chapter in Holland's *Pliny* (1601), headed 'Mines of Brass.' See COPPER and cp EGYPT, § 36 end.

¹ This the Syriac lexicographers render into Arabic as *ausaf*, which means a 'thorny shrub' (this is the right meaning of our word *brambles*, see Sleant, s.v.).

² From the absence of loudness in the sound is derived the sense of Heb. נְחֹשֶׁת —properly a 'whisper,' and thence 'softness,' 'stiffness.' See also DIVINATION, § 4, iv.

³ It should be noticed that the *Actuarium ad Dioscoridem* confirms the identification of רִמְסֵי and רָמוּס by the gloss Ῥάμοιο Ἀφροί ('Africans'—i.e., probably Carthaginians) *Ῥαβίω*.

BREAD. From the earliest times of which we have any record, bread was the principal article of food among the Hebrews, a fact which explains the use of לֶחֶם both for bread and

1. **Preparation.** for food in general. The primitive custom of making the ears of wheat and barley more palatable by the simple process of roasting (קָלִי , 'parched corn'; 1 S. 17.17, etc.) was still common in historical times. For the preparation of bread, however, the ears must be crushed or ground so as to admit of being kneaded into a paste. In early times the flour was produced by crushing the ears between two stones (see illustrations of these primitive 'corn-grinders' found in Palestine in Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, 85), a process common in Egypt under the Old Empire and later (see Erman's *Egypt*, 190), and still practised in the East. The mortar and pestle were a later development. The preparation of flour by pounding the ears in a mortar (מִדְּבָרָה , Nu. 11.8) is a familiar scene on Egyptian monuments. The flour obtained by these processes must have been of a coarser grain (עֲרֵבָה) than that procured by the use of the handmill (מִתְּנֵי ; see MILL). A still finer quality than the ordinary עֲרֵבָה was named סֶלֶם (see FOOD, § 3 [d]).

In the earliest times bread was entirely unleavened. The requisite quantity of flour or barley-meal, which varied, naturally, according to the size of the household, was placed in a shallow wooden basin (שֶׁטְרָחָה ; Ex. 7.28)—earthenware, for obvious reasons, is little used by nomads—well mixed with water and kneaded. Salt was no doubt added when procurable (cp Lev. 2.13 b). When the kneading was completed, the dough (קֶצֶב) was ready for the firing. Cakes thus prepared were named קֶצֶב , 'unleavened cakes,' and these still form the usual bread of the Bedouin. In a more advanced stage of society, the bread was made in this way only in cases of emergency (Gen. 19.3), or for purposes of ritual, as at the Passover. The ordinary bread of the Hebrews was made lighter by fermentation. A small piece of to-day's 'batch' was laid aside, and when the time for the next baking arrived this piece of leaven (שֶׂמֶרֶת) was broken down into the water in the שֶׁטְרָחָה , the flour was mixed therewith, and the whole thoroughly kneaded and allowed to stand 'till the whole was leavened.'

The next stage is the process of firing, or rendering the dough more digestible by the
2. **Firing:** the dough more digestible by the kinds of cakes firing of heat. Three modes of firing are found in the OT, as in the East at the present day.

(a) The simplest method is that still in use among the Bedouin. A fire of wood, or of wood mixed with camel's dung, is kindled on the sand, or on temporary hearthstones. When these have been well heated, the embers are raked aside, and the flat pieces of dough laid on the hot stones and covered with the ashes just removed. After a few minutes, the ashes are again raked aside, the cakes turned, and the ashes replaced. In a few minutes more the cakes are ready (see Rob. *BR* 2.16 f., Doughty, *Arab. Des.* 1.131 etc.). Such 'a cake baked on the coals' was termed עֲרֵבָה (קֶצֶב) (1 K. 19.6; cp Gen. 18.6. 78, Ἐβραῖα, ἔγκυρφοίς , by the Vg. correctly rendered *panis subcinericius*, 'ash cakes').

(b) A second mode of firing bread is one which in vogue at the present day among Bedouin and fellāhin alike. A girdle or thin iron plate (מִתְּנֵי בְרִילִי ; Lev. 2.5 Ezek. 4.3, Ἐβραῖα ἄγγυρον), slightly convex in shape, is laid over a small fire-pit, in which a fire has been kindled as before, and on this plate or girdle the cakes are fired. Its Syrian name is ساذ (Landberg, *Prov. et Dict. du Peuple Arabe*, 14). Cakes baked in this way

seem to have been called by the Hebrews חֲתָמִים (1 Ch. 9:11).

(c) The most usual mode of firing, however, especially in towns, was no doubt by means of the oven (תּוֹר). The *tannūr*, then as now, was a large earthenware jar in the bottom of which the fire was placed. As represented on Egyptian monuments, the cakes were fired by being applied to the *outside* of the jar (Wilkinson 234; Erman, *Egypt*, 191). The usual method at the present day, however, is to allow the fire to burn down, and, while the embers are still glowing, to apply the cake to the *inside* of the jar. The dough is first pressed into flat round cakes (like a Scotch *bannock*); each of these in its turn is made to revolve by a rapid movement of the hands, till it has expanded to a diameter of about 18 inches, and become as thin as a sheet of thick paper. It is then laid on a cushion, by means of which it is applied to the wall of the *tannūr*. These thin wafer-cakes are called in the OT חֲתָמִים (in Syria, *markik*). The *tannūr* may be larger, and consist of a pit, wider at the bottom and narrowing towards the top, plastered with clay. The ovens used by the bakers of the street in Jerusalem named after them (Jer. 37:21) were probably of this sort. (For further details see FURNACE, 5).

The preparation of the daily supply of bread for the household was essentially the care of the women (Gen. 18:6 1 S. 28:24 etc.). In the wealthier households this duty would devolve on slaves, male and female (1 S. 8:13). In later times baking became a special trade in the cities (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9), and especially in Jerusalem (see above and cp the 'oven tower', Neh. 3:11 12:38), where the large influx of pilgrims at the great festivals would promote the industry.

It is impossible now to identify the various species of cakes mentioned in the OT. If to those mentioned in the course of this article we add רֶבֶב the ordinary round cake or *bannock* (1 S. 2:26), and חֲתָמִים, the etymology of which points to its being pricked or perforated, like the modern passover cakes, we have exhausted the varieties that can be identified with any approach to certainty. See further BAKEMEATS, also FOOD, §§ 1-3.

A. R. S. K.

BREAKFAST (ΑΠΙΚΤΟΝ [TE. WHI], Lk. 11:35; KJV: See MIMALS, § 2.

BREASTPLATE, COAT OF MAIL (שָׁרְיָן [שָׁרְיָן] 1 K. 22:34 Is. 59:17, שָׁרְיָן or שָׁרְיָן Jer. 46:4 51:3, Syr. [ܫܪܝܢ]). We find the *Siryón* mentioned as part of the defensive armour of Goliath and David. That it was commonly worn by Israelite kings is evident from 1 K. 22:34 (2 Ch. 18:33). In the description of Goliath's armour in 1 S. 17:5 ('coat-of-mail' EV) the addition of the word קַסְקֵסָתָא to שָׁרְיָן gives a valuable clue: Goliath's coat of mail was covered with bronze scales.

This meaning is identified by Dr. Lag (Lev. 11:9), where קַסְקֵסָתָא denotes the scales of a fish. Moreover, it is derived from a root, קָסַת, that signifies rubbing or peeling off. Ar. *kaśīa* in conj. iv. expresses the peeling off of skin during recovery from disease.¹

The weight of Goliath's armour, according to 1 S. 17:5, was 5000 shekels, which may be roughly computed as about 200 lbs. The close intercourse that there was between Egypt and Philistia² makes it not improbable

¹ In Job 41:11 the word שָׁרְיָן (Syr. *Arj.*) is taken by G. Vg., and Targum as = שָׁרְיָן, and modern comm., including Ew., have adopted this view. Some colour is given to this interpretation by v. 15 (Heb.), which describes the scales of Leviathan, which the coat of mail of the enemy might be held to resemble; but this is too slight as an argument. The immediate context suggests a connection of שָׁרְיָן, and if 1 S. 17:5 is correct in translating the preceding ἀρ. λέγ. שָׁרְיָן by δόρυ we have a fair presumption that Del. is right in comparing Ar. *Siryón* or *Siryatón*, 'pointed dart' or 'arrow', with the word שָׁרְיָן in this passage (so RV). Duhn follows Hoffm. and reads שָׁרְיָן 'javelin', cp Syr. *šdhaihd*.

² Meyer, *G. A.*, 229 ff., 238 ff., 298.

that the heavy coat of mail worn by Goliath resembled the Egyptian cuirass worn by a royal personage, in which yellow, blue, red, and green metallic scales were tastefully arranged in symmetrical rows (Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, Abth. 156). Wilkinson has described the Egyptian cuirass as consisting of about 'eleven horizontal rows of metal plates well secured by bronze pins.' At 'the hollow of the throat a narrower range of plates was introduced. The breadth of each plate or scale was little more than an inch, twelve of them sufficing to cover the front of the body, and the sleeves, which were sometimes so short as to extend less than half-way to the elbow, consisted of two rows of similar plates.'

The Assyrian warriors in earlier times wore a heavy coat of mail covering the entire body with the exception of the arms. Occasionally the coat of mail did not reach farther than the knees. In later times the leading warriors were protected by jackets made of leather or of stout material, on which metal plates were sewn or riveted (or they were provided with iron or bronze studs). Broad girdles were used for tying in the long coats of mail. Upon a bas-relief, from Nimrud, portrayed in Layard's work we see an Assyrian chariot in which the Bowman is mail-clad even around his neck and ears. It is not improbable that Ahab wore a heavy coat of mail somewhat resembling the Assyrian (but shorter), as we know that he took every precaution for personal protection.

The statement that he was mortally wounded by an arrow which pierced 'between שָׁרְיָן and the coat of mail' has been variously interpreted. שָׁרְיָן בֵּין הַמַּחְסֵי הַחַיָּטוֹת אֲרָוֶה does not yield any satisfactory sense. The use of שָׁרְיָן in Is. 47 (שָׁרְיָן אֲרָוֶה) and the fundamental signification of the root, point to 'links' as a probable rendering, if it could yield any adequate sense in the context. Thénius and other authorities follow Luther in holding that what is meant here is an attachment or appendage to the coat of mail. The coat of mail protected the breast, whereas the appendage guarded the lower portion of the body, and the arrow penetrated through the interval that separated them (so Richm. *HWT*). This appears to be the only intelligible explanation, and etymology warrants the rendering of the word שָׁרְיָן by 'attachments' or 'appendages' (i.e., to the cuirass).

Respecting the coats of mail or corsets with which Uzziah is said to have provided his troops (2 Ch. 26:14) we have not definite information or any sufficient clue to guide us. The corsets (AV 'brigandines') which Jeremiah (46:4) bids the cavalry of Pharaoh Necho put on may have consisted of some thick woven material covered with metal scales; but here, as in the case of Neh. 4:16 [10], we are left in much uncertainty. For Neh. 4:16 [10] a useful hint may be derived from Herod. 7:63, where we learn that the Syrian (or Assyrian) contingent of Xerxes' army wore *ἀλνεία θώρακες*, which were probably close-fitting sleeveless jackets of course felt. Probably the *tahrā* (תַּחְרָא) AV 'halbergeon,' RV 'coat-of-mail,' of Ex. 28:32 (cp 39:23, both passages from P), was a corset of this character.

Etymology here does not help us as the word is from the Aramaic root, מָצַח (ethpal 'to fight') and therefore means simply 'fighting garb.' Targ. Onk. renders it שָׁרְיָן, 'breastplate.' 2 (Ex. 28:25) is based on another text. Knobel is on the right track when he says in his comment (cited by H., *ad loc.*): 'We are reminded of the *λευσθώρας* of the Greeks (*Il.* 2:529 8:39). Egypt excelled in its manufacture.'

In the Greek period (300 B.C. and later), the ordinary heavy-armed soldiers wore coats of fine iron chain-mail (*θώραξ ἀλυσθώρας*), a series of links connected into a continuous chain (Rich).

It is significant that 2 gives this interpretation in 1 S. 17:5, and we may conclude from 1 Macc. 6:35 that during the entire Greek period this was the kind of cuirass usually worn. What form of breastplate was pictured before Paul's imagination as a symbol for the righteousness of a Christian warrior (Eph. 6:14, cp Is. 59:17 and 1 Macc. 5:8)—whether a corset of scale armour (column of Antoninus), or a cuirass of 'broad metal plates across the chest and long flexible bands

(*lamina*) of steel over the shoulders' (depicted on the column of Trajan)—can only be conjectured. Excellent woodcuts representing both may be found in Rich's *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiquities*. Compare also Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. O. C. W.

BREASTPLATE, Priestly (כִּפְתָּרִית; Ex. 28:4. ΠΕΡΙΣΤΗΘΙΟΝ [BAL]; elsewhere to ΛΟΡΙΘΝΟΝ [BAF], ΤΟ ΛΟΡΙΘΝΟΝ [L], 'oracle'; but twice [Ex. 28:6 (7) 35:8 (9)] כִּפְתָּרִית has ΠΟΔΗΡΗΣ where MT has כִּפְתָּרִית) or **BREASTPLATE OF JUDGMENT** (כִּפְתָּרִית הַמִּשְׁפָּט, Ex. 28:15; Λ ΤΩΝ ΚΡΙΣΕΩΝ [BAL]; often in Ⓢ), an object worn on the ephod of the High Priest. It seems to have been a square piece attached by its corners to the shoulder-straps of the ephod (see EPHOD, § 3) and of like material—probably a species of pocket whose outer side was adorned with precious stones. The etymology of the word is uncertain.

Di. rejects the probable derivation from the root *hasuna*, 'to be beautiful,' and would prefer to connect it with כָּפַר, *sinus* or 'fold' in which something is carried; cp Ewald, *Alterth.* 300. On the stones in the breastplate, see PRECIOUS STONES, and cp URBEM AND TRUMMEN, and NOWACK, *II.* 2:119.

O. C. W.

BREECHES, in the proper usage of the word, denotes the divided garment reaching from the waist to just below the knees, equivalent to the Lat. *feminalia* and Gr. ΠΕΡΙΚΕΛΗ, as distinguished from *bracæ* (*bracæ*) or ΑΝΑΖΥΡΙΔΕΣ, which reached to the ankles—the garment ordinarily denoted by the word 'hosen' at the time when the AV was made. The earliest form of the garment seems to have been simply a loin cloth (cp GIRDLE, 1). Generally, however, the long mantle worn in the East made a special covering for the legs unnecessary, and even the warriors who are depicted upon the monuments with their short tunics have the leg below the knee wholly bare with the exception of sandals. Noteworthy, on the other hand, are the lacings which protect the shins and knees of the follower of Ashur-bani-pal (Per. and Chip., *Art in Chald.* ii. pl. x.); see further SHOES. Breeches, in fact, seem to be a distinctively Persian dress (see Herod. 1:71 761), and do not appear to have been known among the Israelites—at all events not before the exile.¹ Apart from the characteristic priestly כִּנְיֹוֹתִים (see below, 3), garments of this nature are mentioned only in Dan. 3:21 [E.V.].

1. סַבְּלָי, *sarbāl* (Dan. 3:21 27†), RV 'hosen,'² supported by a consensus of opinion (Theod., Aq., Sym. Pesh., Hi., Ew., Behrmann, etc.).

In this case the word is derived from Gr. σαρβάρια, σαρβαλλία (*Arg. Ger. Abh.* 207, Frä. *Arum. Lexico.* 48), probably of Pers. origin (cp mod. Pers. *shatwār*). In Targ. and Talm., on the other hand, סַבְּלָי originally not connected with the above denotes a 'mantle'; so Jewish exegetes (Aben-Ezra, etc.) and AV ('coats,' mg. 'mantles') in this passage.

For more than one reason the AV is probably better. 'Coats' or 'mantles' suits the climax in v. 27, which describes the powerlessness of the fire over the Three, better than RV—their bodies were uninjured; nor was their hair singed; their mantles (flowing loose robes, easily inflammable) were unchanged, nor had the smell of fire passed on them.

2. פְּשִׁיטִים, *paššīṭī*, in פְּשִׁיטוֹתָם (or rather פְּשִׁיטוֹתָם [Bä. Gi.]), Dan. 3:21, is an exceedingly obscure term for which are offered such diverse renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'tunics' (RV), 'turbans' (RV¹⁹⁰²).

'Turbans' may be safely dismissed as unphilological and improbable (see TURBAN); for the rest cp Syr. ܦܫܝܬܐ (a) Persian tunic (cp RV) (b) breeches, also a kind of leggings (cp AV); see Payne-Smith, *Theas.* The Jew.-Aram. פְּשִׁיטִים occurs in only one passage independent of Dan. 3:21, and apparently denotes some-

¹ Much later, in the Roman period, *bracæ*, *feminalia*, and *fasces* all found their way into Julia (Büchi, *Taschenat.* d. *Juden.* 87).

² Evidently retained in its older sense. The modern 'hosen is applied to stockings.

thing worn upon the feet; but the text is probably corrupt (see Levy, *NHWB.* 350. פְּשִׁיטִים), although Kohut (*Aruch Completum.* s.v. פְּשִׁיטִים) argues for its authenticity. It is not improbable that פְּשִׁיטִים is a gloss to פְּשִׁיטִים; this is indirectly suggested by the philological evidence and the versions (Ⓢ¹⁹⁰² reads only *two* of the three terms), and is directly supported by quotations in the old Latin fathers. For a discussion of פְּשִׁיטִים and פְּשִׁיטִים, see further *Journal.* 1901, 26:307 ff. (94).

3. The priestly linen breeches (כִּנְיֹוֹתִית [כִּנְיֹוֹתִית] to cover, hide), ΠΕΡΙΚΕΛΗ ΛΙΝΑ, *feminalia*, Pesh. transliterates ΠΕΡΙΣΤΗΘΙΟΝ were to be worn along with the holy linen coat, the linen girdle, and the linen turban by Aaron on the Day of Atonement as he entered the holy place within the curtain (Lev. 16:4 [P]). It is probably by an oversight that they are specially mentioned in Ecclus. 45:8 along with the long robe and ephod (or rather the *kutiōneth* and *me'il*; so Heb.) as part of his 'apparel of honour.' Ordinary priests also wore them on sacrificial occasions (Ex. 28:42 39:28 Lev. 6:10 [3] [all P], Ezek. 44:18 [the *b'nē Zadok*]).

According to Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 71) the *μαναχάσθην* (Niese) was a girdle (διάσθην) of fine twisted linen. It was the undermost of the priestly garments and possibly the most primitive, since the older law of Ex. 20:26 (JE according toanson, E1) seems to imply that the wearing of the garment was not originally compulsory for priest or layman. The change seems to be due to a primitive conception of holiness. Clothes which had come in contact with a holy place or function became taboo (*Ar. harim*), and therefore useless in ordinary life. The way to avoid this misfortune was to perform holy ceremonies naked (just as the Hebrews made the sacred circuit of the Kaaba at Mecca in a nude condition), or in holy vestments borrowed from the priests (cp 2 K. 10:22). The law of Ex. 20:26 is apparently aimed against the former custom (for which see further WRS, *RS*⁽²⁾ 451 f.). See DRESS, PRIEST. I. A.—S. A. C.

BRETHREN OF JESUS (Mt. 12:47 Mk. 3:32 Lk. 8:20).

See CLOPANS, § 3 f., JAMIS, § 3, SIMON, 4.

BRICK (בְּרִיקָה), derived by Ges. from בָּרַן, 'to be white,' as if bricks were originally made of a whitish clay; but this is a forced etymology; Ⓢ

1. Of the Hebrews ΠΑΙΝΘΟΣ.² The Hebrew word for brick is not limited to sun-dried bricks. There is no doubt, however, that the Israelites, like most Eastern nations, used this kind almost exclusively; in Gen. 11:3 burning bricks is mentioned as a foreign custom, analogous to the use of asphalt (see BITUMEN) for mortar, and we may safely disregard EV's rendering 'brickkiln' in 2 S. 12:31, Nah. 3:14.³ Sun-dried bricks of a very early period have been found in Palestine; burnt bricks seem to date generally from the Roman period. It will be remembered that the houses of the mass of the Israelites were made of sun-dried clay (see HOUSE); it was of the same material that their bricks were composed.⁴

The true countries of brick-makers and brick-builders were Egypt⁵ and Mesopotamia. In Egypt, not only all houses, but also all palaces, many tombs (including several of the smaller pyramids), and some temples, were constructed of Nile-mud bricks.

The representations of brick-making which are to be found in Egyptian wall-pictures are very instructive.

2. **Brick-making** They not only show the process with great clearness, but also illustrate most vividly the serfdom of the Israelites on Egyptian ground. The most famous picture, for example, represents foreigners—chiefly of a Semitic type—at work,

¹ We are reminded of the manner in which the Ar. *misar* has evolved from the simple *isār*; see GIRDLE, 1.

² Some scholars consider ΠΑΙΝΘΟΣ, the Greek term for brick, to have been borrowed by the Greeks from the Phœnicians in the form *κῆθρον* [ἵπῆ]. Ass. *ibhītu*, seems to come from *ibhānu*, 'to throw down flat'; see LIBNAH, and cp Del. *Prod.* 93 f.

³ See the commentaries of Driver, H. P. Smith and Löhr on 2 S. 12:31, and on the whole passage see DAVID, § 11, c. ii. RV at Jer. 48:9 alters the unintelligible 'brickkiln' of AV into 'brick-work.'

⁴ Altars, also, were made of earth; cp the obscure Is. 65:3 (see SACRIFICE). On the law in Ex. 20:25 (E?) see ALTAR, § 2.

⁵ Cp the fact that the Eg. word for brick, *abek*, Coptic *waβe*, took root in Asia; cp Arabic *tuβ* (whence Ethiopic *tuβ*, Span. *adobe*).

superintended by Egyptian 'task masters' armed with sticks.

The analogy to the labour of Israel as described in Ex. 1 is so striking that many writers have ventured to regard the picture as referring to the circumstances with which that people dealt. The scene, however, represents 'brick-making for the great magazine in Eastern Thebes' (Opel, *mod. Karnak*), and the explanatory legend states that the labourers are 'captives brought by his majesty (Dhutmose or Thotmes III.) for work on the temple of Amun'; many (not the majority) of the working men seem to be African captives.

The picture illustrates the whole process of brick-making.

We see the labourers hoeing the ground with the wooden Egyptian hoe (see AGRICULTURE, fig. 3), carrying the black earth (Nile-mud deposited at the annual inundation) to baskets¹ to a clean (sandy?) place, moistening it with water taken from shallow ponds, evidently at some distance from the Nile, and kneading it with their feet. The wooden moulding-frame is filled with material of the right consistency, and emptied on the ground; then the square heaps of mud, placed in rows side by side, are left to dry.²

These Egyptian bricks were usually twice the size of our modern ones. Many of them (from dynasty 18

3. Egyptian brick. onwards) were stamped with the name of a king, to show that they belonged to public buildings; sometimes the stamp shows the name of the building, and sometimes in addition to this the name of the officer charged with the construction of the building.³ Stamps as well as moulds have been preserved to modern times, and bricks with the name of Ramesses II., 'the Pharaoh of the oppression' (but see EGYPT, § 58 ff.), are shown in our museums. We often find chopped straw or reed mixed with the mud to make it more consistent and to prevent cracking during the drying. According to Ex. 5:18 the pharaoh showed his malice by doubling the work of the Israelites. Apparently we are to understand that, instead of furnishing straw from the royal domains and from the magazines of a fifth part of the other fields, he forced the oppressed strangers to gather the straw from the fields themselves. This, however, they could not well accomplish during their scanty leisure time; besides, the stalks were used (and are still used) as fodder, especially when not quite dry. Nor is it any easier to see how they could get old straw of the previous year (from the refuse heaps of farmyards, etc.) in quantities sufficient for their 'tale of bricks.' For the rest, we frequently find not only foreign captives, but also the Egyptian serfs, referred to in Egyptian texts as making bricks under constraint.

We now turn to the second brick-building country—Mesopotamia. Owing to the scarcity of stone in

4. Babylonian. Babylonia proper, brick was the only building material, stone being reserved for the ornamentation of edifices, and the construction of certain parts, such as the threshold (see BABYLONIA, § 15). Whilst in Egypt rain is so scarce that buildings of sun-dried brick have a certain durability, the climate of Babylonia is less favourable. The Babylonians, accordingly, made their constructions more solid. They built walls of an enormous thickness: for example, the great enclosure of Babylon which Nebuchadrezzar erected with the clay dug from the ditch of the city (cp BABYLON, § 5). Moreover, their unfavourable climate forced the Babylonians, though wood was at least as scarce in their country as in Egypt, to use burnt bricks, especially for the outer layers of their thick walls. This led to a high development of the art of glazing and colouring bricks. We find large walls covered with elaborate paintings, whilst in Egypt such enamelled

¹ [Does the phrase, 'his hands were freed from the basket' (Ps. 116 [17] RV); 'task-basket,' De Witt, refer to these baskets? Cp Del. *ad loc.*; but 117 is open to grave suspicion (see Che. *Th. 27* p. 104).]

² The Egyptian method of representing objects in perspective is likely to give the impression that the bricks are placed one above another.

³ It has been inferred from this stamp that the government manufactured bricks for sale, and even that it had a brick-monopoly; but this is very improbable.

tiles were used much more rarely and always on a smaller scale. Crude bricks, however, sometimes of enormous size and always without straw, were the common material, especially in the earlier times. Hence we have brick stamps with, for example, the name of such old kings as Sargon of Agadé and Naram-sin.

In Nineveh, sun-dried bricks seem to have been the building material in general use. On Ezek. 4:1, which mentions Ezekiel as portraying the siege of Jerusalem on clay-tables, see Ezek. *Spirit* [Eng. 2], p. 98 ff.

W. M. M.

BRICKKILN (בִּרְכִּילָן), 2 S. 12:1; Nah. 3:14 and (RV Brickwork) Jer. 43:9. See above, § 1.

BRIDE (הַרְמָוֶה) Is. 62:1, **Bridegroom** (הַרְמָוֶה) Jer. 7:34. See MARRIAGE.

BRIDGE (ΓΕΦΥΡΑΥΝ [Α]), 2 Mac. 12:1, AV, 1AV GEBELBUN.

BRIDLE. The various Heb. and Gr. words will be found dealt with in the articles specified below.

1. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), Ps. 107 [117], 1 AV, 1 AV, 1 AV, 1 AV (cp Gen. 31:35). *Misbat* (מִשְׁבָּט) is also used for 'bridle' (Ps. 141:3 מִשְׁבָּט), with Herz, Che.

2. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV.

3. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV.

4. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV.

5. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV.

BRIER. Six Hebrew words have to be considered.

1. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV. Along with 'thorns of the wilderness' as the instruments with which Gideon 'taught,' or rather 'threshed' (1:7; cp Moore's comm. *ad loc.*), the men of Succoth. The etymology of the Hebrew word being unknown and its occurrence so rare, it is scarcely worth while to speculate as to the kind of thorn intended.

We may notice that according to Moore, *ibid.* quoted by Anderson, p. 1105, 2nd ed., *misbat* is a Hebrew word for 'thorn of the wilderness' in both places is enough to refute the absurd idea invented by Mitchell and adopted by Gosselin that מִשְׁבָּט meant 'threshing-sword.' The method of tarran alluded to is that of *carding* (see Moore).

2. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat*, occurs eight times in Is. (56:7, 23, 24, 25, 9:18 [17], 10:17, 27, 4, 32:13),¹ in seven of these along with מִשְׁבָּט, a word of similar meaning. מִשְׁבָּט is a genuine Semitic word, and Celsius (2:188 cp Fränkel, 89) pointed out its affinity with Ar. *samir*, some kind of thorny plant. The Hebrew word seems a general one for thorny plants, of which there are many kinds in Palestine (Tristram enumerates sixteen species of *Chamaecyparissus*, *PPP* 263 ff.). The ancient versions give no help towards a nearer determination of the species.

3. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV. A wilderness-plant, probably of the nettle kind, as its name is apparently connected with מִשְׁבָּט = מִשְׁבָּט, 'to burn.'

4. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV. 'Nettle'; Pesh. renders *githis*, probably 'savory.' Any of these will suit the passage well enough, under the new dispensation this plant was to give place to the myrtle.

5. מִשְׁבָּט, *misbat* (bitulae), 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV, 1105 AV. [Sym. *Isa. 62*, Th. *δύσκολοι*] Ezek. 26:1, is not a plant name.

According to the testimony of all the ancient versions, the word is almost certainly to be read as the participle (מִשְׁבָּט) of a verb common in Aram., 'to gainsay falsely' or 'filly'; and the

¹ 1 0 merely transliterates; in π. 7 Aq. renders παρακατέσθαι and Sym. παρακατέσθαι [cp. *ibid.* and *ibid.*].

² In the other three places where מִשְׁבָּט occurs (Jer. 17:1; Ezek. 3:3; Zech. 7:13) it is rendered 'diamond' or 'adamant' (see ADAMANT, § 3).

following word, **סִלְוִים**, is perhaps a mistake for **סִלְבִים** ('despising') or some such word, so that the clause would read 'though they gain say and contain thee' (see *Cm. ad loc.*). There is no support anywhere for a word **סִלְוִים** meaning 'briers.'

5. **סִלְוִים**, *sillōn* (σκόλοψ, Ezek. 2824),¹ is connected with Jewish Aram. **סִלְוִים**, Syr. *salwā*, Ar. *sullā*, Mand. **סִלְוִים** (LÖW, 150), all of which mean a 'thorn' or 'pricking point.'

6. **הֶדֶק**, *hēdek* (ἀκανθα,² Prov. 1519 [where EV 'thorns'] Mic. 74†), is by Wellhausen (*KL Proph.* (9) 149) connected with Ar. *hadika*, an enclosed garden or orchard; he reads in Micah **סִלְוִים סִלְוִים יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן הַדֶּק** ('ihr Bester ist aus der Dornhecke und ihr Graderast aus dem Gestrüpp'), thus producing a good parallelism. On the other hand, Löw (147), following Celsius (ii. 35 ff.), explains the word by reference to Ar. *hadak*, which, according to Lane (s.v.), is *Solanum cordatum*. Tristram (*FFP*, 368) identifies it with *Solanum sanctum*, L. (sometimes called the apple of Sodom; see *Bid.* (2) 152). We may at all events gather from Prov. 1519 that a thorny plant capable of forming a hedge is intended. For Heb. 68 AV [τρίβωλοι], see THISTLE [4]. N. M.

BRIGANDINE (בְּרִיגָנִין), Jer. 464, RV 'coats of mail'; see BREASTPLATE (1).

BRIMSTONE (בְּרִיטָה, *brēston*, 'burning stone'; בְּרִיטָה, *gophrith*; *brōn*; ³ *SULPHUR*).

The passages are Gen. 1924 Dt. 2923 [22] Job 1815 Ps. 116 [7] Is. 3033 349 Ezek. 3822 Lk. 1729 Rev. 917 f. 1410 1920 2010 2181. *Gophrith* is apparently connected with **בִּטְרָה** 'bitumen' (cp the Aram. and Ar. forms with initial *k*), but surely not of Bactrian origin, as Lagarde⁴ supposed.

Almost invariably the passages in which brimstone is mentioned relate to divine judgments; there is no direct statement of any use to which sulphur was put by the Hebrews. They cannot have known anything of the industrial uses of that mineral, which have so largely added to the wealth of the regions where it is most easily obtained (e.g., Sicily). The only objects to which it was applied by the ancients, according to Plin. *HN* 3515, are the making of lamp wicks (*elychnia*), the fumigation and cleansing of wool, certain medical remedies, and, lastly, religious purifications⁵ (cp *Od.* 2248†; after the slaughter of the suitors).

It may be conjectured, however, that sulphur was used in the so-called **תּוֹרֵהֵת** (*g.v.*) of the Valley of Hinnom (cp Is. 3033), and one conclusion may safely be drawn from the many descriptions in which brimstone is referred to—that the Israelites were not unacquainted with the volcanic phenomena known as 'solfatara' or those known as 'fire-wells' (as emanations of carbonated hydrogen, when they take fire, are frequently called). These 'fire-wells' occur in many of the districts where mud-volcanoes appear, in Europe, Asia, and N. America.⁶ Reminiscences of phenomena of this kind apparently underlie certain parts of the account of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen. 19 and the other passages (see above) where the same narrative is directly or indirectly alluded to.

It is probable that the Hebrews, like the Greeks (see *II* 14415 *Od.* 12417) and the Romans (Plin. *HN* 3515),⁷ associated the ozonic smell which often so perceptibly accompanies lightning discharges with the presence of sulphur. This may help to explain the passages which describe or allude to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah as having been brought about by a rain of fire and brimstone from heaven (Job 1815? Gen. 1923 Ps. 116 Ezek. 3822 Lk. 1729).

BROIDERED COAT, RV 'coat of chequer work'

¹ On **סִלְוִים**, Ezek. 26 see above, 4.

² The reading of **ס** in Mic. 74 (ὡς σῆς ἀκέρωτων) presupposes a reading **סִלְוִים** (Vollers in *ZATW* 410).

³ Probably from the same root as **סוּם**, *sumus*, and wholly unconnected with **סוּם**.

⁴ *Beitr.* 7427; *Sonn.* 164f.; *Sym.* 293f.

⁵ Cp *Od.* 14291 f.

⁶ *Lurida supponunt fecundo sulfura fonti, Incenduntque cavae fumant bitumine venas.*

⁷ See Sir Archibald Geikie in *Ency. Brit.* (9) 1025†.

⁸ *Fulmina, fulgura quoque sulphuris odorem habent, ac lux ipsa eorum sulphurea est.*

(בְּרִיגָנִין תְּשִׁיבִין), Ex. 284. See EMBROIDERY, § 1; TUNIC, § 2.

BROIDERED WORK (בְּרִיגָנִין), Ezek. 1610. See EMBROIDERY, § 1.

BROOCHES (בְּרוֹכֹת), Ex. 3522 RV; AV 'bracelets' [see HOOK, 2]. See also BUCKLE, 1.

BROOK. The Hebrew word usually thus rendered is **נָחַל**, *nahal* (χειμάρρῳς; cp in NT Jn. 181), which, like the Ar. *wādī*, denotes not only the flowing brook itself (cp **נָחַל אֵיתָן**, Am. 524), but also, like the Ar. *wādī*, the dried-up river bed¹ (cp the term **אֶמְבֵּר**, Jer. 1518). Hence Job likens his unstable brethren to a brook whose supply of water cannot be counted on (Job 615).

In Is. 196, **נָחַל**, *nahal*, 'the brooks of defence,' means rather 'strong,' 'river' (so RV). **נָחַל**, *nahal*, a word which bears resemblance both to the Eg. *ḥ'ōḥru*, 'river,' and to the Ass. *ia'uru*, 'stream,' is applied usually to the Nile.

בְּרוֹכֹת, *brōkhot*, in **בְּרוֹכֹת מַיִם**, *brōkhot mayim*, 'water-brooks,' Ps. 422 [3] Joel 120 (παγά, ἀφῆσται ὑδάτων), is a poetical word which, from its radical idea of holding or confining, denotes properly a channel (cp Is. 87). It is otherwise rendered 'stream,' 'river,' 'waters,' etc., and occurs in various involved figurative meanings, in Job 1221 (AV 'the mighty'), 4028 (AV 'strong pieces'), 4115 [7] (עֲבֹתֵי הַנָּחַל, AV 'scales').

בְּרוֹכֹת, *brōkhot*, rendered 'brook' in 2 S. 1720, is a word of unknown etymological history (for Fr. Del.'s identification with the Ass. *mēkalu*, 'a canal,' cp Dr. *ad loc.* and *ZDMG* 40724). The word, if not corrupt (We. conjectures some such word as **בְּרוֹךְ** or out of its place, is quite unknown.²

For **Brook of Egypt** (בְּרוֹכֹת מִצְרַיִם), Is. 2712 RV, see EGYPT, RIVER OF. For **Brook of the Arabah** (בְּרוֹכֹת אֲרָבָה), Am. 614 RV, see ARABAH, BROOK OF THE. S. A. C.

BROOM (בְּרוֹמָה), 1 K. 194 RV^{ms}, AV JUNIPER.

BROTH (בְּרוֹת), Judg. 619f. Is. 654†. See COOKING, § 3; SACRIFICE.

BROWN (בְּרוֹן), Gen. 3032 f. AV; see COLOURS, § 8.

BUCKET (בִּקְעָה), cp Ar. *dahūm*, Ass. *dilātu*, Is. 4015 (κάδος [BNAQT]); in Nu. 247 (σπέσμα [BAFL]), used figuratively of Israel's prosperity. See AGRICULTURE, § 5.

BUCKLE. 1. According to some authorities the **בִּקְעָה** (σφραγίδα, *armillas*) of Ex. 3522 was a buckle (AV 'bracelets,' RV 'brooches'). See RING.

2. So, too, the **בְּרִיגָנִין** of 2 S. 1710. See BRACELET (5).

3. **בִּקְעָה** (1 Macc. 1089 1158 1444) was a gold buckle, bestowed in one instance as an honourable distinction on Jonathan by king Alexander Balas, 'as the use is to give to such as are the kindred of the king' (1 Macc. 1089).

Such buckles or brooches formed the fastenings of the outer garment on the breast or over the shoulder. They were of various shapes, the commonest being a flat circular ring with a pin passing through the centre (Rawlinson). The use of golden buckles (like that of the purple robe) was reserved to men of distinction (see passages cited, and cp Livy, 3931; see CROWN, § 4).

BUCKLER. For **בִּנְיָן**, *māḡēn* (2 S. 2231 AV), **בִּנְיָן**, *ginnah* (Ps. 352), **בִּנְיָן**, *shēnrah* (Ps. 914) see SHIELD. For **בִּנְיָן**, *romah* (1 Ch. 128) see SPEAR (so RV).

BUGANE (ΒΟΥΓΑΙΟΣ [BNA^B], *BUGÆUS*), Est. 126 AV. See AGAGITE.

BUKKI (בִּקְיָה), § 52; abbreviated from **בִּקְיָה**; **בוֹקְיָה** [L]; see BUKKIAH).

1. Said to have been the fourth in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar: 1 Ch. 6551 [631 636] (v. 5 Bore [L], -ואסא [A]);

2. **בִּקְיָה** is accordingly sometimes rendered 'valley': cp, e.g., Dt. 226 2 Ch. 3016 3314 in RV.

3. The Targ. identifies **בִּקְיָה** with the Jordan. No help can be obtained from the Versions, unless the *δυναμῶν* *συνεχόμενες* of **בִּקְיָה** be correct, in which case **בִּקְיָה** may be a corruption of some such word as **בִּקְיָה** or **בִּקְיָה** (elsewhere late). See also H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*

77: 21—201 [BA]; Ezra 7:4 (Bacc[eh] [BA])=1 Esd. 8:2, BACCAS (Bacc[eh] [BA]). In 4 Esd. 1:2 the name appears as Borith (Bacc[eh] [BA]).

2. *Baith*; one of the chiefs chosen to divide Canaan (Baccap [B], xxx [L], Bacc[eh] [A], Nu. 34:2 [P]).

BUKKIAH (בִּקְיָהָה), perhaps connected with the Syr. verb *ܒܚܡܐ*, and, if pointed *בִּקְיָהָה*, signifying 'Yahweh has tested,' §§ 39, 52;] of the sons of Heeman, 1 Ch. 25:41 (BOYKEIAI [B], BOKKIAE, KOKK. [A], BOKYIAE [L], *ܒܚܚܡܐ*). See BARBERIAH.

BUL (בּוֹל), perhaps 'rain-month,' from יבול; cp in Ph. בל, *CIS* i. no. 31; its identification with the Palm. divine name בול (in עברבול, etc.) is not certain; BAA [BA], BOYA [L], 1 K. 6:8. See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

BULL (בָּקָר), Jer. 52:25; פָּר, Gen. 32:15[16]; נִשְׂר, Job 21:29; זָנִיב, Ps. 50:13, and ΤΑΥΡΟΣ, Heb. 9:13. See CATTLE, § 2. For the bull in mythological representations, see CALF, GOLDEN; CATTLE, § 14; 1 CH. 25:41, § 7; and cp STARS, § 3 d. For the brazen bulls 1 K. 16:17; see SEA, BRAZEN. It is worth adding that bull-fights are often represented on wall-paintings in Egyptian tombs (see P. E. Newberry, *El Bershek*, pt. i., p. 28, n. 1).

BULLOCK (בָּר), Ex. 29:10. See CATTLE, § 2.

BULL, WILD (תְּאוֹן), Is. 51:20, AV; RV ANTELOPE [y. v.].

BULRUSH (אֲנִלִּין), Is. 58:5 (RV 'rush'), and BULRUSHES (בִּלְרִשִׁים), Ex. 23 Is. 18:2 (RV in the latter 'papyrus'), both words elsewhere *RUSHES* (q. v.).

BULWARK. For הֵיל, *hēl* (AV occasionally, RV usually 'rampart') see FORTRESS, § 5; for פִּנְחָה, *pinnah*, 2 Ch. 26:15 (RV 'battlements,' mg. 'corner towers'), and מִצְדָּה, *mizdah* (Lecl. 9:14), and מִצְדָּה, *mizdah* (1 Ch. 20:20), see WARE.

BUNAH (בִּנְיָה), 'intelligence'; cp in Palm. בִּנְיָה, Vog. *Syr. Cen.*, no. 3), a Jerahmeelite (ΒΑΝΑΙΑ [B], ΒΑΝΑ [A], ΑΜΙΝΑ [L]), 1 Ch. 2:25.

BUNDLE (צֶרֶף), Gen. 42:35 of money; Ct. 1:13 of myth; 1 S. 25:29 of life. See BAG [4].

BUNNI (בִּנְיָ, בִּנְיָ, בִּנְיָ, §§ 5, 79; cp BANI).

1. A Levite, Neh. 9:4 (Bounas [B]); transl. *vioe* [BA], see EZRA, in § 11 (c. e.); possibly identical with the signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, in § 7), Neh. 10:15[16] (Bani [BA], Βουαετ or Βουι [L]), whose name, however, is perhaps due to dittography of Βουα [in 4] to Β. 11[1].

2. Another Levite, one of the overseers of the temple, Neh. 11:15 (BNA om., Bouva [L], see [BNA-mag. sup.]); not mentioned in 1 Ch. 9:14.

BURDEN (מַשָּׂא), *masā*—i. e., 'lifting up'; hence either 'burden' or 'utterance' ['to utter' is 'to lift up the voice']. 'Burden' in EV, when used of a prophetic revelation, should rather be 'oracle' (as RVmg. 2 K. 9:25 etc.). Cp PROPHECY. The term *masā* became a subject of popular derision in the time of Jeremiah, owing to its double meaning (see above), so that Jeremiah pronounces a divine prohibition of its use (Jer. 23:33 ff.). It continued, however, to be used in the headings of prophecy. As to the application of *masā*, once only it denotes divine judicial sentence (2 K. 9:25; cp Jer. 23:36); elsewhere there is no such limitation of meaning. In Prov. 30:1 beyond doubt *masā* should be amended to מַשָּׂא, in 31:1 קָשָׁל (see AGUR, LEMUEL).

ΘΑΥΑQ renders variously θάυμα (in the Minor Prophets respectively, Is. 14:17; 22:1 and 21 [Q]), θάυμα (Is. 21:1 also cp. 15:1 [A], 22:1 [A], and 23:1 [ΘΑΥΜQ]), and θαυματος (Is. 19:1 80).

BURIAL (קִבְרִיָה), Is. 14:20. See DEAD, § 1.

BURNING (שִׂפְתָה), 2 Ch. 21:19. See DEAD, § 1; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

BURNING AGUE (קִרְחָת; ακτερος [AFL], ΙΚΤΗΡ [? B]), Lev. 26:16f.; see DISEASES, § 6, MEDICINE.

BURN OFFERING (עֹלָה), Lev. 1:3; see SACRIFICE.

BURN OFFERING, ALTAE (מִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלָה), Ex. 30:28; see ALTAR, § 2 f.; SACRIFICE.

BUSH represents in AV three different Hebrew words.

1. *בִּשְׁבֵּץ*, *sheshb* (βάρδος, *rubus*; Ex. 3:2-4 Dt. 33:16 Mk. 12:26 Lk. 6:44 [EV 'bramble bush'] 20:37 Acts 7:30 35f.) denotes a rough thorny bush—which is

1. **Hebrew terms.** the original sense of our 'bramble'—as is shown by the use of the same word in later Hebrew, in Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian, and confirmed by the rendering of the ancient Versions. Löw (275), following Forskål (*Flor. Æg. Ar.* cxiii.), identifies it with *Rubus fruticosus*. Some, on the ground that the bramble is not found on Sinai, assume that a kind of acacia is referred to. These Hebrew and Greek words are used in OT and NT respectively only in connection with the theophany to Moses in Horeb (Sinai), except in Lk. 6:44. In OT (Ex. 3:2-4 Dt. 33:16), and in Acts 7:30 35, the term refers to the actual bush; in Mk. 12:26=Lk. 20:37 (see RV) to the section of Exodus containing the narrative (see below, § 2).

2. *שִׁיחַ*, *shāḥ* (χαλάρω, *virgultum*, EV 'plant,' Gen. 2:5; ἄδρυ, *arbor*, EV 'shrub,' Gen. 21:15; also Job 30:47²) is in Gen. 2:5 probably used in a general sense of any wild-growing shrub; in the other passages the reference may be more specific. Löw (78), who cites the Syriac and Arabic equivalents—*shāḥ* and *shāḥ*—identifies it with *Artemisia judaica* L., but allows that the Arabic word is used by Syriac lexicographers for various species. See also Wetstein, *Reiseber.*, 41.

3. *נַחְלִיתִים*, *nahli'īm* (γάργας, *foraminia*, AV 'bushes,' RV 'pastures,' mg. 'bushes,' Is. 7:10f) is almost certainly connected with the root נחל, Ar. *nahala* (see BAH, NB 215), whose proper sense is that of leading cattle to the drinking-place. The noun, therefore, means 'drinking-places'—like Ar. *manhal* or *maswid*. This is better than the more general rendering 'pastures.' 'Clefts' (עַל, Vg.) rests on a false etymology; and 'bushes' (Saad. etc., AV) is seemingly due to conjecture (Ges. Theol.).

The theophany in the bush (Ex. 3:2-4) is remarkable. Elsewhere the 'angel of Yahweh' is a theophany in human form; but here apparently (note

2. The 'burning bush.' form; but here apparently (note the only special appearance is that of fire. The nearest parallel

is Judg. 13:20, where the angel ascends in a flame of fire; but the human form of the appearance is there unmistakable. The story in the form which it assumes in Exodus appears to have resulted from a fusion of two widely current beliefs—that fire indicated the divine presence (see THEOPHANY, § 5), and that certain trees were the permanent abodes of deities. It seems probable from the character of the reference in Dt. 32:16 that there was current a different form of the story, according to which the bush was Yahweh's permanent dwelling; for the phraseology (שָׁכַן בְּתוֹךְ הַבִּשְׁבֵּץ, 'who dwelt in the bush') indicates the same permanency of the divine presence as was subsequently supposed to characterise the temple. Renan, however, would read *שָׁכַן בְּתוֹךְ הַבִּשְׁבֵּץ*, 'who dwells in Sinai' (cp v. 2), and certainly in Exodus the fiery appearance is clearly regarded as, like other theophanies, temporary. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* (2) 193 f.) cites some parallels from non-biblical sources, and argues that 'the original seat of a conception like the burning bush, which must have its physical basis in electrical phenomena, must prob-

ably occurs also as the proper name of a Rock, 1 S. 14:4 (see MICHAEL, 80).

² Where *עַל* (ἀπόδρυ, εὐρύαυτος) has been led astray by the likeness of the word to the verb *עָלָה*; but Ag. and Sym. have *δουρά* (in v. 7 Sym. *δουρά ἀγυρά*).

ably be sought in the clear dry air of the desert or of lofty mountains.' We need not rationalise and suppose a bush of the *nebh*, overgrown with the *Loranthus acacia*, which has an abundance of fire-red blossoms (so the botanist traveller Kotschy, in Furrer's art. 'Dorn,' *BL* 213). Cp further Baudissin, *Stud. zur sem. Religionsgesch.* 2.223; Jacob, *Altarab. Parallelen zum AT* 7 f.

BUSHEL (ΜΟΔΙΟΣ, *modius*), a measure of capacity; Mt. 5:15 Mk. 4:21 Lk. 11:33.† See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BUTLER (בִּטְלוֹן), Gen. 40: 419; cp CUPBEARER, and see MEALS, § 11.

BUTTER (חֶמֶץ), Gen. 188. See MILK.

BUZ (בִּז). 1. Second son of Nahor, Gen. 22:21 (Buz [A] - [L]). As Buz is mentioned in connection with Dedan and Tema in Jer. 25:23 (פֶּז [B²AQ], -θ [N^{*}], בּוֹז [Q^{mc}]), it must have been an Arabian people. Buz and HAZO (*q.v.*) are connected by Del. (*Par.* 307; Riehm's *HWB*⁽²⁾, 124) with the Bāzu and Hāzu of the annals of Esarhaddon (Budge, *Hist. of Esarh.* 59-61, *KB*, 2:30 f.), two districts not to be exactly identified, but evidently in close proximity to N. Arabia. Esarhaddon's description of the land of Bāzu is not an inviting one; it was a desolate, snake-baunted

region. Probably Buz should be vocalised Bōz (בֹּז), to accord with Bāzu and the vowels au and ō in the Gk. forms (cp Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Sept.* 116).

2. A Gailite (βαβουλα [B], Βουζ [L], Αχθουζ [A]; see Am. 1), 1 Ch. 5:14 f.

BUZI (בִּזִי, probably a gentilic; see Buz), father of the prophet EZEKIEL (*q.v.*, § 11, Ec. 1:3 [2] (Boyz[ε]) [BAQ]), ΠΕΦΑΓΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ [Q^{mc}]).

BUZITE (בִּזִית, ο ΒΟΥΖΕΙΤΗΣ [BNC], ο ΤΟΥ ΒΟΥΖΙ [A]; Ε^ΠΡΩΣC adds ΤΗΣ ΑΥ(Ε)ΠΙΤΙΔΟΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ), a gentilic noun from Buz (*q.v.*), applied to ELIHU, the fourth speaker in the poem of Job (Job 32:2), who is also said to have been 'of the family of Ram.' From the fact that Ram is the name of a Judahite family, to which Boaz and David are said to have belonged (Ruth 4:10 21), and that an Elihu appears in 1 Ch. 27:18 as 'one of the brethren of David,' Derenbourg (*RE*/16) conjectures that 'Buzite' should rather be 'Bozite' = 'Boazite' (בּוֹזִית). To complete this theory Elihu ought, it would seem, to be David's brother. Unfortunately 'Elihu' in 1 Ch. 27:18 is most probably corrupt, and, even if not, 'brethren' is a vague and uncertain term (see ELIHU, 2). Moreover, dramatic propriety naturally suggested the description of Elihu as an Aramean Arab. RAM (*q.v.*, 2) is probably a fictitious name, like Elihu and Barachel. T. K. C.

C

CAB, RV Kab (כַּב; καβος [BAL]), 2 K. 6:25†, a dry measure, one-sixth of a seah (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). So at least Jewish authorities (see Buxtorf, *s.v.* כַּב); but in this passage כַּב ('cab') is probably a scribe's error for כֶּר ('cor'). See DOVE'S DUNG, HUSKS.

CABNON (כַּבְנוֹן, χαβρα [BA], χαββω [L]), an unidentified city in the lowland of Judah, mentioned between Eglon and Lahmas (Josh. 15:40). It is possibly the same as the MACHBENA—AV MACHBENAH (מַחְבְּנָה; μαχαβηνα [B], -αμηνα [A], μαχβανα [L])—mentioned among the Calebite towns enumerated in 1 Ch. 2:49, and may perhaps be represented by the present *el-Kubeibeh*, lying between Kh. 'Ajlan and Kh. el-Lahm, sites that have been proposed for Eglon and Lahmas.

CABNS (כַּבְנִים), Jer. 37:16†, AV; RV CELLS (*q.v.*).

CABUL (כַּבּוּל; χωβα [MACCOMEL] [B], χαβωλ [A], χο. [L]), a town in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19:27), the χαβωλω (variants -βλ, -βολ, -βαλ, γαμαλω) mentioned by Josephus (*Vit.* 43, 44, 45) as a village on the confines of Ptolemais, 40 stadia from Jotapata (modern Jēfat), may safely be identified with the modern *Kābul*, 236 ft. above sea-level, 9 m. SE. from Acco. It is probably the χαβουλω (but other codd. read γαβουλω), which Josephus (*BJ* 3:3) gives as on the sea coast of Tyre and forming the E. frontier of Lower Galilee. The name was current at the time of the Crusaders as Cabor or Cabour, a fief presented in 1186 to Count Joscelin by King Baldwin IV., and it gave its name to a family (Rey, *Colonies Franques en Syrie*).

In 1 K. 9:10-13 it is told how Solomon, on the completion of his buildings in Jerusalem to which Hiram contributed, gave to the latter 'twenty cities in the land of Galilee,' but Hiram was dissatisfied with them and 'they were called the land of Cabul unto this day' (Heb. ארץ כַּבּוּל, Ε^{BAL} δρον for Καβουλ; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 53,

χαβαλων, described as bordering on Tyre; c. *Ap.* 1:17, χαβουλω, 'a piece of land in Galilee').¹ For the statement of Josephus that in Phoenician the name means 'unpleasing' (οὐκ ἀρέσκων) there is no evidence. Yet the true explanation ought not to be far away. If we could recover it we should see that the popular wit was not so poor as Hiller, Ewald, and Thenius supposed (כַּבּוּל = כַּבְלִי, 'as nought'). Cheyne (*PSBA*, 21:177 ff. [99]) would correct 'land of Cabul' into 'land of Zebulun'; and יבולין may have been written 'ובול', and when the mark of abbreviation had been lost, some learned scribe may have corrected ובוּל into כַּבּוּל. The witticism would be like that which explained Beelzebul as 'lord of dung,' and 'Izebel as 'what dung' (see BEELEZEBUL, JEZEBEL); it would be a new popular etymology of Zebulun. The 'twenty cities,' on this hypothesis, were in the lower part of the Gāilil, which, in the time of Josephus, and probably also when 1 K. 9:11-13 was edited, extended as far as Χαβουλω or Cabul. Of course the writer does not mean to say that the name Zebulun was now given for the first time; he only offers a new justification for the name. For a less probable view (כַּבּוּל corrupted from כַּבּוּלִי and יבול; cp כַּבּוּל, 'dung'), see Klostermann. (Cp also Böttg., *Topogr.-hist. Lex. zu Josephus*, s.v. 'Chalabon.') By its own evidence ('unto this day') the story, in its present form, is by no means contemporary with the events with which it deals.

The Chronicler, whose views would not allow him to record the cession of a part of the Holy Land to the Gentile, so alters the story as to make it appear that it was Hiram who 'gave the cities to Solomon' (2 Ch. 8:2). The AV translators have attempted to reconcile this with the story in Kings by rendering 'gave' restored ('RV 'had given').

CADDIS, RV GADDIS (Γαδδῆ [AV], -ει [N]), surname of JOANNAN (1 Macc. 2:2). See MACCABEES, i. § 13.

CADES, RV KEDESH (κηδῆς [AN], κεδ. [V], 1 Macc. 11:63). See KEDESH, 3.

¹ A sehulast (Field's *Hez.*, l.c.) interprets כַּבּוּל by δουλειας.

CADES-BARNE (ΚΑΔΗΣ ΒΑΡΝΗ [ΒΑΝΑ]), Judith 5:14
AV; RV KADESE-BARNEA.

CADMIEL (ΚΑΔΜΙΗΛΟΥ [Α]), 1 Esd. 5:26 AV,
RV KADMIEL.

CÆSAR (ΚΑΙΣΑΡ [Ti. WH]) is used in the NT as a title of AUGUSTUS (Lk. 2:1) and Tiberius (ib. 3:1). The latter emperor is, moreover, the 'Caesar' of Mt. 22:17 ff. Mk. 12:14 ff. Lk. 20:21 ff. (pp. 23-24) and Jn. 19:10 ff. Claudius Flavius is named in Acts 11:28 (AV, but RV om. Caesar with Ti. WH), and is alluded to in Acts 17:7. The 'Caesar' of Paul (Acts 25:8 ff. 26:32 27:24 28:19) is Nero, whose 'household' is mentioned in Phil. 4:22 (ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Καίσαρος οἰκίας). The reference here is hardly to members of his family, but, as in the case of Stephanus in 1 Cor. 16:15, to the familia or household slaves. See further APOCALYPSE, § 43 ff., ISRAEL, §§ 87-115.

CÆSAREA. 1. **Cæsarea Palæstina** (ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ [Ti. WH], -עיסא [Jos.]; in Talm. כְּסָרִי, mod. Arab. *El-Kaisariyah*), the only real port south of Caesmae, was built by Herod the Great on the name, see § 3) in time for it to become the capital of the Roman province of Judæa, and to play the great part in the passage of Christianity westward from Palestine which is described in Acts.

The site was that of a Phœnician (cp Jos. Ant. xiii. 154) settlement with a fortification called the Tower of Straton (Στρατωνος Πύργος)—a Hellenic form of a Phœnician proper name, Astartayon (Dietschmann, *Gesch. der Phœn.* 81; Hildesheimer, *Die Phœn.* 2. *Gesch. Paläst.* 4 ff., where the variant reading ἱερὸν τοῦ ἑω, 'Devil's-Tower,' given in Talmud B *Shebi'ith*, vi. 1:36, and in Talmud B *Megilla* is explained as a Jewish nickname for a town called after a worshipper of Astarte). There was, according to Strabo, a landing-place (πρόσβασιον ἕλκων). At the end of the second century B.C., the town was under a 'tyrant,' Zoilus (Jos. Ant. xiii. 122); but Alexander Jannæus took it for the Jews, along with the other coast towns (ib. 15). These were enfranchised by Pompey and made subject to the province of Syria (id. xiv. 44). After the Battle of Actium they were presented to Herod the Great along with Samaria and other places by Augustus (id. xv. 73).

Up to this time Herod had confined his building designs to the E. side of the Central Range. Now, however, in alliance with Rome, he came over the watershed, and out of Samaria built himself a capital which he called after his patron, Sebastê. Requiring for this a seaport that should keep him in touch with Rome, he chose Straton's Tower as the nearest suitable site to Sebastê. He laid the lines of a magnificent city, which took him twelve years to build (id. xv. 96; 'ten years,' xvi. 5).

Josephus describes the thorough and lavish architecture.

In the usual Greek fashion, there were palaces, temple, theatre, amphitheatre, and many arcades and altars. There were also vaults for draining the city—as carefully constructed as the buildings above ground. A breakwater 200 ft. wide was formed in 20 fathoms depth by dropping enormous stones. The south of the harbour looked N., the prevailing winds from this coast being from the SW. (id. xv. 95; *BJ* i. 212 ff.). Landing the remains of the breakwater are 160 yards from shore, and the mouth of the harbour measures 100 yards (*Pal. Supp.*).

Herod called his city, like Sebastê, after Augustus, Καίσαρεια Σεβαστή, and his harbour ἕλκων Σεβαστικῆς. When Cæsarea was built, Philippi was built (see below, § 8), Herod's second wife came to be distinguished from it by the names

3. Names. Καίσαρεια παλαιὰ, κ. ἡ νέα Σεβαστή, and even Κ. ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῷ Ἀγρίππῳ (on a coin of Nero, De Saulcy, *Monum. de la Terre Sainte*, 1163, and Cæsarea Palæstinae. The name of Straton survived long (Jos. Ant. xvii. 114, Strab. xv., *Topographical De pont.* ed. *mons.* 125, *Prod.* v. 16). The Talmud calls the city after the harbour, Leminah.

Cæsarea became the virtual capital of all Palestine.

'Cæsarea Judææ caput est,' says Tacitus (*Hist.* 2:78).

4. A Roman city. It was thoroughly Roman; the Talmud (*ib. Megilla*, *San*) calls it daughter of Edom, the mystic name for Rome. The Procurator lived there; there was an Italian garrison (Acts 10:1; cp CORNELIUS, § 1); and in the temple there were two statues—of Augustus and of Rome.¹ Though there were many Jews (Jos. Ant. xx. 8:79, *BJ* ii. 137 144 f. iii. 9:1), the inhabitants were mainly Gentile.

Here, then, very fitly, was poured out upon the Gentiles the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts 10:45). There had been a Christian congregation from the earliest possible time. Being one of the seven Deacons, took up his residence there (Acts 8:40; cp 21:816). About 41 A.D. there came to a Roman centurion CORNELIUS (*q.v.*) a divine message to send to Joppa for Peter, who was prepared for this by a vision which taught him that God would make clean all that the Jewish law had hitherto prohibited as unclean. Peter came to Cæsarea, made the profound and decisive acknowledgment that God accepts in every nation him 'that feareth him and worketh righteousness,' preached Jesus, saw the descent of the Spirit upon the little Gentile company, and baptized them (Acts 10). This proved the turning-point in the opinion of the church at Jerusalem (chap. 11), and prepared the way for the acceptance of the missionary labours of Paul, to which from this stage onwards the Book of Acts is devoted.

Cæsarea is next mentioned as the scene of the awful death of Herod Agrippa I. (12:19), to whose government it had been given over: some of its coins bear his superscription (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 133, 136). After him it passed again to the Roman procurator of Judæa, and became the chief garrison of the troops under him. Paul arrived at Cæsarea on his voyage from Ephesus (Acts 18:22), and there he was tried with a fairness and security that were impossible in Jerusalem (chap. 25). The contrast between the two cities, which is so evident in this story, proves how thoroughly Roman and imperial Cæsarea was. Besides receiving so fair a trial, Paul, during his two years of residence in the town, was not threatened by the Jews, as he had been in Jerusalem. From the harbour of Cæsarea Paul sailed on his voyage to Italy (27:1).

The subsequent history of the town is soon told. Contests between its Jewish and Gentile inhabitants led to, and were among the first incidents of, the great revolt of the Jews against Rome, 66 ff. A.D. (Jos. Ant. x. 57 ff.; *BJ* ii. 137 144 ff. 181 viii. 274). Vespasian made the town his headquarters, and was there proclaimed emperor in 69. He established there a colony, but without the 'jus Italicum,' under the title Prima Flavia Augusta Cæsarea, to which, under Alexander Severus, was added Metropolis Provinciae Syriae Palæstinae (*Pal. Supp.* 116, 117, in De Saulcy, *Nouv. de la T.S.* 112 ff. pl. vii.). This determined the rank of Cæsarea in the subsequent organisation of the Church. Its bishop became the Metropolitan of Syria; Eusebius occupied the office from 315 to 318. Origen had made it his home. Procopius was born there. When the Arabs came it was still the headquarters of the commander of the imperial troops; in 638 it was occupied by 'Abu Obeida. Like all the coast towns, it lost under Arab domination the supremacy which the Greek masters of Syria, in their necessity for a centre of power on the sea, had bestowed upon it. It became a country town, known only for its agricultural produce (I.e. Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 474). The advent of a western power with the Crusaders revived it for a little: Baldwin II. took it in 1102, and rebuilt it; the present ruins are mostly of Crusaders' masonry. Saladin took it in 1187, Richard I. in 1191; and St. Louis added to its fortifications. It was finally demolished by the Sultan Bibars in 1265, and since his time has lain in ruin. (See further on details Reland, *Pal. 670 ff.*; Schürer, *Hist.* 484 ff.; GOSM. *It.* i. 3 ff.)

6. Later history. *BJ* ii. 137 144 ff. 181 viii. 274. Vespasian made the town his headquarters, and was there proclaimed emperor in 69. He established there a colony, but without the 'jus Italicum,' under the title Prima Flavia Augusta Cæsarea, to which, under Alexander Severus, was added Metropolis Provinciae Syriae Palæstinae (*Pal. Supp.* 116, 117, in De Saulcy, *Nouv. de la T.S.* 112 ff. pl. vii.). This determined the rank of Cæsarea in the subsequent organisation of the Church. Its bishop became the Metropolitan of Syria; Eusebius occupied the office from 315 to 318. Origen had made it his home. Procopius was born there. When the Arabs came it was still the headquarters of the commander of the imperial troops; in 638 it was occupied by 'Abu Obeida. Like all the coast towns, it lost under Arab domination the supremacy which the Greek masters of Syria, in their necessity for a centre of power on the sea, had bestowed upon it. It became a country town, known only for its agricultural produce (I.e. Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 474). The advent of a western power with the Crusaders revived it for a little: Baldwin II. took it in 1102, and rebuilt it; the present ruins are mostly of Crusaders' masonry. Saladin took it in 1187, Richard I. in 1191; and St. Louis added to its fortifications. It was finally demolished by the Sultan Bibars in 1265, and since his time has lain in ruin. (See further on details Reland, *Pal. 670 ff.*; Schürer, *Hist.* 484 ff.; GOSM. *It.* i. 3 ff.)

7. Site of Cæsarea Philippi (ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑ Η ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, both in NT [Ti. WH] and Jos.), so called after its founder, PHILIP (see HERODIAN FAMILY, Philippi. 6) the tetrarch, son of Herod, to whom the district was granted in 4 B.C., occupied a site which had been of the utmost religious importance. Philip, *Legat. ad Caipum*, 38, mentions the Σεβαστικὴν.

and military importance from remote antiquity. Just under the S. buttress of Hermon, at the head of the Jordan valley, about 1150 ft. above the sea, is a high cliff of limestone ('from 100 to 150 ft.', Robinson, *LBR* 406) reddened by the water, infused with iron, that oozes over it from above. A cavern occupies the lower part of the cliff, filled with the debris of its upper portion, and from this debris there breaks one of the sources of the Jordan. It is probably the sanctuary known as BAAL-GAD (*q.v.*) or Baal-hermon.¹ Close by is a steep hill, crowned with the ruins of a mediæval castle, Kal' at es-Subēh, and at its foot the miserable village of Bāniās. Probably here (GASm. *HG* 480), rather than at Tell el-Kāḏī, the site favoured by most authorities, lay the city of Laish that was afterwards DAN (*q.v.*).

The place must have been early occupied by the Greeks, both because of its sanctity, and because of its strategical position. Polybius (1618 8. Its history and name. 281) mentions it as the scene of the great battle in which Antiochus the Great won Palestine from the Ptolemies. The Greeks displaced the worship of Baal by that of Pan.

The cave, in which there is still legible an inscription, Πανὶ τε καὶ Βανιάσι, was called τὸ Πανέριον (*JOS. Ant. xv. 10 § 3, BJ i. 213 iii. 107*), a name afterwards extended to the whole hill (*JOS. HE* 7.17). The village and the country around were designated by a feminine form of the same adjective, Βανιάς or Βανιάσι (*JOS. Ant. xviii. 21, xv. 103, xviii. 8, 1, etc.; Pliny, v. 1874*).

In 20 b.c. Herod, having occupied the district from Augustus on the death of Zenodorus, the previous lord of these parts (*Ant. xv. 103 BJ i. 213*), built a temple to Augustus and set in it the emperor's bust. The first year that it came into his possession, 3-2 B.C., Philip the Tetrarch founded his new town, and called it Caesarea after Augustus (*Ant. xviii. 21 BJ ii. 91*; coins in De Saulcy, *Nouv. de la T.S. 313 ff. pl. xviii.*). So it came to be known as Philip's Caesarea (*Ant. xx. 93*), or as Caesarea Panias (see the coins). When Philip died the Romans administered the district directly, both before Agrippa I. to whom it was given, and in the interval between him and Agrippa II., who embellished it and changed the official designation to Νερωϊάσι in honour of Nero (*Ant. xx. 94*). The town's full title was 'Caesarea Sebasti, Sacred and with Rights of Sanctuary under Paneion' (De Saulcy, *pl. xviii. 8*). Later the name Caesarea was dropped and Paneas survived, the Arabs when they came changing it to its present form of Bāniās. A shrine of El-Khidr (= Elias = St. George) now occupies the site of the temple to Augustus.

Caesarea Philippi is twice mentioned in the Gospels. Jesus is said to have come not to the town itself, but to

9. NT the parts (τὰ μέρη, Mt. 16.13) or villages thereof (Mk. 8.27). Probably he avoided it as he avoided other Gentile centres (*e.g.*, Tiberias) established by the Herods, but in the great saying which he is said to have uttered in this neighbourhood, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my church,' it is possible to see some reference by contrast to the heathen worship founded upon that cliff of immemorial sanctity above the source of Jordan.

In the Jewish war Vespasian rested his troops in Caesarea (*JOS. BJ* iii. 9.2) and in celebration of the close of the war Titus and Agrippa II. exhibited shows on a large scale (*ib. vii. 21*). In Christian times Caesarea Philippi was the seat of a bishop; and Eusebius (*HE* 6.18) relates that the woman whom Christ healed of an issue of blood (*Lk. 8.43*) was a native of the town, where a statue commemorated her cure. Castle and town were the subject of frequent contests by both sides during the Crusades. For further details see *Rel. Hist.* 'Panaea'; Schürer, *Hist.* iii. 132; Stanley, *SP* 391; GASm. *HG* 473. G. A. S.

CAGE. Cages (or rather wicker-baskets, cp Am. 8.2) for confining birds in are mentioned twice in EV (see FOWLS, § 10): (1) in Jer. 5.27 the houses of the wicked are as full of (the grains of) deceit as a cage (קִיבֹּץ *kīlab* = κλωβός, AV^{msc.} 'coop', παγίς [BNAQ]) is full of birds; and (2) in Eccles. 11.30 the heart of a proud man

¹ Once corruptly BAAL-HAMON (*q.v.*)

is like a decoy partridge in a cage (or basket: ἐν κλωβῷ [BNA], cp Ar. *kīrtall*^{ms}, a fruit-basket). A cage (קִיבֹּץ) for lions also is mentioned in Ezek. 19.9 RV (see LION).

(3) φυλακίη, rendered 'hold' and 'cage' in Rev. 18.2 (RV 'hold'), denotes rather a prison (so RV^{msc.}).

CAIAPHAS (ΚΑΙΛΑΦΑΣ [Ti.], ΚΑΙΛΑΦΑΣ [WH], ΚΑΙΦΑΣ [CDabc]), Mt. 26.3 Lk. 22.3 Jn. 18.13, or perhaps Caiphas. See ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS.

CAIN (קַיִן: [ZAKANAEIM [B], [ZANAW] ΔΚΕΙΜ—i.e., קַיִן: מֵיִן] [A], [ZANAY] ΔΚΕΝ [L.]), a town in the hill country of Judah (*Josh. 15.59*), may possibly be the mod. *Yakin*, 3 m. SE. from Hebron (*PEF* Mem. ii. 312, 371; but see GASm. *HG* 278). Cp AMALEK, § 6.

CAIN (קַיִן; ΚΑΙΝ [ADFi.], *CAIN*). In Gen. 4 we have accounts of two different Cains, linked together by the editor. The proof of this will be briefly indicated below (§§ 2-4); it will be convenient to treat first the more ancient and simpler of the two stories.

1. Cain is the name of the hero who in Gen. 4.17 is represented as the founder of the city of Enoch¹ (Hänök). The name evidently comes from an early, though not Gen. 4.17ff. 59ff. a genuine Hebrew, tradition; another document (59ff.) gives it as CAINAN (*q.v.*). Its natural meanings are 'smith', 'artificer' (*Ar. káin*, Aram. *kūniyā*);² for the connection with *kānāh*, 'to produce' (also 'to acquire'), suggested in Gen. 4.1, is philologically difficult. The more general sense 'artificer' suits best for Cain the city-builder, and the more special one 'smith' for the second part of the compound name Tubal-cain. Both these names are attached to heroes who at the outset of the tradition must have possessed a divine character (see CAINITES, §§ 5, 10).

2. The central figure of the narrative in Gen. 4.2b-16 also is called Cain. The story has come to us in a somewhat abbreviated form. Its substance is as follows. Once upon a time Cain and his brother Abel sacrificed to Yahweh. Cain, being a husbandman, brought of the fruits of the ground; Abel, as a shepherd, offered the fat parts of some of his first-born lambs (cp Nu. 18.17). Both, as was usual in ancient religion, looked for a visible sign that their gifts were accepted. What the expected sign was at the sanctuary to which they resorted, we are not told (cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 178), and we may pass over later conjectures. At any rate, we learn that only Abel's sacrifice was accepted (see *Abel*, § 1). Now Cain, had he been wise, would have demeaned himself humbly towards Abel, for who can say to God, What dost thou? (*Job* 9.12). Instead of this, he cherished evil thoughts,³ as an oracle, perhaps sought by Cain, warned him, 'And Yahweh said to Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? Surely, if thou dost well, thou canst lift up thy head; and if thou dost not well, thy sin must cause it to fall: from irritating words abstain, and thou take heed to thyself? And Cain quarrelled with his brother Abel, and when they were in the open country . . . ; and Cain assaulted his brother Abel, and slew him. Then follows a fresh oracle, containing a curse upon Cain, who is condemned, not only to banishment (cp Hom. *Il.* 2.665), but also to a life of restless wandering. The curse, however, is mitigated by the promise of protection against outrage, by means of a 'sign' which will indicate that Cain is under the care of Yahweh.

According to the older commentators, with whom

1 See, however, col. 623, note 3.
2 Di. and Del. support this etymology by the very doubtful קַיִן commonly rendered 'his spear' (so EBAL), 2 Sam. 21.16, where a better reading is קַיִן, 'his helmet' (*Kau. HS*, Bu., H. P. Smith, after Klo.).
3 Eve exclaims, וַיִּשְׁמַח עַד אֲבִיבֵי לֵבָבָהּ, 'I have wrought, or produced, a man with the help of Yahweh.' This can hardly be right; 'PN is too vague, and the variations of the commentators prove their dissatisfaction with the text. On Marti's view see col. 621, n. 2. Considering that קַיִן is one of the words meaning 'to create' (see CREATION, § 30), we may assume that Eve, in the pride of her motherhood, likens herself to her God, and says, 'I have created a man even as Yahweh.' Targ. Onk. reads for נָח, אֲנִי. 'This is nearer the truth. אֲנִי probably comes from קַיִן. אֲנִי fell out, and אֲנִי was conformed with נָח (cp *Judg.* 14.15).'
4 *Che. Ex. P.*, July 1899; cp *Box, ib.*, June 1899, and *Ball (SBOT)*.

even Delitzsch must be grouped, this is the same Cain as the builder of the first city, and he is 3. Not son also the first-born son of the first man of 'Adam.' This view is critically untenable (see CAINITES, § 2), mainly on account of the improbabilities of the course of events which it assumes.

The first man has been, as we know, driven out of Paradise for transgressing a divine command. According to the traditional view, however, his first-born son Cain is so little impressed by the punishment that he murders his own brother. More than this, he becomes the direct ancestor of another murderer, who apparently goes unpunished, and who is also (contrary to the spirit of 2:16) a polygamist. Now note another point. The original dwelling of Cain is not, as we are to suppose was that of the first man and his wife after their expulsion from Paradise, to the east of the garden of Eden (see 3:4), but in a cultivated and well-peopled land where Yahwè is worshipped with sacrifices, and holds familiar intercourse with men (even with Cain)—apparently S. Palestine (on 4:16 see later). Nor is there any curse upon the ground which Cain tills; it is his own self-caused curse that drives him unwillingly into the land of wandering—i.e., into the desert. There, however, without any explanation, he gives up his unsettled life, and advances further in civilisation than before. He builds a 'city.' This is not to be explained by the ingenious remark that even nomad tribes in Arabia have central market stations (*Ar. bayra*, plur. *hara*), for 'city' is evidently used as a general term; Cain is as much a city-builder as Nimrod, and only as such (or, upon Budde's theory, as the father of a city-builder) could he find a place in the Hebrew legend of civilisation. How are these inconsistent statements to be reconciled? Ever possible way has been tried and has failed. It was high time to apply the key of analysis; and no one who has once done this will wish to return to past theories (see CAINITES, § 2).

It may be assumed, then, that the story of Cain and Abel once had an independent existence, and circulated

4. Origin of at one of the satellites of Southern Palestine. It is probably not a borrowed story. Canaanitish myth, but an independent Israelitish attempt to explain the strange phenomena of nomad life—the perpetual wandering in the desert and the cruelly excessive development of the custom (in itself a perfectly legitimate one, according to the Israelites) of vengeance for bloodshed. As Robertson Smith (following Wellhausen) rightly remarks, Cain is the embodiment of 'the old Hebrew conception of the lawless nomad life, where only the blood-feud prevents the wanderer in the desert from falling a victim to the first man who meets him,' and the mark which Yahwè sets on Cain's person for his protection is 'the *shart* or tribal mark (cp שָׂרָט), without which the ancient form of blood-feud, as the affair of a whole stock, however scattered, and not of near relatives alone, could hardly have been worked.'² (cp KINSHIP, § 7 f., and CUTTINGS, § 1). Now we can guess why the nomad of the story is called Cain; Cain is the eponym of the Kenites

5. Source of name (who are in fact called קַיִיִּי; but cp AMALIK, § 6 f.), whose close alliance with the

Israelites and location in the wilderness of Judah are well known. That the Kenites should be so well acquainted with a more civilised mode of life, and yet adhere to their nomadic customs, was a surprise to the Israelites,³ and the story of Cain and Abel grew up to account for it. Nothing but a curse seemed to explain this inveterate repugnance to city life, and a curse implied guilt; while the unbridled vindictiveness of the nomads (see GOEL, § 2 f.) was explicable only by a compassionate command of Yahwè, who after all was the God of the Kenites as well as of the Israelites, so that the distinguishing mark of this tribe was also a sign that its members worshipped Yahwè and were under his protection. Cain, then, represents the nomad tribe best known to the Israelites. He is contrasted with Abel (i.e. the 'herdman'; see ABEL [1.]), because the pastoral

life, when combined with a fixed domicile, seemed to the Israelites the ideal one. That the Kenites themselves would have sanctioned this portrait of their eponym is not probable. They presumably represented him with some of the noble features natural to a hero of solar origin. We cannot, therefore, say with Neulauer (*PSBA* 11:83) that the story of Cain and Abel is a fragment of Kenite folk-lore.

To the member of the Yahwistic circle who worked up the two (not to say three) Cain stories together we may ascribe 4:1:2a, and the words 'on the east of Eden' in v. 16. The addition of the latter words converts קַיִן in the poetical phrase קַיִן אֶרֶץ, 'land of wandering'—derived presumably from the old tradition—into a prosaic proper name, which is boldly identified by Sayce and Boscawen with the land of the Manda or nomads—i.e., the mountain ranges of Kurdistan and Luristan. The original narrator meant presumably the land between Judah and Edom, where the Kenites lived.

The above contains some fresh points; but Stade's essay, 'Das Kainszeichen,' *ZATW* 14:250 ff. 15:157 ff. (94-'95) = *Akademische Reden* [99], 229-273, gives the most complete critical treatment of the subject. Cp Houtsma, 'Israel en Qain,' *TiJl.* 7:6 pp. 10-25. T. K. C.

CAINAN, or rather, as in 1 Ch. 12 and RV, KENAN (קֵינָן; KAINAN [BAI.]). 1. The son of Enoch (Gen. 5:9-14). That Kenan is a humanised god has been shown already (see CAIN, § 1); Cain and Kenan are forms of one name (cp Lot and Lotan). קַיִן or קַיִיִּי, it may be added, is the name of a god in Hymirytic inscriptions (*ZDMG* 31:86; *CIS* 4, no. 20; *WRS, Rel. Sem.* 6:43). 2. A son of Apphazai in *GENESIS* of Gen. 10:24 (Kasuya 13) 11:13, and therefore in Lk. 3:36. The name is due to an interpolation, made in order to bring out ten members in the genealogy of Gen. 11:10-26. The real tenth from Noah, however, is Terah, the father of Abrahams. T. K. C.

CAINITES, the name generally given to the descendants of Cain mentioned in Gen. 4:17-24. Tradition, as Ewald said long ago, is the commencement and the native soil of all narrative and of all history, and its circle tends continually to expand, as the curiosity of a people awakens to fresh objects, and as foreign traditions are intermixed with those of home growth. Questions about the origins of things are especially prone to crowd into the circle of tradition, and, when the various traditions respecting remote antiquity come to be arranged, it is natural to connect them by a thread of genealogy. There is a real, though but half-conscious, sense among the arrangers that what is being produced is not history but a working substitute for it, and so there is the less scruple in taking considerable liberties with the form of the traditions, many of which indeed, being of diverse origin, are inconsistent. The Hebrew traditionists, in particular, were evidently filled with a desire to bring the traditions into harmony with the purest Hebrew spirit. In minor matters they agree with the traditionists of other nations: in particular they limit the superabundant material for genealogies by the use of round numbers, especially ten.

1. Hebrew Tradition. Much progress has been made in the study of Gen. 4 and 5 since Ewald's time; but that profound critic has

2. Gen. 4:17-24. The credit of having already noticed that the story of Cain and Abel is not as early as the genealogy which follows. This conclusion may now be taken as settled: Gen. 4:1-16 and 17-24 are, generally speaking, derived from separate traditional sources.¹ Both sections are indeed Yahwistic; but the tone and character of their contents is radically different.

The true meaning of Gen. 4:17-24 was seen first by Wellhausen. The section contains relics of an Israelitish legend which made no reference to the destruction of the old order of things by a deluge, and traced the

¹ See Wellh. *1 Pt.* 1:2-6, p. 206 f. (*1 Ch. 10:1*), who was followed by WRS, *J. B. 9*, art. 'Lamech's 1st and 2d W. A. B. 9', art. 'Deluge' [77]. So Kuyt, *Early Narratives*, 79 [102].

² Halévy, *REJ* 14:12.

³ W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 215 f.; cp Stade, *ZATW* 14, 292 ff. [94]. Marti (*Lit. Crit. Abh.*, May 22, 1897) finds a prophetic reference to this mark in Gen. 4:1, pointing to, and rendering 'I have acquired a man, a bearer of the sign of Yahwè.' So independently Zwölner (*ZATW* 18:100 ff. [98]); but the sign is surely not circumcision. See Stade, *op. cit.* 267.

⁴ Ewald suggested this (*Hist.* 1:271). The theory is most fully worked out by Stade, not, however, without extravagances (see AMALIK, § 7).

beginnings of the existing civilisations. The legend is partly based on nature-myths, for the Hebrews were not as unmythological as Renan once supposed. Their myths, however, were to a large extent borrowed: when the Hebrews stepped into the inheritance of Canaanitish culture, they could not help adopting in part the answers which the Canaanites had given to the question, 'Whence came civilisation?'

The Canaanitish culture-legend is unhappily lost; but the fragments of Philo of Byblus (Müller, *Fr. Hist.*

3. Canaanitish Culture-legend. Gr. 3 566 f.), when critically treated, reveal some of the elements of two Phoenician culture-legends, in one of which the invention of the useful arts and of occupations was ascribed to divine beings, whilst in the other it was ascribed to men (Gruppe, *Die griech. Culte u. Mythen*, 1497 ff.; cp PHENICIA). Berosus, too, as far as we can judge from fragmentary reports, appears to have accounted for knowledge of the arts by a series of manifestations of a divine being called Oannes, which took place in the days of the first seven antediluvian kings of Babylon (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 1588 f.). This substantially agrees with the statements of the tablets that the bringers of culture were the great gods, such as Ea, 'the lord of wisdom,' and his more active firstborn son Marduk (Merodach), the creator. A striking confirmation of this is supplied by the mythic story translated by Pinches [see CREATION, § 16 (c)], where Marduk is said to have made, not only the Tigris and the Euphrates, but also cities and temples.¹ City-building is in fact everywhere one of the characteristic actions of humanised nature-deities (Osiris, Jemshid, etc.), and it would be inevitable that the civilised Canaanites should trace the origin of cities to semi-divine heroes (*ἡμῶν θεῶν ἀνδράων*, II. 1233), if not to the creator himself. Still, though the Canaanitish culture-myth is lost, we may be sure of one point—viz., that it was largely influenced by Babylonian myths, the supremacy of Babylonian culture in Palestine at a remote age being amply proved by the Amarna tablets.

When, therefore, we find in Berosus² a list of ten antediluvian kings at the head of the mythic history of

4. List of Berosus. Babylonia, it is not unnatural to suppose that the genealogy of the ten patriarchs in Gen. 5, to which the shorter one in Gen. 4 is so closely allied, is derived from it, and to attempt conjectural identifications of the Hebrew and of the Hellenised Babylonian names. This course, which has been adopted by Hommel, the present writer does not think it prudent to take, (1) because we are ignorant of the phases through which the Berosian list has passed, and (2) because of the violent hypotheses to which this course would often drive us.

By taking the Hebrew names, however, one by one, and using Babylonian clues, it does not seem hopeless

5. Cain. to reach probable results. CAIN, for instance—the name which meets us first—means 'artificer.' Can we avoid regarding this as the translation of a title of the divine demiurge, borrowed from Babylonia through the medium of the Canaanites?

6. Enoch. Moreover since ENOCH, the son of Cain, evidently belongs to the same legend, and indeed shares with his father the honour of the foundation of the first city³ (to which his own name is given), we cannot hesitate to regard Enoch too as of divine origin. This view, indeed, is as good as proved if the statements

¹ *RPZ* 6 110; Zimmern in Gunkel's *Nachf.* 120. Cp these lines (*Obv.* 37, 38, 41).

Lord Merodach [constructed the house], he built the city, [He built the city of Niffer], he built E-kura the temple, He built the city Erech, he built E-anna the temple.

² *Fragm.* ix. xi. in Lenormant, *Essai de Comm. sur Bérosee*, 241-253.

³ Or did Enoch not rather build the city himself? So Budde, who emends *בְּבִנְיָו* 'after his own name,' into *בְּבִנְיָו* 'after his own name' (*Urgesch.* 120 ff.), thus making 'Enoch' the subject of the verbs 'built' and 'called.'

in Gen. 5.20-24 (P) are traditional.¹ We are told that Enoch lived 365 years (a solar number),² that he 'walked with God, and (then) disappeared, for God had taken him.' The number is attested alike by the Hebrew, the Sam. and the LXX text, and even if we lay but little stress on that, the phrases quoted seem unmistakably primitive, and imply that, in the original form of the story, Enoch was a semi-divine hero who, at the close of his earthly days, was taken to the paradise of God.³ When, too, we consider the clear parallelism between Enoch and Noah, and between Noah and Xisuthrus or Pār-nāpīstīm (the hero of the Babylonian Flood-story; see DELUGE, § 2), it becomes reasonable to identify Enoch with Pār-nāpīstīm's great visitor in Paradise (he went there to obtain healing for his leprosy), whose name is perhaps most correctly read Gilgameš. Gilgameš, like Enoch, is a divine being—whether we regard him as a hero who becomes a god, or (more plausibly) as a god who becomes a hero, is a matter of indifference—and like Enoch he is associated with the sun.⁴ As Enoch in the Hebrew tradition is the ancestor of Noah, so (inverting the relation) Pār-nāpīstīm, the Babylonian Noah, is the ancestor of Gilgameš. The latter is said to have crossed the 'waters of death'⁵ to pay a visit to Pār-nāpīstīm in Paradise, and we may presume that, in the earlier form of the Hebrew narrative, his counterpart (whose original name was certainly not Noah) received the same reward as Enoch for 'walking with God.' Both Pār-nāpīstīm and Enoch are distinguished for their piety, and not only Gilgameš but also Enoch (as we may infer from the emended text of Ezek. 283, and as is expressly stated in the *Book of Enoch*, which has a substratum of genuine, even if turbid, tradition),⁶ has been initiated into secret lore, and knows both the past and the future. Lastly, Enoch gave his name to the city of Enoch, which at any rate implies lordship (cp 'city of David,' 2 S. 57; 'castle of Sennacherib,' KB 289; and see 2 S. 1228); and perhaps in the primitive myth was even represented as its builder. So Erech, of which the ideographic name is Unuki or Unuk (*i.e.* the dwelling), is incidentally called in the epic 'the city of Gilgameš,' Gilgameš being at once its king and (according to an old text) its builder.⁷ Why the Hebrew compiler did not adopt Gilgameš as well as Unuk from his Babylonian informant,⁸ we cannot tell. The foundation of the

¹ It is plain that there must have been some fairly complete account of Enoch in P's time; indeed, the references in Ezek. 14.14, 28.3 (emended text) imply such an account in exilic times. See ENOCH, § 1.

² The Chaldeans at first estimated the duration of the astronomical revolution of the sun at 365 days, afterwards at 364½ days. To this they accommodated their civil year of 360 days by means of an intercalated cycle (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 1250). Cp YEAR, § 5.

³ The Egyptian gods, as sons of Rē, were said (as early as the Pyramid Texts) to ascend to heaven, borne by the mythic *ḥw* birds (see *SI* 35, 352).

⁴ We know from another text that Gilgameš was the vicerent of the sun-god (Jeremias, *op. cit.* 3). Hommel makes Gilgameš a form of Gibil the fire-god (Gibilgameš). On the epic of Gilgameš see DELUGE, § 2, and Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chap. 23, p. 467 ff. The present article was written before the appearance of Prof. Jastrow's work.

⁵ On the 'waters of death' in the legend see Maspero, 585; Jeremias, 87. The same mythic stream is found in a very mythological section of a psalm (Ps. 135[14]), where the 'floods of Death' (מַיֵּי מוֹת) are parallel to the 'floods of Perdition' (מַיֵּי שְׂחָדָה); see BELLAI, § 3. So CHE, Ps. 5.

⁶ On both points see ENOCH, § 2. Di. was before his time when, in 1853, he admitted that the late legend of Enoch might conceivably have some traditional basis (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. xxvii).

⁷ See Jeremias, *op. cit.* 17, and cp the inscription quoted from Hilprecht by Winckler (*AOF* 377) and Hommel (*AHT* 129), in which occur the words 'the walls of Erech, the ancient building of Gilgameš.'

⁸ The theory here advocated is that David's Babylonian scribe SAWSHA brought several Babylonian myths and legends to Palestine, including that of the hero Gilgameš, king of Unuk or Erech. He thus opened a fresh period of Babylonian influence on Palestine. Hilprecht's discoveries give increased probability to the identification of Enoch with Unuk, which was already proposed by Sayce in 1887 (*Hib. Lect.*, 185).

extremely ancient city of Irēch (before 4500 B.C., Hilprecht), however, was at any rate well worthy of mention in the Hebrew culture-legend. It is, in the present writer's opinion, not improbable that Enoch once occupied a still more dignified position as hero of the Israhaitic Flood-story (see NOAH, DELUGE, § 17).

We take the next three names together. The last of them is evidently not a divine title, but a simple hero-name. This prepares us to expect that the first and second may be so too. In Babylonia, if Alorus, the first king in the Berossian list, may be identified with some one of the great deities, his successors at any rate are only demi-gods or extraordinary men. Moreover, to appreciate the Hebrew culture-legend, it is necessary to remind ourselves that when the city of Enoch had, by divine help, been erected, there was still plenty of work for semi-divine men to do in triumphing over wild beasts and barbarians. The hunting exploits of Gilgameš (who was first reduced from being a fire-god to the proportions of a heroic man, and then restored in the same legend to the divine company) have in all probability a historical kernel. It is easy to believe, too, that the hero called METHUSAEI (משושאי) as if *Mutu-ša-ili*, 'the liegman of God'; Μαθουσαλα [AL]; *Mathusael*; Gen. 4:18), or, following the better reading of Θ^{AL} , Methuselah ('the liegman of *šarhu*'), was originally viewed as a king who taught men good laws and restrained wild animals and wild men.

The origin of the first of these names is obscure. Jared (so I Ch. 12 AV) or JARED (*q.v.* for Gr. readings; Gen. 5:15) might indeed be an adaptation of the Babylonian Arad in Arad-Sin ('servant of Sin, the moon-god'), which would be a possible title of the hero Gilgameš (see table ix. of the epic). IRAD (*q.v.*; Gen. 4:18) or rather Erad (cp Θ^{ABEL} Γαδαδ) is, however, text-critically a better reading, and to connect this with the city of Eridu is not free from objections. Probably the word is based on a contraction of some Babylonian name. The next name, which is best read, with Lagarde and Robertson Smith, not MEHUJAEI (*q.v.*) but Mahalalel, can be well explained by the help of the Berossian hero-names 'Αμύλαωρ, 'Αμύλλαωρ. Mahalal is a Hebraised form of the common Babylonian word *amīl*, 'man' (cp EVEL-MERODACH); the final syllable, *-el*, is a substitute for some Babylonian divine name. Šelah in METHUSELAH (משושלה, Gen. 5:21f. 25ff. I Ch. 1:1) $\mu\alpha\theta\omega\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha$ [AL], $\mu\alpha\theta\omega$ [B in I Ch. 1:1]; *Mathusala* is doubtless Babylonian; it is reasonable to see in it a Hebraised form of *šarhu*, 'brilliant' (Jensen) or 'gigantic, very strong' (Del.), which is an epithet of Gibil the fire-god, and Ninib (?) the god of the eastern sun.² One of the royal names in the Berossian list is 'Αμύλαωρ, which Friedr. Delitzsch and Hommel explain *Amīl* (*Amīl*) *Sin*—i.e., 'liegman of Sin,'—and, with great probability, identify with Methuselah. The moon-god in fact well deserves the title *šarhu*, and the traditional connection of the Hebrews with Haran and Ur makes some veiled references to the moon-god almost indispensable in the culture-legend.

Lamech (למך; Λαμex [BVL; TL WH]; *Lamech*; Gen. 4:18-24 25:24-26 I Ch. 1:3 Lk. 3:38) must have been an important personage in the old Hebrew culture-legend, for in the earlier of the two genealogies not only his three sons, but also his two wives and his daughter, are mentioned by name. His own name admits of no explanation from the best-known Semitic languages, nor is it at all necessary that it should be specially appropriate for the barbaric eulogist of blood-vengeance who speaks in Gen. 4:23f. It is a needless

assumption that the song of Lamech is 'an exultant boast and menace called forth by Lamech's savage delight at finding himself possessed of the new and effective weapons devised by his son Tubal-cain.'¹ The song must be interpreted by itself, without preconceived opinions. In it the hero declares that not only seven lives (as in the case of 'Cain'), but seventy-seven, will be required to avenge the blood of murdered 'Lamech.' This implies that Lamech's story was once told in connection with that of Cain the murderer: in fact, that Lamech, like Cain, is the representative of a tribe, and speaks thus fiercely out of regard for tribal honour, which to him consists in the strict exaction of vengeance for blood.² Still, the Lamech who is descended from Enoch ought to have some importance in the development of culture; he cannot be merely a bloodthirsty nomad. It would seem, then, that the Lamech of Gen. 4:18 was originally distinct from the Lamech of 23f. The latter is, properly, the personification of a nomad tribe which named itself after the divine hero Lamech, just as Kain (or the Kenites) named itself after the divine hero Kain or Cain. What, then, does the divine hero's name mean? Sayce and Hommel connect it with *Lamga* (=Ass. *naggār*, 'artificer'), a non-Semitic title of the moon-god. This is plausible, though the Assyrian title *naggār* is applied also to Ea. A fragment may have been introduced here from a fresh culture-legend which took for its starting-point another divine teacher, the 'begetter of gods and men,' 'whose will created law and justice.'³

The names of Lamech's two wives are, of course, derived from the poem in Gen. 4:23. Sayce and Boscaiwēn would make them feminine lunar deities —one named Darkness, the other Shadow wifes.—but without indicating any similar titles of the moon in the tablets. Probably the poet simply gave the tribal hero's wives the most becoming names he could think of. ADAM (אדם; *Adā* [AE], *Adōa* [L]; *Ada*; Gen. 4:19-23) may have been known to him already as the name of a wife of Esau (Gen. 36:2, P; but from an older source; see ADAM, 2), and ZILLAH (זילה; 'shadow'; $\Sigma\lambda\lambda\alpha$ [MEL]; *Salla*; Gen. 4:22) was a suggestive description of a noble chieftainess, whose presence was like a refreshing and protecting shade (Is. 32:2). NAAMAH (נחמה; $\eta\eta\eta\eta$; $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ [MEL]; *-muā* [L]; *Noema*; Gen. 4:22), too, the daughter of Zillah, may derive her name ('gracious') from her supposed physical and moral charms; another of Esau's wives bears the equivalent name Basemath (Gen. 36:3). It is possible, however, that, as she is the sister of Tubal-cain, her name may be of mythic origin,⁴ and that she had a rôle of her own in the original story.

TUBAL-CAIN is described in Gen. 4:22 (emended text) as 'the father of all those who work in bronze and iron.'

10. Tubal-cain. At first sight the name might seem to belong to the heroes eponymy of Tubal (so Lenormant), which was a people famous for its 'instruments of bronze' in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 27:13). Tubal, however, was much too far from Palestine to be mentioned here, and *Tabal* in the time of Asurbāni-pal seems rather to have been famous for horses (COTTE 66). Above all, it is difficult to disregard the general tradition of antiquity that the first worker in metal was a divine being (cp Enoch 81, where the fallen angel Azazel teaches this art). Tubal-cain, then, is probably like $\chi\omega\nu\tau\omega\sigma$ (the Phœnician Hephaistos), a humanised god, and the first part of the name is presumably not of Persian but of Babylonian origin.⁵ It

¹ So Sayce (*HB. Lect.* 32), who infers from Gen. 5:18 that Enoch (Senuk) received its earliest culture from Eridu. Gen. 4:18, however, makes Enoch the father of Israel.

² Jensen, *A. Sem.* 105, 404. So Hommel (e.g. *Exp. Times* 8 465), who adopts the form *Sarrahu* (this is found with the determinative *šin*, 'god').

¹ Drysdale, *Early Bible Songs*, 180. Following Ewald and Budde.

² Cp St. ZATH, 1428 [32]—*Ames. Velden*, 209.

³ Hyman to the moon-god, Sayce, *Hebrews* 3, 4, 110f.

⁴ So WRS (*EB*), art. 'Lamech', comparing 'Naaman', originally a divine title. Cp Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 200f.

⁵ See Philo of Byblus in Eus. *PE* 1, 109, and see CROISSANT, § 7, PERSIENICA.

⁶ We can hardly derive the name from Bil-gil (=Gibil) with Ball, and it is the merest coincidence that *tābal* or *tāpāl* in

should be noticed that *-cain* in Tubal-cain is wanting in Θ ($\theta\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$ [AEL]). Probably it was added to explain why the hero was regarded as the father of smiths. Tubal is, in fact, probably a pale form of the god of the solar fire, Gibil or Nusku; but, of course, he is not only a fire-god. Like Gibil and like Hephaistos (see Roscher, *Lex.*), he is the heavenly smith (Θ fifty calls him $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, a term which in *Il.* 15³⁰⁹ is applied to Hephaistos), and was perhaps once addressed in the words of a famous Babylonian hymn:—

'Gibil, renowned here in the land,—valiant, son of the Abyss, exalted in the land,—Gibil, thy clear flame breaking forth,—when it lightens up the darkness,—assigns to all that bears a name its own destiny;—the copper and tin, it is thou who dost mix (?) them,—gold and silver, it is thou who meltest them.'¹

We may well suppose that in the earliest form of the Hebrew legend Tubal was the instructor of men in the art of getting fire. According to Philo of Byblus, fire was discovered by three 'mortal men' called Light, Fire, and Flame, and was produced by rubbing two pieces of wood together. 'This,' remarks Robertson Smith,² 'is the old Arabian way of getting fire, and indeed appears all over the world in early times, and also in later times in connection with ritual. Probably some ritual usage preserved the memory of the primeval fire-stock in Phœnicia.' There was no such ritual usage among the Israelites, and so the legend of the invention of fire disappeared.

Jabal and Jubal have names descriptive of occupations, and evidently of Palestinian origin. The former (יָבֹל ;

11. Jabal. יָבֹל [A], -יָבֹל [L], -יָבֹל [E]; *Jubal*; Gen. 4^{20†} is the reputed ancestor of tent-dwelling shepherds. His name describes him, not as a 'wanderer' (Dillm. very questionably), but as a herdsman (cp Heb. יָבֵן , Phœn. יָבֵן , 'ram'); it is another form of the name ABEL (*q.v.*, 'end'). The latter, Jubal (יָבֹל ; יָבֹל [AEL]); *Jubal*; Gen. 4^{21†}, is the 'father' of the guild or class of musicians (cp יָבֵן , Ex. 19¹³, 'ram's horn'). That the inventor of the *kinnōr* and the *ūgāb* should be the younger brother of the first shepherd, is certainly appropriate. One of the thirty-seven 'Amu, or Asiatics, represented in the tomb of Hnum-hotep (see MUSIC, § 8. JOSEPH, § 10) as desiring admission into Egypt, carries a lyre. (We must not quote the parallel of David, for 1 Sam. 16¹⁴⁻²³ does not recognise him as a shepherd; see DAVID, § 1 a, note). Tubal, however, is less appropriate in this company, partly because of his lofty origin, partly because smiths belong more naturally to agricultural and city life.

The three names Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal stand outside the genealogy proper, just as Shem, Ham, and Japheth stand outside the genealogy of

12. Original form of list. Noah, and Abram, Nahor, and Haran outside that of Terah. By this knot in the genealogical thread the editor indicates that a new and broader development is about to begin (Ewald). How is it, then, that the Cainite genealogy as it stands contains but six names? The parallel table in chap. 5, which has virtually all these names, adds three to them at the beginning, and one at the end. Now it is remarkable that the three prefixed names are also given in 4^{25 f.} It is not improbable (cp Θ) that this passage in a simpler form—omitting 'again,' 'another,' and 'instead of Abel,' etc., and adding 'and Enos begat a son, and called his name Cain'—once stood before 4¹⁷, and that Noah, who is the son of Lamech in 5^{28 f.}, once took the place of Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal. This would make the table begin Adam, Seth, Enos, Cain, and close Lamech, Noah. We might also restore it thus,

Persian means (1) dress of metal, (2) copper or iron. ¹ I regard the α as resulting from a radical α or ϵ , and as changing later to β and γ (Mr. J. T. Platts).

¹ Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 635 (see references).
² *Burnett Lectures*, second series (MS).

Enos (= *ādām*), Seth, Kenan . . . Lamech, Jabal, Noah. This would have the advantage of retaining the founder of the pastoral mode of life as the father of the founder of agriculture, but seems to involve the excision of Jubal and Tubal. We might, more naturally perhaps, suppose that Jabal and Jubal were later additions from another cycle of legends, and that the earliest genealogy began with Cain and ended with Tubal, both originally divine beings. We should then get a genealogy of seven. In any case we must reject the common view that 4^{25 f.} is a fragment of a Yahwistic table which traced the genealogy of the Sethite side of the first family, and that the Sethites, according to the Yahwist, were good, the Cainites bad. There is no valid evidence that the genealogist wished to represent any of the Cainites as wicked, or that culture was opposed to religion. Cain, the city-builder, was a worthy son of Enos, who was the first to use forms of worship (see ENOS). For there was no more truly religious act, from a primitive point of view, than the building of a city. (For the continuation of this subject see SETHITES.)

Buttmann's *Mythologus*, vol. i. (28), first led the criticism of the genealogies into the right track. For recent discussions, besides Stade's article already referred to

13. Literature. and Dillmann's *Gen.*, see Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 13; Löwenstam, *Exp.* 1 *Ann.* 5 357 ff. (May '04); Goldäher, *Heb. Myth.* 32, 113, 127-130, 200; *Die Urgesch.* 182-242; Kyle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*, 78-83. On the Berossian list of ten antediluvian patriarchs see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 564 f.; *Die Pers.* 149; Hommel, *PSBA.* 15, 243-246. The last-named scholar holds that his identifications, especially Amilu = Enosh, Ummanu = Kainan, and Nūhnapīsti = Noah, prove that there is the closest relation between the ten Hebrew patriarchs and the ten Babylonian antediluvian kings. He infers from this that the author of the so-called priestly code must have written centuries before the exile. This hasty inference will not captivate a careful student. That the priestly writer had access to early traditions is a part of the critical system here advocated. The identifications of Hommel, however, need very careful criticism (see NOAH).

T. K. C.

CAKE. It is impossible to ascertain precisely the meaning and characteristic feature of certain of the many Heb. words which are rendered 'cake' in EV, and it must suffice merely to record the terms in question.

- (a) פֶּן־שֶׁן , *āššāh*, Hos. 3¹ (RV) etc., see FLAGON (3), FRUIT, § 5.
- (b) דְּבֵלֶהֶלֶת , *dēbhēlēh*, 1 S. 30¹² etc., see FRUIT, § 7.
- (c) חַלְלָה , *hallāh*, 2 S. 6¹⁹ etc., see BAKEMEATS, § 2, BREAD, § 3.
- (d) כַּזְוִיָּן , *kawwīn*, Jer. 7¹⁸ 44¹⁹, see BAKEMEATS, § 2, FRUIT, § 5.
- (e) לֶבְבֵיחָה , *lebhbhāh*, 2 S. 13⁶ 10,† see BAKEMEATS, § 3.
- (f) לֶבֶד , *lēbad*, Nu. 11⁸, see BAKEMEATS, § 3.
- (g) מִלְּחֵי , *mīl'chē*, 1 K. 17¹² etc., and (h) אֻגְגָּה , *uḡgāh*, Gen. 18⁶ etc., cp BREAD, § 2.
- (i) סֵילֹל , *si'ōl* (Kl., סֵילֹל [Kt.]), Judg. 7¹³, see BAKEMEATS, § 2.
- (j) רִאֲחִיקֵי , *rāhīqē*, 1 Ch. 23²⁹ etc., see BAKEMEATS, § 3, BREAD, § 3.

CALAH (כַּלְחַי ; $\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha\chi$ [A], -K [EL], KALAH [D]; vs 12 $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\kappa$ [E]; *Chale*; Ass. Kalhu, Calah) is named in Gen. 10^{11 f.} as one of the cities originally founded by Nimrod in Assyria. Āšūr-nāšīr-pal, king of Assyria, ascribed its high standing, at any rate as a capital, to Shalmaneser I. (*KB* 116 *Il.* 132-135). Layard, Rassam, and G. Smith proved by their excavations of the mounds of Nimrud 20 m. S. of Nineveh (Kuyunjik) that the city lay in the fork between the Tigris on the W. and the Upper Zab on the E. Protected on two sides by these rivers and on the N. by hills, fortified by a long N. wall with at least fifty-eight towers, it was a strong city.

The town was an oblong, well supplied with water by a canal led through a covered conduit from the Upper Zab, and richly planted with orchards and gardens. At the SW. are the remains of a platform, built of sun-dried bricks faced with

stone, 600 yards from N. to S., by 400 yards wide, and 13 feet above the level of the Tigris, which once washed its western face. On this platform stood palaces built or restored by the kings Shalmaneser I, Asur-nāsin-pal, Shalmaneser II, Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Asur-ētil-lāni. At its NW. corner stood the *šulḫanūtu* or temple-tower, 167½ feet square at the base and still 142 feet high. Next to it was the temple of Nebo, but in the Sargonid period Ninip was the town-god (*AB 4133*, nos. 3, 4, 16).

Of municipal history, apart from the history of the country, we know little.

Calah was faithful to Shalmaneser II. during his son's rebellion (*AB 1176*, II, 45-50), but revolted from Asur-nirari in 746 B.C. (*AB 1212*). It was clearly the court residence under the above-mentioned kings; but in the official lists it never stands first (cp Eponym lists *AB 1208 ff.*). As a centre of population it evidently was inferior to Akkur, and totally eclipsed by Nineveh. When Asur-nāsin-pal rebuilt the town and palace, finished the great wall, and endowed Calah with its canal, he peopled it with captives.

Like other great cities of Assyria and Babylonia, Calah probably had its archives which, with the literary collections of the kings, formed the nucleus of a library.

Few tablets have hitherto been found at Nimrud, and it is inferred that Sennacherib removed the Calah library to Nineveh. Many astrological and omen tablets in the Kuyunjik collections were executed at Calah for Nabū-zukrī-kēni, 'principal librarian', *rab-dup-barzē*, 716-684 B.C. For explorations and identification of site cp Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, G. Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*. For further conclusions respecting library, see G. Smith, *Cat. Comm.* 23. C. H. W. J.

CALAMOLALUS (ΚΑΛΑΜΟΛΑΛΟΣ [-ΛΑ]) or **Calamocalus** (ΚΑΛΟΚΑΛΟΣ [-ΒΙ]), 1 Esd. 5:22, represents the 'Lord (see LYDIAI HADID' of *Exra 2:33* = *Neh. 7:37*). **Cal** has $\lambda\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron$ [-βι] | $\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron$.

CALAMUS (קָלָמֹס) occurs in Cant. 4:14 Ezek. 27:19, and 'sweet calamus' in Ec. 30:23 Is. 43:24 (RV¹⁹⁰⁸; but EV 'sweet cane' in Is.), for the usual REED (*q.v.*, 1, b).

CALCOL (כַּלְכֹּל) on the name see MAHOL; $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\alpha\lambda$ [A], a son of Zerah b. Judah, 1 Ch. 26 ($\chi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ [B], $\kappa\alpha\lambda\chi\alpha\lambda$ [L]), clearly the same as the son of Mahol of 1 K. 4:31 [5 ff.], AV CHALCOL ($\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha\lambda$ [B], $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\alpha\lambda$ [L]). See MAHOL.

CALDRON, AV rendering of the following words:— $\קַלְדָּוֹן$ 1 S. 2:14 Mi. 3:3, so RV; $\קִיר$ Jer. 52:18 f. (RV 'pots' 1 Ezek. 11:37 11, 30 RV; $\קִיר$ 2 Ch. 35:11, so RV— for all of which see COOKING, § 5; and $\קִרְוֹן$ Job 41:30 [12], RV RUSHES (*q.v.*, 2).

CALEB (כֹּלֵב), § 66; on the meaning see below; $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$ [BAL]; gent. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, 'Calebite,' EV 'of the house of Caleb,' 1 S. 25:3 Kr. [ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ (BAL)], see NABAL; Kt. reads $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$; cp the similar variant in Judg. 1:13 (S¹⁹⁰¹), $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\eta\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\upsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\theta\eta\varsigma$. N¹⁹, ZDMG 40:164, n. 1 (36), finds the sense 'raging with canine madness,' objecting to Robertson Smith's identification with $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$, 'dog' (see *J. Ph.* 9:89; *Kin.* 200, 219).

1. Name. Dog-totems, nevertheless, were not impossible in the ancient Semitic world (see MOG, § 4), and a connection with $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$ was early surmised (see NABAL, n.). We find the name Kalbā in Babylonian contract-tablets as late as the times of Nebuchadrezzar II, and Cambyses (*AB 4199* 293). Hommel (*AHT*, 113) makes *kalbū* or *kalalū* mean 'priest'; while Sayce (*Early Hist. Heb.* 265) compares *kalbū* as used in *Am. Tab.* (e.g., 54, 18) for 'officer, messenger' (but this is improbable). The name seems to be primarily tribal.

Caleb was a Kenizzite clan which at, or shortly before, the Israelite invasion of Western Palestine established itself in Hebron and the region

2. Early History. south of it, and in the course of time coalesced with its northern neighbour, the tribe of Judah (naturally, not without admixture of blood; cp. Maacah, Caleb's concubine, 1 Ch. 2:48). The b'ne KENAZ, to whom Caleb and OTHNIEL belong (Nu. 32:12 Judg. 1:13 J), were of Edomite extraction, and the Calebites were nearly related to the nomadic Jerahmeelites in the south-eastern quarter of the Negeb (1 Ch. 29: etc.); see JERAHMEEL. (On the Kenites, see below, § 4.)

How Caleb came to be settled in what was regarded

as the territory of Judah, is variously described (Josh. 15:13, cp 146 ff. D₁, etc.). According to Josh. 15:13 ff. (cp Judg. 1:9 ff.), Caleb invaded from the N. in company with Judah, the region which he subsequently occupied (see ANAK); but in the story of the spies, in the oldest version of which Caleb alone maintains the possibility of a successful invasion of Canaan from the S. and receives Hebron as the reward of his faith¹ (see NUMBERS), we seem to have a reminiscence of the fact that Caleb made his way into the land from that quarter. In David's time Caleb was still distinct from Judah (1 S. 30:13 $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ [11], $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ [1.]; for the conjecture that David was a Calebite prince, see DAVID, § 4, n.).

On the other hand, in the list of the spies (Nu. 13:6 P), and in the commission for the division of the land

3. Pre-exilic. (Nu. 34:9 P), Caleb b. JEPHUNNEH appears as the representative of Judah, a chief (*nāzir*) of that tribe;² and in the post-exilic genealogical systems, Caleb and Jerahmeel, 'sons of HEZRON' (*q.v.*, ii. [1]), are great-grandsons of the patriarch Judah (1 Ch. 2:5 [JEPHUNNEH 1 Ch. 4:1, CAHMI [1]], 18 ff., 42 [$\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\alpha$, A] ff.), whilst Kenaz becomes a son of Caleb (4:15).

These representations reflect the fact that, in 'pre-exilic' Judah, Caleb became the leading branch of that exceedingly mixed tribe. The Chronicler indeed hardly knows any other Judahite stocks than these Hezronites.

The seats of the Calebites in pre-exilic times are to be learned most fully from 1 Ch. 2:42 ff., where we find set down as sons and grandsons (branches) of Caleb the well-known cities and towns, Ziph, Mareshah (so read for MESHIA), Hebron, Tappuah, Jokdeam (so for JORKOAM), Maon, Beth-zur; for Maon and Carmel cp also 1 S. 25:2 f. The clan had possessions also in the Negeb (1 S. 30:14).

After the Exile their old territory was chiefly in the possession of the Edomites, and the Calebites were

4. Post-exilic. pushed northwards into the old seats of Judah. This situation is reflected in another stratum of the composite genealogy (1 Ch. 2:18-24, 50-55, cp 19), where Caleb takes Ephrath (the region about Bethlehem) as a second wife (observe the significant name of the former wife AZUBAH [*q.v.*]; cp also JERIOTHI). Through his son Hur the clan falls into three divisions: Shobal, Salma, and Hareph, the fathers of Kirjath-jearim, Bethlehem, and Bethgader. The further notices of the subdivision of these clans are fragmentary and complex (see BETH-GADER, JABEZ, SHOHAL). It is at all events noteworthy that the passage concludes with the end of a list of Kenites, and a connection between these and the Calebites becomes plausible if CHELUB and RECHAH in 1 Ch. 4:11 f. are indeed errors for Caleb and Rechab (cp Meyer, *Entsch.* 1:171³).

It is not improbable that the names Azbuk, Colhozeh, Rephalah b. Hur (temple-repairers, etc.), temp. Nehemiah) are of Calebite origin (*ib.* 147, 167).

See further KENAZ; also KESUBA, *Real. Lex.* 1:135 ff., 178 ff., Grätz, 'Die Kelubaiten oder Kalebiten,' *MGW* 25:401-402, and especially We. *Levent.*; 1 Ch. 35:7.

CALEB-EPHRATAH, RV *Caleb-Ephrathah* (כֹּלֵב עִפְרַתָּה), is mentioned in 1 Ch. 2:24⁴ as the place where Hezron died. Wellhausen and Kittel, after $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\alpha\pi\omicron\theta\alpha\upsilon\alpha\iota\upsilon$ $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau$ [*εφραθα*, A; -v. L.] $\eta\eta\theta\epsilon\upsilon$ $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\phi\eta\rho\alpha\tau\eta$ [1. *εφραθα* $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\beta$ $\pi\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$ *εφραθα*], read: 'after the death of Hezron, Caleb came unto Ephrath the wife of Hezron his father'⁴ (*We. De Gent.* 14). Klostermeyer (*Gesch.* 112) thinks it more natural to read SEGUB (for Caleb).

¹ In P Joshua is named along with Caleb.
² The name Jephunneh as that of Caleb's father is not earlier than 14; cp Josh. 14:6, 13 [B and 14g, see JOSHUA, § 9].
³ Note also that $\kappa\alpha\lambda$, the lang. rendering of Kenites, is possibly derived from SALMA. Cp Neub. *Géogr.* 427, 429.
⁴ I.e., $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ for $\kappa\alpha\lambda$; ABRAHAM, (4), thus disappears.

'Even after the Exile the Hebrew, like the Arab genealogists, seem to have used the marriage of a son with his father's wife as one device for showing the relations of clans and townships into genealogical form.' (WRS *Kin.* 90, and see We. *Profl.* 217 f. ET 217.)

CALENDAR. See DAY, WEEK, MONTH, YEAR; cp also CHRONOLOGY, § 1 ff.

CALF (בַּיִל, Ex. 32.4, etc.; ΜΟΧΛΟC, Rev. 47). See CATTLE, § 2 *u-c*.

CALF, GOLDEN. Portable images of a bull overlaid with gold occupied, down to the time of the prophets,

a prominent position in the equipment of the Israelitish sanctuaries. We hear of them in the great sanctuaries of the northern kingdom: in Dan¹ and Bethel, where they are said to have been set up by Jeroboam (1 K. 12.28 ff. 2 K. 10.29 Hos. 10.5); in Samaria, the capital of the kingdom (Hos. 8.5 f.); and perhaps also in Gilgal (Am. 5.4 f. Hos. 4.15 9.15 12.11 [12]). On the other hand, there were none in the temple of Jerusalem (which had the brazen serpent: see NEHUSHTAN), and, strange to say, we do not find any allusion to such images as existing in the other sanctuaries of Judah—either in 1 K. 14.21-24, where such reference would have been apposite, or in Amos or Hosea. The last named in particular, who pursued the calf-worship of the northern kingdom with such bitter invectives (8.5 f. 10.5), would hardly have been silent on the subject had the same worship prevailed in Jerusalem also. Though Judah appears to have participated, more or less, in the cultus at Bethel, the worship of such images seems to have been confined chiefly to the northern kingdom.

The bulls belonged to the class of images called כִּמְצָא ('molten images'; see IDOL, § 1 c), which might be either solid or merely covered with a coating of metal. To the latter class the golden bull of Jeroboam (Hos. 13.2) probably belonged (see IDOL, § 4 f.). Because of the value of the metal it is not probable that the images were of great size. Hence we can understand the choice of the word בַּיִל, 'calf': not the youth but the small size of the animal represented is the point to be conveyed—not perhaps without an implication of contempt.

As for their origin, these images were originally foreign to the Yahwé religion. To the nomads of the wilderness, who did not breed cattle, the idea of choosing the bull as an image of divinity could hardly have occurred. On this ground alone the narrative of the golden calf made by Aaron in the wilderness (Ex. 32 JE) can prove nothing for the origin of this form of worship in Mosaic times. Apart from the impossibility of making such an image in the wilderness, the narrative seems rather to be intended as a scathing criticism on the absurdity and sinfulness of bull-worship as viewed from the prophetic standpoint. According to the Deuteronomist, Jeroboam was the originator of bull-worship; but it is hardly likely that he would have introduced an entirely strange image into the sanctuaries of his kingdom. Probably the older Decalogue (Ex. 34.17; cp 20.23), in speaking of 'molten images' as distinguished from plain wooden images, referred to images of this description, which also are intended perhaps by the images of Micah (Judg. 18).

It has often been held (e.g. by Renan and Maspero, and doubtfully by König) that bull-worship may have been an imitation of the worship of Apis at Memphis or of Mendes at Heliopolis; but the Egyptians worshipped only living animals, and in any case the adoption from Egypt is unlikely. The nomad inhabitants of Goshen took over from the Egyptians hardly anything of their culture and religion. On the other

¹ The text of 1 K. 12.30 is obviously corrupt, or at least imperfect. L^1 adds, 'and before the other, to Bethel.' Klo. conjectures that the original text said nothing of a calf in Dan. His restored text, however, only accentuates, if possible, the ancient fame of the sanctuary. See also Farrar, *l.c.*, § 2, end.

hand, the religion of Israel shows the strongest evidence of Canaanite influence. Among the Canaanites the bull was the symbol of Baal;¹ the cow, the symbol of Astarte; and these symbols were taken over from the Phœnicians by the Greeks. Thus the probabilities are that the Israelites derived the practice from the Canaanites. They changed the significance of the symbols, seeing in them a representation of Yahwé and his conquering might and strength (Nu. 23.22 24.8). Though in the time of Jeroboam such worship was regarded as allowable, the so-called older decalogue certainly forbids molten images (see above). The later decalogue, which may be regarded as representative of prophetic times, forbids all idolatrous worship of Yahwé. Hosea rails at the worship of the bull (8.5 10.5). The Deuteronomistic narrator, too, in the Book of Kings regards the conduct of Jeroboam as an apostasy to idolatry. He emphatically describes bull-worship as 'the sin of Jeroboam, wherewith he made Israel to sin' (1 K. 14.16 15.26 16.26 2 K. 10.29 etc.). To the Apis-worship of Egypt we have but one reference—in Jer. 46.15, where we should probably read 'Why hath Apis fled? (why) hath thy steer not stood firm?' See APIS.

See Kön. *Hauptprobleme*, 57; Baethg. *Beitr.* 198 f.; Robertson, *Early Rel. of Isr.* 215-220; Farrar, 'Was there a Golden Calf at Dan,' *Expos.*, 1893, pp. 254-265; and cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 285 f.; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 88 f.; C. W. Goodwin, *TSBA* 2.252. I. B.

CALITAS (καλι[ε]ιται[ι]c [B]), 1 Esd. 9.23 = Ezra 10.23, and 1 Esd. 9.48 = Neh. 8.7 KELITA.

CALKER (Ezek. 27.9 מְבַרְבְּרִים ; קְרָקִים). See SHIP.

CALLISTHENES (καλλισθένης [AV]), a follower of Nicanor [1], who, according to 2 Macc., was burnt for firing the temple gates (2 Macc. 8.33).

CALNEH (כַּלְנֵה). 1. (χαλάννη [AD³L], Γαλαννί [E]). A city included in the earlier kingdom of Nimrod, Gen. 10.10 (J). See NIMROD, § 1, SHINAR.

Rawlinson (*Anc. Monarchies*, 1.8) identifies it with Nippur, supposing that the Talmudic statement, 'Calneh means Nippur' (*Iona*, 10a), represents a genuine tradition. The context, however, shows that it is a pure guess; כַּלְנֵה is connected with כַּלְנֵה, a Greek loan-word (*νύμφη*) meaning 'bride', and כַּלְנֵה with כַּלְנֵה, the old Hebrew for 'bride' (see Levy). Pressel (*PRE*) claims a consensus of critics for identifying Calneh with Ctesiphon N.E. of Babylon, on the left bank of the Tigris (50 Tarz. Jer., Ephr. Syr., Eus. Jer.), which Pliny (6.30) places in the province of Chalonius. This conjecture, too, may be dismissed.

The inscriptions alone should be consulted; and, since none of the ordinary names of the Babylonians resembles Calneh (or Calno), we are justified in examining the non-Semitic (ideographic) names. Among these we find Kul-unu ('dwelling of offspring'), which, in Assyrian times, was pronounced Zir-la-ba or (in an inscription of Hammur-rābi) Za-ri-lab. The situation of Zir-laba is uncertain (see Del. *Par.* 226); but the fact that Sargon mentions Zir-laba at the end of a list of Babylonian cities which apparently proceeds from south to north (*KB* 2.52 f.) suggests to Hommel that it was not far from Babylon (*Die semit. Völker*, 1.234 f.). To Fried. Del. in 1876 (*Chald.* Gen. 293) this identification appeared certain. It is, indeed, not improbable, especially if we may point כַּלְנֵה (cp C as above, and כַּלְנֵה); but we should like some fuller evidence that Kul-unu was really remembered as the old name of Zir-laba.

2. (C^{BAQ} πάντες, as if כַּלְנֵה), a N. Syrian city, conquered by the Assyrians (Am. 6.2, on which see AMOS, § 6 [δ]). See CALNO. T. K. C.

CALNO (כַּלְנֵה, χαλάννη [BNAQT]), Is. 10.9 f., the city called CALNEH [2] in Am. 6.2 (on which see

¹ Cp Tob. 1.5, 'the heifer Baal' (τ. βάλ τῆ δαμάλι [B], מִשְׁחֵי [N]).

AMOS, § 6 [7]) and CANNEH [g.v.]—(rather Calneh) in Ezek. 27 28.

It confounds it with CALNEH (1), and connects it with the building of the 'tower', which, since Babylon is mentioned just before, can only mean the tower of Babel (see BABEL); it is not improbable that it identifies Canneh with Borsippa, according to the Talmudic tradition that the tower of Babel was at Borsippa. This is, of course, worthless. C's Hebrew text was corrupt: קננה was misread קנע, 'fort'; קנע became קנע, 'Arabia'.

Doubleless Calno is Kullani, a place near Arpad, conquered in 738 by Tiglath-pileser III. (Tiele, *Wl.*, Fried. Del., *Che.*, Kittel). T. K. C.

CALPHI, RV CHALPHI (a name formed from the root חלף, whereby a child is designated as a substitute for one lost, cp ΔΑΦΑΛΙΟΣ, and see NAMES, § 62), father of Judas [3], 1 Mac. 11 70 (το υιου χαλφει [AV], ο του χαλφ. [N]), ο χαλφειου [Jos. Ant. xiii 57]; in the Syr. ܟܠܦܘܘܢ ܟܠܦܘܢ and ܟܠܦܘܢ. Cp ALPHAEUS, CLOPAS, § 1.

CALVARY (ΚΡΑΝΙΟΝ [Ti. Wh.], *Calvaria*), Lk. 23 33† AV, the Vg. rendering (Lat. *calvariū*=skull) of κρανίον (RV 'The skull'). The † passages preserve the Semitic form ܟܠܘܘܬܗ (12 21).

CAMEL (כַּמֶּלֶךְ. ܟܘܡܗܠܘܘܿ; Gen. 12 16 24 10 14 etc., Ex. 9 13 Judg. 6 5 1 K. 10 2 1 Ch. 27 30 Ezra 2 67

1. **Name.** Tob. 9 2, and elsewhere, including six prophetic passages; Mt. 34 Mk. 16 etc.; see also DROMEDARY. The Hebrew name¹ is common to all the Semitic languages, which proves that the animal was known before the parent stock divided—one of the facts from which Hommel and others have inferred that the original home of the Semitic race was in Central Asia.² The name was borrowed by the Egyptians; it passed also into Greek and Latin, and most modern languages. The origin of the word is uncertain; von Kremer (*Sem. Culturent-lehnungen*, 4) connects it with Ar. *jimala*, 'to heap,' as meaning the 'humped animal'; whilst Lagarde (*Uebers.* 49) follows Bochart in his etymology from כָּמַן, 'to requite,' the name thus indicating the revengeful temper often shown by the animal.

In the frequent mention of the camel in the historical books of the OT there can be little doubt that *Camelus dromedarius* is meant (see below, § 6).

2. **Biblical references.** though an Israelite ambassador may conceivably have seen a two-humped camel at Nineveh or Babylon.³ We naturally expect to hear of its use by the Arabian⁴ and other nomad tribes; and accordingly the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37 25 [J]), the Midianites (Judg. 6 5), and the Amalekites (1 S. 15 3 27 9) by turns come before us as possessors of camels. The mention of them in connection with Job (Job 1 3), and with the Queen of Sheba (1 K. 10 2), also needs no comment. David's camels (1 Ch.

1 27 28), *šēbēh*, like the Ar. *šēb* (Lam. 1 13) and Ass. *šēbēh* (Del. *Ass. III* 7) denotes the 'young camel,' Is. 60 Jer. 2 23 (RV 2 23). EV reads here *šēbēh* *šēbēh* (1 Ch. 27 28). The word *šēbēh* (Lsh. 8 10 11). AV 'camels,' RVmg. 'mules', is rather an adj. qualifying 'swift steeds'; so RV 'swift steeds' that were used in the king's service' (cp Pers. *khašāya*, realm; BDB *Lex.*). The meaning, however, is disputed. See HOMMEL, § 2.

² See this and other views summarised in Wright's *Comp. Gramm. Sem. Tongues*, § 4.

³ See the bas-reliefs on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., and this king's monolith inscr., obv. 28 (*AB* 1 156 f.), 'dromedaries (*šēbēh*) with two humps', cp Del. *Par.* 66.

⁴ For an account of the numerous references to the camel in Arabian literature, and of the many names of the camel in Arabic, see Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 130 ff.

⁵ 'Both they and their cattle were numberless,' says the narrator. So too the Reubenites carry away 50,000 camels from the Hagrites (1 Ch. 5 21). Precisely so Tiglath-pileser II. states that he had taken 30,000 camels as prey from the Arabs (cp Hommel, *GBA* 66), and Assur-bāni-pāl says that he took 50,000 camels from the Kedarnes that camels were sold in Assyria for from 1½ (silver) shekels to half a shekel (*AB* 2 225). On the notice in Judg. 6 21 see CRESCIENTES.

27 30) may have been kept for purposes of trade; they were put under the charge of an Ishmaelite, who from his calling bore the name of ORIL. Other things may have followed David's example; Hezekiah's camels were carried away by Sennacherib (Schr. *COT* 2 286). That Syrians should have used them (2 K. 8 9) is natural; but in the hilly region of Palestine the camel cannot have been a common quadruped. It is true this animal appears again and again in the patriarchal story, and there is no difficulty in supposing that Jacob acquired camels in Mesopotamia. There is, however, great difficulty in the statement (Gen. 12 16) that camels formed part of a present given to Abraham by the pharaoh (see below, § 3 f.).

The camel's saddle is mentioned only once, Gen. 31 34 (שַׂרְיָה 72. ܟܘܡܗܠܘܘܿ). EV 'the camel's harness', and derives its name from its round basket-shaped form. See LITTELL, *SADDLE*.

The flesh of camels was unclean food to the Israelites (Dt. 14 7 Lev. 11 4). By the Arabs, on the other hand, camels were both eaten and sacrificed (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 2 218).

[The assertion that the ancient Egyptians knew the camel is unfounded. The picture of a camel on one of the Ethiopian pyramids at Menoë (Lepsius, *Inschr.* 5 20) and on a Greek terra-cotta figures—e.g., of a travelling Arab (not, as has been supposed, an Egyptian) in Mariette (*Abydos*, 2 40)—and the references in Greek papyri,² prove nothing more than that the animal was known in Egypt in Roman times. It is surprising that it never appears earlier—e.g., in representations of battles with the nomadic Semites who rode on camels. The Egyptian artists evidently disliked to represent the animal—not because of its ungainly appearance, for they have rather a fancy for delineating strange creatures, but out of religious antipathy (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 142). The statement that the camel is mentioned in Pap. Anast. i. 235 is groundless. The passage contains an exclamation of the Asiatic princes, awe-struck at the bravery of an Egyptian soldier—'a-ba-ta ka-ma 'ā-rī-lī (tu ma-ha-ira nī-mu, which seems to mean, 'Thou art lost (אֲבָתָךְ) like God (אֱלֹהִים) a hero (הִרֵי) indeed (Ar. na'am)'. Even if this explanation³ be rejected, the idea of Chabas (*Voyage*, 220) that the Asiatics are here calling for 'camel's meat' is most ridiculous. The other passages appear to refer not to the camel (the pretended *kamaly*) but to a large species of monkey (*kay*, *ky*), which is said to come from Ethiopia (where there were no camels in 1300 B.C.; see above), and is described as docile—learning an amusing kind of dance, and carrying its master's walking-stick. See the passages collected by WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 370),⁴ and the judicious remarks of Wiedemann, *SBA* 13 32. Even the Egyptian name of the camel ܟܘܡܗܠܘܘܿ (ܟܘܡܗܠܘܘܿ) is borrowed (not from *gammil* [Lagarde, *Uebers.* 49] but from an original **gamīl*), and does not seem very old. W. M. M.]

3. **Not known in Egypt.** the (Ethiopian) pyramids at Menoë (Lepsius, *Inschr.* 5 20) and on a Greek terra-cotta figures—e.g., of a travelling Arab (not, as has been supposed, an Egyptian) in Mariette (*Abydos*, 2 40)—and the references in Greek papyri,² prove nothing more than that the animal was known in Egypt in Roman times. It is surprising that it never appears earlier—e.g., in representations of battles with the nomadic Semites who rode on camels. The Egyptian artists evidently disliked to represent the animal—not because of its ungainly appearance, for they have rather a fancy for delineating strange creatures, but out of religious antipathy (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 142). The statement that the camel is mentioned in Pap. Anast. i. 235 is groundless. The passage contains an exclamation of the Asiatic princes, awe-struck at the bravery of an Egyptian soldier—'a-ba-ta ka-ma 'ā-rī-lī (tu ma-ha-ira nī-mu, which seems to mean, 'Thou art lost (אֲבָתָךְ) like God (אֱלֹהִים) a hero (הִרֵי) indeed (Ar. na'am)'. Even if this explanation³ be rejected, the idea of Chabas (*Voyage*, 220) that the Asiatics are here calling for 'camel's meat' is most ridiculous. The other passages appear to refer not to the camel (the pretended *kamaly*) but to a large species of monkey (*kay*, *ky*), which is said to come from Ethiopia (where there were no camels in 1300 B.C.; see above), and is described as docile—learning an amusing kind of dance, and carrying its master's walking-stick. See the passages collected by WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 370),⁴ and the judicious remarks of Wiedemann, *SBA* 13 32. Even the Egyptian name of the camel ܟܘܡܗܠܘܘܿ (ܟܘܡܗܠܘܘܿ) is borrowed (not from *gammil* [Lagarde, *Uebers.* 49] but from an original **gamīl*), and does not seem very old. W. M. M.]

[The difficulty of the narrative in Gen. 12 10-20 is very great so long as it is assumed that it correctly represents the Hebrew tradition. Supposing, however, that the mention of the pharaoh were due to a misunderstanding, and that the early Hebrew tradition knew only of a visit of Abraham 1 Roman period? Even in Persian times orthodox Ethiopians were apparently deterred from using the animal by fear of contracting ceremonial defilement. The more southern tribes had no camels; see, e.g., Mariette, *Mon. égypt.* 12, 87. The animal can hardly live in the regions S. of Menoë.

2 E.g., in Grenfell, *Greek Papyri* (245 etc.), camels appear frequently in the Fayūm after 100 A.D. It is, however, significant that they sometimes bear 'αβαθία χαρμάματα as brand-marks (1 l. 50 a). The camels on the roads to the Red Sea (Petrie, *Koptos*, 27, l. 21, Strabo, etc.) were driven by the desert-tribes.

3 Partly after Erman, *ZÄ* 77, 36.

4 Add the passage on *ky*-apes from the St. Petersburg tale and the Morgan, *Cat. Anomim.* i. 614 (*ky*-animals from the Sūdān).

to the land of Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [β]), the difficulty arising from the mention of camels in Gen. 12:16 would disappear. The difficulty of Ex. 9:3 (j), where a murrain is predicted on pharaoh's cattle including 'the camels,' cannot, however, be removed by such an expedient. Here it appears simplest to suppose that the narrator gave a list of those kinds of animals which, from a Palestinian point of view, would be liable to the murrain.

Two proverbial expressions about the camel occur in the Gospels (the one in Mt. 19:24 Mk. 10:25 Lk. 18:25, the other in Mt. 23:24). The reading

5. NT reff. *κἄμιλος* (a rope?) for *κἄμῆλος* has been suggested for the former. It is as old as Cyril of Alexandria and is evidently the conjecture of a non-Semitic scribe (see Nestle, *Exp. T.* 9474). *κἄμῆλος* is correct. Analogous proverbs can be quoted—e.g., 'In Media a camel can dance on a bushel' (*Jebam.* 45 a)—*i.e.*, all things are possible. T. K. C.]

As has been indicated above there are two species of camel. One, the *Camelus* is found in S.E. Asia, ranging from Afghanistan and Bokhara through N.W.

6. Zoology. India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and in N. Africa; this species reaches its most southern point in Somali-land. The second, or Bactrian camel, *C. bactrianus*, lives in the high plateaus of central Asia. Both species are said to exist wild, but it is generally thought that the herds found in a state of nature are descended from domesticated animals and are not truly feral. This view is supported by the recent observations of Sven Hedin. They have been introduced into many parts of both the Old and the New World, and where the climate has proved suitable have been very useful as beasts of burden.

Numerous breeds of the *C. dromedarius* are found in the East, and show as great diversities in character and use as do the various breeds of horse. The breeds, many of which are distinguished by a complex system of branding, may be roughly divided into two classes: the riding, called in Egypt and Arabia *Hagfin* and in Indian *Sawari*, and the baggage animal, called respectively the *Gamal* and *Unt*. The word dromedary is often restricted to the former animal, which often maintains a pace of 8-10 miles an hour for a long period, whereas the baggage camel rarely exceeds 3 miles an hour. Riding a camel for any length of time usually induces sickness, the movement of the two legs of each side together producing a most unpleasant swaying motion. Enormous herds, such as we read of in the OT, are still kept by the natives both of the Sūdān and of N.W. India, and breeding stables exist in many parts of the East. Camels produce but one young at a time and the period of gestation is twelve months; the young are suckled for a year or longer. The average length of life seems to be considerable—from forty to fifty years—and if well treated the camel will continue to work hard until well over thirty.

The power which it undoubtedly possesses of doing without food is to some extent dependent on the hump; when the animal is underfed or overworked this structure begins to disappear and the condition of the hump is thus an unfailing sign of the state of its health. Similarly the power of doing without water is due to a structural peculiarity of the two first compartments—the *rumen* and *reticulum*—of the complex stomach of the camel. Each of these chambers has its wall pitted into a series of crypts or cells which are each guarded by a special sphincter muscle, and in these crypts a certain amount of water is stored—perhaps two gallons at most. The fluid can be let out from time to time, to mix with the more fluid, softer camel's ruminate, and their masticated food passes straight into the third division of the stomach. In spite of this provision for storing water, no opportunity should be lost of watering camels, as it is most inadvisable to trust to this reserve, and they are apt to overdrink themselves if kept without water for too long a time. The stories about travelers saving their lives by opening the stomachs of camels when dying of thirst are probably imaginary; the camel exhausts its own supply of water, and even if a little be left it is quite undrinkable. Their flesh is eaten at times by natives, who consider the hump a delicacy. Their dung is used for fuel in the desert.

From the earliest times the hair of the camel has been woven into fabrics. The hair from the hump and back is torn or shorn and woven into a tough, heavy cloth; but a finer, softer material is also prepared from the under-wool. The milk is consumed by the natives, who both drink it and convert it into butter and cheese.

Although the camel has been domesticated from a very early date, and although, without its aid, vast regions of the world would prove untraversable, and consequently it has always been the servant of man, there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the real character of the animal. Perhaps the latest writer, Major Leonard,¹ may be quoted as one who has had sixteen years' practical observation and experience of camels in India, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Soudan'; he says, 'To sum

up the average specimen of a camel. He can abstain from food and water—the latter more especially—longer than any other animal. He is stupid and patient to excess, submissive and tenacious to a degree, docile and obstinate to a certain extent, vindictive and passionate when roused, not easily excited nor usually alarmed, though at times liable to a panic or stampede—an animal in fact whose characteristics are every bit as peculiar as his structural peculiarities.' Another admirable epitome of the character of the camel as a baggage animal is given in Rudyard Kipling's 'Oont.'

§ 1 f. 6 N. M.—A. E. S.; § 3 W. M. M.; § 4 f. T. K. C.

CAMP (מַחֲנֶה; ΠΑΝΩΝ [B], -ΜΜΩ [A], ΚΑΛ-ΚΩΝ [L]), an unknown locality in Gilead; the burial-place of JAIR (*g.v.* 1) (Judg. 10:5). It was doubtless one of the HAVVOTH-JAIR (*g.v.*). Reland (679) rightly combines it with the *Καμὼν* which, in 217 B.C., Antiochus III, the Great captured along with Pella and Gefrun (Polyb. v. 701a). To the W. of the place identified by Buhl with the ancient Gefrūn or EPHRON (*g.v.*, i. 2) in N. Gilead, and 1 m. S. of the high road from Irbid (Arbela) to the Jordan, lies a village whose name, *Kameim*, 'little summit,' is doubtless a corruption of the ancient Kamōn.

Eus. and Jer. (*OS 2726 11020*) identify Camon with a place in the 'great plain' called *καμῶνα*, *Cimona*, situated 6 R. M. N. of Legio, on the way to Ptolemais. This *καμῶνα*, however, which is evidently *Tell kaimūn* (see *JOKNEAM*), is clearly on the wrong side of the Jordan.

CAMP (מַחֲנֶה; ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ [BADEFL]). Gen. 32:3 [Ex. 14:19 Heb. 13:11]. A camp is so called from

1. Military. the curving of the tents over their occupants (מַחֲנֶה; cp MH מחנה).² The term (מחנה) is applied primarily to an assemblage of tents of nomads (Gen. 32:21[22], EV 'company'; Nu. 13:19, EV 'camps'). Of the early Israelitish nomad camps we have no contemporary records; Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1:22 2:309) observes that some Bedouin tribes pitch dispersedly and without order; others in a circle, to protect the cattle. The latter style is that of the *ḥayy* (Ar. *dawār*), of which we hear in Gen. 25:16 Nu. 31:10 1 Ch. 6:39 [54] Ezek. 25:4 (AV 'castle,' but in Ezek. 'palaces,' RV 'encampment').

The military camps of a later age are referred to elsewhere (see *WAR*). Suffice it to remark here (1) that the encampments of the Hebrews were probably round rather than square: this was a legacy from their nomad state (see above); the barricade which surrounded the camp was called *ḥayy* (1 S. 17:20 26:5, AV 'trench,' RV 'place of the wagons,' mg. 'barricade,' in 17:20 *ḥay* and in 26:5 Aq. and Sym. or Theod. *στρογγύλωσις*, Tg. ארבע-*i.e.*, *χαράκωμα*)—*i.e.*, a 'round' line of defence, cp *ḥayy*, 'round'.⁴ Also (2) that their camps have left no impress on names of places, as the Roman *castra* has on English place-names. MAHANEH-DAN [*g.v.*] owes its name to a misunderstanding. We do find, however, the strange archaizing phrases, 'the camp of Yahwé' (2 Ch. 31:2) and 'the camp of the Levites' (1 Ch. 9:18; cp Nu. 2:17 P), in connection with the description of the temple services. Is. 29:1 has been thought to describe Jerusalem as the camp—*i.e.*, dwelling—of David (so BDB); but this is far from certain; the prophecy of Yahwé's encampment against Jerusalem is thereby obscured.

This leads us to speak of the camp in the wilderness, as conceived by P (Nu. 1-4). Of course, it must be historically true that there was a sacred tent in which the ark or chest containing the sacred objects of the Israelitish nomads was placed when the Israelites halted in their wanderings (see *ARK*, 4). This tent, glorified into the so-called Tabernacle (see *TABERNACLE*), forms the

¹ מַחֲנֶה 2 K. 6:8 ('shall be) my camp' is corrupt; Th. Klo. Grätz. Benz. after Pesh. read מַחֲנֶה, 'ye shall be hid.

² On מַחֲנֶה in Jer. 37:16 see *CELS.*

³ AV *ḥay*, 'midst of his carriages.

⁴ *ḥay* in 17:20 has *παρεμβολή*; 26:5 *ḥay* λαμπρή and Aq. also *καμπή*.

centre of the camp as described by P. The case is analogous to that of Ezekiel's ideal division of the Holy Land in the future (Ezek. 48), in which his sacerdotal conceptions find expression. The Tabernacle is the place of Yahwé's presence. This is why it is the central point, immediately round which the Levites encamp, forming an inner ring of protection for the ordinary Hebrew lest by inadvertently drawing near he should bring down upon himself the wrath of Yahwé (Nu. 15 50-53).

The positions of the various tribes are given in Nu. 2; on each side of the tabernacle, but separated from it by the Levites, three tribes encamp—a leading tribe flanked by two other tribes with their 'ensigns' (שָׂמָר). Thus on the E. is Judah flanked by Issachar and Zebulun; on the S. Reuben flanked by Simeon and Gad; on the W. Ephraim flanked by Manasseh and Benjamin; and on the N. Dan flanked by Asher and Naphtali. It has generally been held that the four leading tribes were distinguished by the possession of large standards (שָׂמָר), whereas the other tribes had only smaller ensigns (נִסִּים); but this rests perhaps on a misinterpretation of שָׂמָר, which, as the contexts and, in part the versions show, means a company; see the discussions in *J. O. R.* 11 4 200-201-202; and *cp* Eusebius.

The foregoing details are to be gathered from what have been generally regarded as parts of the primary narrative of P. Further details as to the Levites are given in 314-20, which has been attributed (*e.g.*, by *W. CH* 179*f.*) to secondary strata of P. According to this section the various Levitical divisions encamped as follows:—Moses, Aaron and his sons (3 38) on the E., the Kohathites on the S. (3 29), the Gershonites on the W. (3 23), and the Merarites on the N. (3 35) of the tabernacle.

The Eastward is manifestly regarded as the superior position; the relative importance of the remaining three positions is less obvious; but it may be observed that the E. and S. sides are occupied by the children of Leah (exclusive of Levi) together with Gad; the W. by the children of Rachel, and the N. by the children of the handmaids (exclusive of Gad).

The priestly writers appear to have conceived of the camp as square, and this is probably another indication that we have to do with an ideal (not a historical) camp; for there is some reason for believing that the actual encampments of the Hebrews approximated to the round rather than the square form (*cp* § 1). Though the other hexateuchal sources furnish few details as to the camp, the direct statement of Ex. 33 7 (E) that the tabernacle was *outside* is quite irreconcilable with P's account that it formed the *centre* of the camp. The central position of the tabernacle, the intermediate position of the Levites between the tabernacle and the secular tribes, and the superior position assigned among the Levites to the sons of Aaron, are not matters of history, but the expression, in the form of an idealisation of the past, of a religious idea.

T. K. C., § 1; G. B. G., § 2.

CAMPHIRE (קָמְפִירָה; קָמְפִירָה [KAM]: Cant. 1 14 [om. B], 4 13), the earlier spelling of 'camphor,' should be HENSA (as in RV)—*i.e.*, *Lavsonia alba*, Lamk., a plant described by Tristram (*NHB* 339*f.*) as still growing on the shores of the Dead Sea at Engedi (Cant. 1 14). According to Boissier (*Fl. Orient.* 2 744), it is frequently cultivated in Egypt, Arabia Petrea, and Persia; and it is probably indigenous to N. Africa, Arabia, Persia, and W. India (Bentham and Hooker, *Gen. Pl.* 1 782). The 'cluster'¹ of Cant. 1 14 is that of the flowers.

Pesh. and Targ. have the same word as MT, with which *קָמְפִירָה* also is identical; and the Syriac lexicographers state that this means the *hanna* of the Arabs—the plant from which they obtain the dye for the nails. The Greek references to *κίμπος* will be found in Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*

N. M.—W. T. T. D.

CANA OF GALILEE (ΚΑΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΪΔΟΣ [Ti. WH]: Pesh. *kanana*) appears only in the Fourth Gospel, as the scene of Christ's first miracle (John 2 11 4 46), and of his healing of the nobleman's son lying sick at Capernaum (4 46-54), and as the home of Nathanael (21 2). The only evidence as to its position is that it lay higher than Capernaum; Jesus went down from it to the latter (2 12).

Tradition and present opinion are divided between

¹ *שָׂמָר*, which elsewhere means a cluster of grapes—possibly of dates in Cant. 7 7*f.* [8*f.*]. See Budde.

the modern Kefr Kennā, a hamlet almost 3½ m. NE. of Nazareth, with a fine spring, and Khirbet Kāna or Kānat el-Gellī, on a promontory of Gebel Kāna over the plain of Buṭṭāuf, about 8 m. N. of Nazareth, with ruins, tombs, cisterns, and a pool.

The data of Antiochensis-Phoenicianus, 599 A.D. (*Itin.* 4), suit *Kefr Kennā*, at which the notional writers Ptolemy, John of Würzburg, and Quaresimus, place it; so also in modern times Guérin, De Saulcy, Paster, Tristram, and Conder. Eusebius and Jerome (*Os*) identify it with KANAN in Asher (Josh. 19 28); to them, therefore, it would not have been at Kefr Kennā, but may have been Kānat el-Gellī. The data of Theodosius (530 A.D.) suit Kānat el-Gellī, and so in the Middle Ages do those of Saewulf, Brocardus, Felitus, Marinus Sanutus; and others adhere. Robinson, who was the first to mention the ruins of Kānat el-Gellī, describes the position, details the traditional evidence, and points out that the name is the equivalent of the NT one, while Kenna, with the double *n*, is not (*J. R.* 3 204-8). He has been followed by Kitter, Renan, Thomson, Stanley, and Socin.

The name Kānat el-Gellī is not above suspicion; it may be the creation of an early ecclesiastical tradition, just as Robinson himself points out that an attempt has been made by the native Christians in the present century to transfer it to Kefr Kenna. On the other hand, Josephus resided for a time in a village of Galilee, called Cana (*Itin.* 16); if this be the same as his residence in the plain of Asochis (*id.* 41), he means Kānat el-Gellī.

Conder (*PEF. Mem.* 1 288) suggests another site for Cana in 'Ain Kānā, on the road between Keineh and Tabor.

G. A. S.

CANAAN, CANAANITE (כְּנַעַן, כְּנַעֲנִי, קְנַעַנִּים, קְנַעֲנִיּוֹת). Coins from Laodicea of the time of

Antiochus IV. and his successors, bear the legend ΚΑΝΑΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ, 'a metropolis in Canaan'—probably the

Phœnician town whose position is indicated by the ruins of Umm-el-Awāmid, S. of Tyre. Well known, too, is the statement (wrongly assigned to Hecataeus of Miletus) that Phœnicia was formerly called *χνα* (Herodian, *περι μονηριου λεγεις*, 19; similarly Steph. *βυζ.* *χνα οπις αυς φωνικης λεγομενη*). In accordance with this, Philo of Byblos (2, 27) calls the eponym of the Phœnicians 'Chna, who was later called Phoinix' (*αὐτοαρος χνα τοῦ πρώτου αὐτονομασθετος φωνικος*); and in Bekker, *Anecd.* iii. 1181, δ *χνας* (280. τοῦ χνα) is identified with Ageor (the father of Phœnix, 'whence the Phœnicians are also called Ochna' (*ὄθεν καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη ὀχνα λέγεται*). Here we have the shorter form *χνα* met with in the Amarna tablets under the form *Kinahhi*, side by side with the fuller form *Kinuhhi*, probably with the article prefixed (2277) as in Egyptian inscriptions (see below, § 6).

As a geographical term Canaan shares the indefiniteness that characterises much of the OT, and indeed of

all ancient, geographical nomenclature.

2. OT usage. In its widest sense the term seems to have been used to denote all of what may be roughly classed as Southern Syria, from the foot of Mt. Hermon to the lower end of the Dead Sea, including territory both to the E. and to the W. of the Jordan clear to the Mediterranean. Such appears to be the case in the Book of Joshua (11 3). More commonly, however, it is restricted to the lands lying to the W. of the Jordan—that is Judæa, Phœnicia, and Philistia proper. As Judæa, however, became more sharply marked off from Phœnicia and Philistia, it is natural that to Hebrew writers Canaan should have come to mean the latter districts more particularly. So in Is. 23 11 the term is applied to Phœnicia and perhaps to the entire coast, and in Zeph. 2 5 to Philistia. As an ethnic term, Canaanite is similarly applied to the inhabitants of the W. Jordan district in general, while at times—as in Nu. 13 29—the seats of the Canaanites are more specifically limited to the sea-coast and the Jordan valley. Corresponding to

¹ This section is by the author of the article PHœNICIA.

the identification of Canaan with Phœnicia, which is also in accord with the usage of the term *Kinabhi* in the Amarna Tablets (§ 10 below), the term Canaanite comes to be associated with the mercantile activity of Phœnicia, and in consequence appears occasionally—as, e.g., in Hos. 128 Is. 238—in the general sense of merchant. According to Targ. and many moderns, it has this sense likewise in Zech. 1421; Wellhausen and Nowack would add, emending in accordance with *CBS*, Zech. 11711.

The indefiniteness and the shifting character of both the geographical and the ethnical terms point to political changes in which were involved the people to whom the term

3. Geographical inference. Canaanites was originally applied;

indeed, the indefiniteness is the direct outcome of these changes. Analogy warrants us in assuming as the starting-point a more limited district, and that with the extension of Canaanite conquest or settlement the term became correspondingly enlarged, though it is not necessary to assume that the correspondence between actual settlement or possession and the geographical application of the term Canaan must have been complete. The predominance of Canaanites in important sections of the W. Jordan lands would have sufficed for imposing their name on the whole district.

The Egyptian inscriptions come to our aid in enabling us to determine where to seek for the origin of the term.

4. Egyptian evidence. In the accounts of their Asiatic campaigns, which begin about 1800 B.C., the rulers of the Nile restrict the name Ka-n'-ng

to the low strip of coast that forms the eastern limit of the Mediterranean; and, since it is only the northern section of this coast that affords a sufficiency of suitable harbours for extensive settlements, it is more particularly to the Phœnician coast-land that the name is applied. From the Phœnician coast it naturally came to be extended by the Egyptians to the entire coast down to the Egyptian frontier, the absence of any decided break in the continuity of the coast leading to the extension of the nomenclature, as it led in later times to the shifting character of the southern boundary of Phœnicia proper. The name of Philistia for the southern part of the coast does not occur in the Egyptian inscriptions. It was from the coast, therefore, that the name was extended to include the high lands adjacent to it; and it is interesting to note that, whilst the geographical term never lost its restricted application to the coast strip, the ethnographical term Ka-n'-ne-gu—i.e., Canaanites—embraces for the Egyptians, according to Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 206 f.), the population of all of Western Syria, precisely as in biblical sources. The combination of the Egyptian with the OT notices seems to justify the conclusion that the coast population sent into the interior offshoots which made permanent settlements there. In this way both Canaan and the Canaanites acquired the wide significance that has been noted, whilst the subsequent tendency towards restricting the name to the sea-coast is an unconscious return to the earlier and more exact nomenclature.

5. History of Name. The etymology of the term Canaan bears out these historical and geographical conclusions. In the Egyptian inscriptions (cp also above, § 1) the word appears with the article—'The Canaan'—which points to its being a descriptive term; and, even though we agree with Moore (*P.AOS*, 1890, pp. lxvii-lxx) that the testimony is incomplete, the use of the stem *ng* in Hebrew in the sense of 'to be humbled' suggests the possibility that this stem may, in some other Semitic dialect, have been used to convey the idea of 'low,' even though that may not have been the original sense of the stem. If we keep in view the prefixing of the article to the term, and its original application to a strip of land between the sea and the mountains, no more appropriate designation than 'the

lowland' can well be imagined; and this explanation of Canaan, though not unanimously accepted, is at any rate provisionally tenable.¹ Certainly it seems to be an ancient one; for when it is said that the Canaanite is the one who dwells by the sea and along the side of the Jordan (Nu. 1329)—i.e., in the two 'lowland' districts of Palestine—the very artificiality of the indicated limits suggests that it was the etymology of the word which led the writer to such a view in contradiction to so many other passages where Canaanites are spoken of as occupying mountainous districts also.

By the side of the term Canaan, however, there is in the OT another which is used, especially by the Elohist, to cover precisely the same population—

7. Amorites in OT. namely, 'the land of the Amorite.' It is the merit of Steinthal (*Z. f. Völkerpsychologie*, 12 267) and of E. Meyer (*ZATW* 122 [81]) to have definitely demonstrated this important point. See AMORITES. At the same time, it is to be borne in mind that when the coast-land is specifically referred to, the term Amorite is not used, but, as already pointed out, either Canaan for the whole coast or Canaan for the northern and Philistia for the southern. Whether the Yahwist (J) is equally consistent, as Meyer claims, in using 'Canaanite' for the pre-Israelitish population of the W. Jordan lands is open to question. The theory cannot be carried through without a certain amount of arbitrariness in the distribution of the verses belonging to J and E respectively (see M'Curdy's note, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1468-8).

Moreover, the cuneiform documents and Egyptian inscriptions furnish an explanation for the double nomenclature that places the facts in a somewhat different light. From the Egyptian side it is clear that the term 'Amoritic' land was limited to the mountain district lying to the east of the Phœnician coast-land but extending across the Jordan to the Orontes (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 217 ff.). The southern and the eastern boundaries are not sharply defined. The former is placed by Müller, on the basis of Egyptian inscriptions, at the entrance of the plain—the so-called *Bekâ'*—between the Lebanon and the Antilibanus, and, whilst the Orontes might seem to furnish a natural eastern boundary, it would appear that the early Egyptian conquerors extended the limits still farther to the east. At the time of Thotmes III. the Hittites had not yet made their appearance. Later, in the days of Ramesses III., when the Hittites form the most serious menace to Egyptian supremacy in Western Asia, the Orontes becomes a more definite boundary of the 'Amoritic' district, while as the Hittites encroach upon the territory of the Amorites, the term Hittite begins to displace 'Amorite' for the northern mountain district of Palestine. This process is completed about 1000 B.C. At that time, however, the term 'Amoritic' had already been extended to the southern range of Palestine—not by the Egyptians, but by the Babylonians and Assyrians. It is in cuneiform documents of (about) the twelfth century that we first come across the term 'land of A-mur-ri' (as the signs must be read, instead of A-har-ri, as was formerly supposed). Nebuchadrezzar I., king of Babylonia, whose date is fixed at *circa* 1127, calls himself the conqueror of the 'land of Amor'; and Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria, whose reign coincides in part with that of Nebuchadrezzar, names the great sea of the Amoritic land as the western boundary to his conquests.

8. In Egyptian. Long ere this, however, as the use of the Babylonian language in the Amarna tablets (*circa* 1400 B.C.) shows,

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¹ [So G. A. Smith, *HG* 5, whilst BDB and Buhl (*Pal.* 42) decline a decision. Moore and E. Meyer (*GA* 176) reject the derivation from *ng*, 'humilis esse,' which is the property of the uncritical Augustine (*Enarrat.* in Ps. 1047). Augustine says (*Enarrat. Ep. ad Rom.*) that the peasants near Hippo, when asked as to their origin, answered in Punic, *Chanani, id est, Chananiensis esse.*]

Babylonia had come into close contact with the Phœnician coast and the interior. As a matter of fact, one of the earliest rulers in Southern Babylonia of whom we have any record, Sargon I., whose date is fixed at 3800 B.C., is declared, in a tablet presenting a curious mixture of 'omens' and historical tradition, to have penetrated beyond the western sea (i.e., the Mediterranean), and there are indications that he actually set foot on the island of Cyprus (see Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 83). Sargon speaks only in a general way of having proceeded to the 'west' land; but the ideographic designation in the text in question—*MARTU*—is the same as that which the later Assyrian rulers employ for the territory which includes Canaan in the proper sense. The same compound ideogram is the ordinary term for 'west' in the legal literature of Babylonia; and the suggestion that it is also to be read *Amuru*—*MAR* being a playful acrologism of *Amur* and *TU*, indicating perhaps direction—is plausible. In any case there appears to be some close connection between *MAR TU* and the name *Amuru*.¹ The text in which Sargon's western conquests are spoken of is probably of a very much later date than Sargon himself; but the value of the tradition, and at all events of the geographical nomenclature, is unimpaired by this fact. The Amarna

10. In Amarna tablets. Egyptian archives of the fifteenth century B.C., confirm the great antiquity of the term *Amuru*. In the letters to their royal master written by officers under Egyptian suzerainty, the term is of not infrequent occurrence, and an examination of the passages proves that it is applied, just like the corresponding term in the Egyptian inscriptions, to the mountainous district lying immediately to the east of the coast-land of 'Canaan' in the Egyptian sense—i.e., of Northern Palestine. The eastern limits are again not sharply defined. In the period to which the Amarna tablets belong, the Hittites are beginning to extend their settlements beyond the Orontes; but between 'Hatti' and 'Amor' land there was a district known as *Nuhalli*, which reached to Damascus. This may, roughly, be regarded as the eastern frontier of the 'Amuru' district. The agreement between the Egyptian and the Amarna nomenclature extends to the term 'Canaan,' which, under the form *Kinabhi*, is limited in the Amarna tablets to the northern 'lowland' or sea-coast. It was quite natural that, from being applied to the interior district of Northern Palestine, the term 'Amuru' should come to be employed for the interior of Southern Palestine as well, just as the Egyptians extended the application of 'Canaan' to the entire Palestinian coast. When the Assyrian conquerors in

11. In later Assyrian. the ninth century begin to threaten the Hebrew kingdoms, they include the dominion of the latter under the land of 'Amuru.' The term 'land of Israel' occurs only once in Assyrian inscriptions, and even this passage is not beyond dispute. Again, since the 'Amuru' district in the proper sense was the first territory that the earliest Babylonian and Assyrian conquerors set foot in after crossing the Orontes, it also happens that the term becomes for them the most general designation for the 'West.' On the other hand, it must be noted that this development in the use of 'Amuru' is directly due to Babylonian influence, and forms part of the heritage bequeathed to later times by the period of early Babylonian control over the land lying to the west of the Orontes.

12. Land of Hittites. At the comparatively late period when Assyria, usurping the place formerly held by Babylonia, begins her conquests, the 'Amoritic' power in Northern Palestine was seriously

threatened by the HITTITES (q.v.). In extending their settlements beyond the Orontes they encroached upon 'Amoritic' territory. The distinct traces of this westward movement of the Hittites are to be found in the Amarna tablets already mentioned. Indeed, the movement forms the key to the political situation of Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C. The Assyrian conquerors accordingly, when proceeding to the West, invariably began their campaigns by a passage of arms with the Hittites. This, taken together with the waning strength of the 'Amorites,' led to another change in the geographical nomenclature—the extension of the term Hatti or Hittite to Northern Palestine as far as the Mediterranean, so as to include, therefore, Phœnicia proper. For Southern Palestine the older designation 'Amuru' held its own, and the differentiation thus resulting between 'Hatti' and 'Amuru' assumed a practical significance which was quite independent of the original application of the two terms.

It will have become evident from this sketch of the early fortunes of Palestine that care must be exercised in drawing conclusions from geographical nomenclature. The Hittite power does not extend to the sea-coast because of the extension of the geographical term, and so the ethnographical application of Amoritic cannot be determined from the geographical usage.

13. Ethnographical distinctions. That 'Amur' originally designated a particular tribe, or possibly a group of tribes, settled chiefly in the Anti-

14. Amorites. *libanus* district, is one of the few facts to be deduced from the early Egyptian monuments. These Amorites of Northern Palestine are frequently represented by the Egyptians as a blond people with a cast of countenance that marks them off from what are generally considered to be Semitic traits (see Petrie, *Racial Types from the Egyptian Monuments*). It would be hazardous, in the face of our imperfect knowledge, to enter upon further speculations as to their origin. There are good reasons for believing that already at a very early

15. Heterogeneous population. period the population of Palestine presented a mixture of races, and that through intermarriage the dividing lines between these races became fainter in the course of time, until all sharp distinctions were obliterated. Hence the promiscuous grouping—so characteristic in the Hexateuch—of Amorites with Perizites, Hivites, Hittites, etc., of northern and southern Palestinians, without any regard to ethnic distinctions. The problem of differentiating between these various groups whom the Hebrews encountered upon settling in Palestine is at present incapable of solution. Future discoveries will probably emphasise still more strongly the heterogeneous character of the tribes. Their unorganised condition

made them a comparatively easy prey to conquerors and yet difficult to exterminate. The early Babylonian and Egyptian conquerors were content with a general recognition of their supremacy on the part of the inhabitants. Native Palestinians were retained in control, and all that was demanded was a payment of tribute from time to time. When, however, the Hebrews permanently settled in Southern Palestine, about 1200 B.C., the early inhabitants lost much of their political prestige. In the course of time, also, many of the groups were reduced to a state of subjection, varying in degree, but in all cases, except in the case of the inhabitants of the coast, sufficiently complete to prevent any renewal of former conditions. With the successful establishment of the *bene Israel* in the lands to the west of the Jordan, the history of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants comes to an end in Southern Palestine, except so far as the influence of these Canaanitish groups upon the religious life of the Israelites is involved. The Hittites in the north, of course, survive; but the other groups, including the Amorites, gradually disappear,

¹ For a discussion of the subject and a somewhat different view, see Schrader, 'Das land Amuru,' *S.B.A.H.* *Dieb.* 20, 1894. Cp also Wl, *GT* 1 (95), 51-54. An analogy for this indicating 'westward' by a reference to a land lying to the west is to be found in the OT designation of *Negeb* for 'south.'

either sinking into a position of utter insignificance or amalgamating with the Hebrew tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 15 f.; ISRAEL, § 8). The frequent injunctions in the Hexateuch warning the people against intermarriage with these conquered groups are clear indications that such intermarriages must have been common.

A new element in the ethnographical environment of Palestine that appears simultaneously with, or shortly before, the invasion of the Hebrews is **17. Philistines**, represented by the Philistines, who, coming (it would appear) from some island or coast-land to the west of Palestine, succeeded as a sturdy seafaring nation in making settlements along the inhospitable southern coast of Palestine. Their non-Semitic character has been quite definitely ascertained; but, once in Palestine, they appear to have exchanged their own language for one of the Semitic dialects spoken in the land to which they came. It is rather curious that these Philistines, who generally lived in hostile relations with the Hebrews, and at various times threatened the existence of the Hebrew settlements, were eventually the people to give their name to a district which they never possessed in its entirety. In the latest Assyrian inscriptions, however, *Pilaitu* still appears in its restricted application to the southern coast-land, and it is not until the days of the Roman conquest that the equation 'Palestine = Philistia + Canaan' becomes established.

On the basis of the Egyptian and the Assyrian inscriptions and of the OT, the history of Canaan may be divided into three periods: (a) the pre-Israelitish period, from about 3800 B.C. to the definite constitution of the Israelitish confederacy; (b) the Israelitish supremacy from circa 1100 B.C. to circa 740; (c) decline of this supremacy, ending with the absorption of Canaan by Assyria and Babylonia 587 B.C. After the return of the Hebrews from the so-called Babylonian exile, the history of the north and south becomes involved in the various attempts to found a universal empire, undertaken in succession by Persia, Macedonia, and Rome.

The characteristic note in the history of Canaan down to the period of Persian supremacy is the impos-

19. Disunion. sibility of any permanent political union among the inhabitants. Even the Hebrews, united by a common tradition and by religion, yield to the inevitable tendency towards political division instead of union. This tendency stands in close relationship to the geographical conditions (see G.A.Sm. *Hist. Geogr.*). The land is split up into coast-land, highland, and valleys; in consequence of which, it presents climatic extremes sufficient to bring about equally sharp contrasts in social conditions. The resulting heterogeneous disposition of the population appears to have rendered united action (except in extreme necessity) impossible even among these sections most closely united by blood and traditions. [For further details regarding these three periods of Canaanitish history see the articles ISRAEL, § 6, HITTITES, PHENICIA, PHILISTINES, etc.].

CANALS (צְנֻזִים). Ex. 7:19 Nah. 3:8 RVmg. See EGYPT, § 6. The Hebrew word denotes the *arms* or *canals* of the Nile (צְנֻזִים). On artificial water-courses in Palestine see CONDUITS.

CANANÆAN (ΚΑΝΑΝΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH], *cananæus* [G.], צְנַזִּי [Pesh.]), the designation applied to Simon the apostle (Mt. 10:4 Mk. 3:18 RV; mg. 'Zealot'). The word does not mean an inhabitant of Canaan (so AV CANAANITE, based upon TR *κανανιτης*), which in Gr. is usually expressed by *χαναναϊος* ($\chi = z$); nor has it anything to do with Cana. It is a transliteration of צְנַזִּי, the pl. of צְנַזִּי (cp Bib. Heb. צְנַזִּי), which in Lk. 6:15 Acts 1:13 is represented by the Gr. equivalent *ζηλωτης*, ZEALOT (*q. v.*).

CANDACE (ΚΑΝΔΑΚΗ [Ti. WH]), queen of the Ethiopians (*Αθιοπῶν*), is incidentally mentioned in Acts 8:27. For the kingdom of Ethiopia which continued to maintain its independence against the Roman emperors, see ETHIOPIA. Its queen was often called Candace; this seems, indeed, to have been regarded as an official title, somewhat like 'Pharaoh' (or rather 'Ptolemy'?) in Egypt. The name occurs in hieroglyphics on a ruined pyramid near ancient Merot: see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. pl. 47 (pyram. 20 of Begeraueh). There, a queen is called *Amen-aryt* and *K'(e)nt(e)ky*.¹ It is difficult to say which of the two or three queens called Candace was buried in that tomb.

¹ Strabo (320; see also 190 Cass. 38 20; 54 5) speaks of the one-eyed virago Canace (ἡ δὲ βασιλεύσας . . . Καρδοίς, ἡ κοίη ἡ δὲ τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν, ἀπέβη τις γυνὴ περιτομένη τῶν ἑσπερῶν τῶν ἰθαλλῶν) who in 22 B.C. attacked Egypt, overpowered the three cohorts of Roman soldiers stationed at the first cataract and devastated the Thebaid, but was easily defeated by the legate Petronius, and pursued to her northern capital, Napata, which was destroyed. 2. Pliny (6 35) seems to refer the reign of Candace (reginae feminam Candacem) to the time when Nero's explorers passed through Nubia; his assertion that the name had become somewhat common among the queens of Merot ('quod nomen multis jam annis ad reginas transit') is usually pushed much too far against the monumental evidence.

The Ethiopian officer of Acts 8 cannot well have had any connection with the Candace of Strabo; but his mistress may not improbably have been the contemporary of Nero.

Nero's explorers reported the southern capital as in ruins, in consequence of internal wars between the Ethiopians; most likely, the royal residence had already been shifted S. to Wadyes-Sofra and Soba, where ruined palaces and temples of the latest style have been found, but the kingdom appears still to have taken its name from the capital Merot where the kings were, at least, buried.

For the condition of the Meroitic kingdom at that time and the part played by the queens (or rather kings' mothers), see ETHIOPIA. W. M. M.

CANDLE (ῥ; ΛΥΧΝΟΣ). Job 18:6 Mt. 5:15 etc.; cp below, and see LAMP.

CANDLESTICK, the EV rendering of (1) מְנֹרָהּ הַקִּנְיָהּ Ex. 25:31 etc. (ΛΥΧΝΙΑ), the well-known candelabrum of the temple, and (2) Aram. *nebrāšā* נְבְרָשָׁא (deriv. uncert.). Dan. 5:5 (ΛΑΜΠΑΤΑΣ [Theod.], φῶς [G.]), to the former of which the present article will confine itself, leaving to the articles LAMP and TEMPLE further remarks upon the use of lights in temples or shrines, and of lights (and 'candlesticks' or rather 'lampstands') for secular purposes.

There is no critical evidence to support the supposition that the temple candelabrum described by P in Ex. 25:31 ff.

1. Not pre-exilic. 37:17 ff. existed before the Exile. On the contrary, an old passage 1 S. 3:3 (written, perhaps, at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. [Bu., *SBOT*; cp SAMUEL, i. § 3 (a)]) speaks only of a 'lamp' (ῥ) which seems to have burnt from night-fall until the approach of dawn. Solomon, it is true, is said to have had ten golden *mēnōrōth* in his temple, five on either side (1 K. 7:49 ff.);² but they are not mentioned in 2 K. 25:13-17 (in the || Jer. 52:19 their introduction is due to a glossator), nor do we find any trace of them in the temple described by Ezekiel (Ezek. 40:6 ff.), or in the restoration of temple-treasures by Cyrus (Ezra 1:6 ff.).³ These facts, as well as internal evidence, support Stade's conclusion that the passage in 1 K. is an interpolation (*ZATW* 3:168 ff. [83], *GVJ* 1:230; cp Now. *HA* 2:40 n. 2, and Benz. *ad loc.*). The

 1  read for

the disfigured fifth sign.
² Apart from the instruments used in tending this candlestick and the lamps themselves, mention is made only of the 'flowers' (ῥῥ). In Ki. *λαμπαδῆων* (in Zech. 4:2=5), 'bowl' in 2 Ch. 4:2 *λαβίδες* (i.e., *ῥῥ*), 'tonnes'.

³ Unmentioned also in 2 Macc. 2:5 and the Apoc. of Baruch 6:7 ff.

Babylonian influence in the second temple, it is not improbable that the *m'norah* was originally a representation of the sacred seven-branched tree itself, possibly indeed the tree of life.¹ The six arms, instead of coming up and forming a straight line with the top of the central shaft, probably tapered off, the extremities of each pair being lower than those of the pair above it, thus presenting more accurately the outline of a tree. Examples of candelabra with the arms thus arranged are not unknown.²

It is not impossible that the *Ethrog* and *Lulab* ('citron' and 'palm-branch'; cp APPLE, § 2 [3]) of the Feast of Tabernacles (wherein candlesticks played so important a part) are to be connected also with this sacred seven-branched tree, from which, it has been suggested, the *m'norah* has been evolved. The specific tree represented was one which, for various reasons, was considered the most unique and valuable. The choice may have depended more strictly upon the belief that it was supposed to represent the tree of temptation in the Paradise myth (so at all events in Christian times; cp Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, 80).

See Reland, *De Synagoga Tempis*; H. Opitz, *Disquisitiones . . . de candelabro . . . synagoga* (1798); Reimach, *L. iv. de Titus* (Paris, 1830); and Vigouroux, *DB*, s.v. 'Chandelier', with the literature there quoted. S. A. C.

CANE, SWEET (קֶמֶחַ), Is. 43:24 Jer. 6:20. See REED, I (b).

CANKERWORM (קֶמֶחַ: ΒΡΟΥΧΟΣ or ΔΑΡΚΙΟ). Ps. 105:34 Jer. 51:14 27 Joel 1:4 [twice], 2:25 Nah. 3:15:16†; in Ps. and Jer. AV has CATERPILLER. The Hebrew *yeleš* is usually regarded as denoting a young stage in the history of the locust; but this seems doubtful. See LOCUST, § 2, n. 6.

CANNEH (קֶמֶחַ), Ezek. 27:23, MT, usually taken for the name of a place in Mesopotamia with which Tyre had commercial dealings, and identified with Calneh (see Schr. in Riehm's *HWB*², 1:256). Cornill even reads 'Calneh' (קַנְהַ), appealing to a single Heb. MS which reads thus, and to variants of C —viz., χαλλαν [ΛΘ], χαλλαν [V]. But the name is really non-existent; the words rendered 'and Canneh and Eden' should rather be 'and the sons of Eden.'

Everywhere else we read either of Beth-Eden or of B'ne Eden; it is not probable that there is an exception here. The $\chi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ [H], or $\chi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ [ΛV] of C , is not קֶמֶחַ but קֶמֶחַ or קֶמֶחַ where ν or ν is a relic of קֶמֶחַ, and קֶמֶחַ a corruption of קֶמֶחַ. Most MSS of C give only two names, and the second name is not Canneh (as Smith's *HB*²), but a corruption of B'ne Eden. The discovery (for such it seems to be) is due to Mez (*Gieseb. der Stadt Harran*, 1892, p. 34). T. K. C.

CANON

INTRODUCTION: THE IDEA OF A CANON (§§ 1-4).

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

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B. NEW TESTAMENT.

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Bibliography: OT and NT (§ 75 f.).

The word canon is Greek; its application to the Bible belongs to Christian times; the idea originates in Judaism.

1. Greek terms.

The Greek (ἀ) κανών (allied to *kánna*, *kánw*, 'a reed'; borrowed from the Semitic; Heb. קֶמֶחַ) means a straight rod or pole, a rod used for measuring, a carpenter's rule; and, by metonymy, a rule, norm, or law; a still later meaning is that of catalogue or list.

As applied to the books of Scripture κανών is first met with in the second half of the fourth century: thus, βιβλία κανονικά (as opposed to ἀκανονίστα) in can. 59 of the Council of Laodicea (circa 360 A.D.), and β. κανονίζόμενα in Athanasius (*ep. fest.* 39; 365 A.D.); κανών for the whole collection is still later. The original signification is still a question. Did the term mean (a) the books constituted into a standard; or (b) the books corresponding to the standard (i.e. of the faith; cp κανών ἐκκλησιαστικός, κ.

¹ Perhaps originally a symbol of the universe—the tree of life being viewed as distinct in its origin from the sacred mountain of Elshim with which in a later myth it was combined. (Cp JACINTH and BOAZ.) It is noteworthy that a seven-branched palm is represented by the side of an altar on an old Greek vase. (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. 155, fig. 3).

² Cp P. F. Twiss, *Some Years' Work in the Holy Land*, 154, the representation upon an amethyst reproduced in Reland, *De Spoliis*, facing p. 35, also *ib.* facing p. 42. The older form may in time have tended to approach the conventional form represented upon the arch of Titus, which agrees with later Jewish tradition. This form, resembling a trident in its outline, is especially noted by Jos. as a novelty (*B* vii. 5). For illustrations of the latter variety see Martigny, *Dict. Ant. Chrét.* (77) 113; and the plates in Calmet's Dictionary; and one at Tabariyeh (Perrot-Chapiez, *Art. et. Arch.*, 1:250).

τῆς ἀληθείας, κ. τῆς πίστεως) and measured by it (cp κανονίαι in Ptolemy's Letter to Flora, circa 200 A.D., in Holtzmann, p. 115 f.), or perhaps underlying it; or (c) the books taken up into the authoritative catalogue or into the normal number? The subject is discussed with full references to the literature in Holtzmann, pp. 142 ff. It is not improbable that the word passed through various phases of meaning in course of time.

The idea involved is clearly fixed; *θεόπνευσται γραφαί* (Amphilochius, *ob.* 305), *πνευματιστα θεία είναι βιβλία* (Athanasius, *ut sup.*) are expressions concurrently used to convey the same meaning. It was, as we saw above, a loan from Judaism, and within the Christian domain originally applied only to the sacred books of the synagogue—the OT. So already in the NT itself (2 Tim. 3:16). The doctrine of the synagogue was that all the writings included in its canon had their origin in divine inspiration, and that it was God who spoke in them (Weber, § 20 1). This canon, with the doctrine attached to it, passed over to the Christian church and became its sole sacred book,¹ until new writings of Christian origin came to be added, and the Jewish canon, as the Old Testament, was distinguished from the New.

The composite expression 'canonical books' has an analogue in the usage of the synagogue. From the first century A.D. such books are designated

3. Hebrew terms.

הַסְּפָרִים הַקְּדוֹת (‘that defile the hands’; ² *Yadayim* 32:4 5² 3:5 6; cp *Eduyoth* 5 3, and

¹ But see also below, §§ 57-59.

² See below, § 40.

³ See below, § 53.

Weber, § 211). Of this surprising expression still more surprising explanations have been offered.

Thus (a) Buhl still professes that drawn from *Yadavim*, 3:4, according to which the designation was intended to prevent profane use of unwritten synagogue rolls. (b) Weber, Strack, C. H. H. Wright, and Widdows adopt that suggested by *Yadavim*, 1:2, 1:4. According to this the oldest was to secure that, as unclean, the sacred writings should always be kept apart, and thus kept from harm such as might arise, e.g., if they were kept near consecrated corn, and so exposed to attack from mice. (c) A. Geiger (*Prophetenrollen*, 1866, § 14) actually maintains that only such rolls as had been written on the skins of unclean beasts were intended to be declared unclean.

All such explanations are disposed of by *Yadavim* 3:4, where there is a special discussion of the question whether the unwritten margins and outer coverings of sacred rolls defile the hands. Under none of the above explanations could any such question as this possibly arise. The fact that defilement only of the hands is

attributed to the sacred writings demands more attention than it has hitherto received. Interpreted in positive terms this can mean only that contact with them involves a ceremonial washing of the hands, especially as the ruling in the matter occurs in that Mishna treatise which relates to, and is named from, such hand-washings. The expression would be an unnatural one if it implied a command that the hands should be washed before touching (so Fürst, p. 83). As enjoining washing after contact it is quite intelligible. The Pharisees (under protest from the Sadducees; cp *Yad.* 4:6) attributed to the sacred writings a sanctity of such a sort that whosoever touched them was not allowed to touch aught else, until he had undergone the same ritual ablution as if he had touched something unclean.¹ The same precept, according to the stricter view, applied to the prayer ribbands on the *tephillum* (*Yad.* 3:1; see FRONTLETS, end). To this defilement of the hands the correlative idea is that of holiness; ² both qualities are attributed together, but only to a very limited number of writings, namely the canonical (cp *Yad.* 3:5). See also CLEAN, § 3.

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

I. EXTENT AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE OT CANON.

—The extent of the OT canon, so far as the synagogue

is concerned, is exactly what we find in our 'books.' Hebrew printed texts and in the Protestant translations. The original reckoning of the synagogue, however, does not regard the books as thirty-nine. The twelve minor prophets count as one book called 'the twelve,' *בית עשר* (so already in *Baba Bathra*, 14^b, 12^a text), *יבשה עשרת*; see also Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; whilst Ezra and Nehemiah form one book of Ezra. Thus 11 + 3 + 1 = 15 have to be deducted from our 39, leaving only 24.³ See § 11 f.

The twenty-four canonical books fall into three main divisions: תורה (the law) with five books, *בניאים* (the prophets) with eight, and *כתובים* (the writings, Hagiographa) with eleven.⁴

6. Classification. The prophets consist of four historical books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) and four prophetic (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor). Since the Massoretic period (cp Strack, *PRE*² 7:439) the first group has borne the name of *בניאים ראשונים* ('former prophets') to distinguish it from the second, *בניאים אחרונים* ('latter prophets'). Among the Hagiographa a distinct group is formed by the five (festal) 'rolls'—*הקש*—

¹ See WRS, *Nel. Num.* 20:1, 450. He-well adds that the high priest on the Day of Atonement washed his flesh with water, not only when he put on the holy garments of the day, but also when he put them off (Lev. 16:23; *Yoma*, 7^a).

² With this corresponds the Mishnic name of the canon *כתבי חכמים*, while the names *רמבי* *ספרים* tacitly supplement the idea of holiness. To these exactly answer the NT expressions *apokrypha*, *apocrypha*, *apocrypha*, *apocrypha*. For other names see below, and for fuller details cp Strack, 435 f.

³ Hence a very common old name for the collection, still frequently in use: 'the twenty-four books,' *עשרים וארבעה ספרים*, written also in *בבלי תפלים*, 2^a.

⁴ Hence the old collective title *בניאים וכתובים* with its Massoretic contraction *קת*.

בניאים—printed in modern impressions in the order of the feasts at which they are read in the synagogue: Canticles (Passover), Ruth (Pentecost), Lamentations (9th Ab, Destruction of Jerusalem), Ecclesiastes (Tabernacles), Esther (Purim). Only once (in the *Barytha*¹ *Berachoh*, 57^b) do we find the three larger poetical books—Psalms, Proverbs, and Job—grouped together as *בניאים קטנים*, and the three smaller—Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations—as *כתובים קטנים*. Finally, Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles close the list.

Compass and threefold division of the canon are already taken as fully settled in a very old and authoritative passage in the tradition of the synagogue, viz. the *Barytha Baba Bathra*, 14^b 15^a; but as to the order

7. Uncertain order.

of the books within their several divisions the same passage gives a decision for the first time. The explanation of this is that in the oldest times the sacred writings were not copied into continuous codices. Each book had a separate roll to itself.² Accordingly, in the preceding *Barytha* (*Baba Bathra*, 13^b), we find the question started whether it be permissible to write the entire Holy Scriptures, or even the eight prophets, on a single roll. On the strength of some precedent or other the question is answered in the affirmative; and this leads us to the further question as to the order in which the single books in the second and the third divisions ought to be written. This plainly shows that there was as yet on the subject no fixed tradition, and therefore too great importance ought not to be attached either to the Mishnic determination of the question or to the departure from Mishnic usage which we meet with.³ Both, however, are worthy of attention.

The order of the prophets proper, according to our passage, ought to be: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the

8. Prophets. twelve. The position of Isaiah seems to the Gemara as remarkable, and is explained by them in a fanciful way. The Massora gives Isaiah the first place, and in this it is followed by the MSS of Spanish origin (as by the printed texts), while the German and French MSS adhere to the Talmudic order. Just because of its departure from strict chronology, we are justified in assuming that the Talmudic order rests on old and good tradition. We may safely venture, therefore, to make use of it in the attempt to answer the question of the origin not only of the individual books but also of the canon.

For the first books of the Hagiographa, the order given in our printed texts—Psalms, Proverbs, Job—

9. Hagiographa.

MSS, gives place in our passage to this order: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs. Supposing this to be the original place of the Book of Ruth, we might account for its later change of position by a desire to group together the five festal rolls. This explanation, however, is impossible for the reason that the Massora and the Spanish MSS put Chronicles instead of Ruth in the first place and before the Psalter. Of course, the same purpose is served by either arrangement: each of them prefixes to the (Davidic) Psalter a book which helps to explain it. The Book of Ruth performs this service inasmuch as it concludes with David's genealogical tree and closes with his name; and the Book of Chronicles does so in a still higher degree, inasmuch as, in addition to the genealogy (1 Ch. 29 f.), it gives an account of David's life, particularly of his elaborate directions for the temple service and temple music. Thus the claim of the Psalter to the first place

¹ *Barytha* (תב"ת) is a Mishna tradition which, has not been taken into the canon of the Mishna, but comes from the same period (about 200 A. D.). On the very important passage referred to cp Marx, *Traditio*, etc.

² The Law was an exception; its five books as a rule constituted but one roll, although the five fiftys (*פרקים*) were to be met with also separately (cp *Shema*, 29^a).

³ Cp the excellent synoptic table in Ryle (*Canon of OT*, 281).

is only confirmed by both variations (that of the Talmud and that of the Massora) from the usual order.¹ On the other hand, the Massora and the Spanish MSS support the order, Psalms, Job, Proverbs (Job before Proverbs), which therefore must be held to be the older arrangement, the other being explained by the desire to make Solomon come immediately after David.

The arrangement of the five 'rolls' in the order of their feasts is supported only by the German and the French MSS. The Massora and the Spanish MSS have—Ruth, Cant. Eccl. Lam. Esth., whilst *Baba Bathra*, after transposing Ruth in the manner we have seen, gives the order—Eccl. Cant. Lam., then introduces Daniel, and closes the list with Esther. We may venture to infer from this (1) that the arrangement of the Megilloth in the order of their feasts in the ecclesiastical year is late and artificial; (2) that about the year 200 A.D. they had not even been constituted a definite group; (3) that the inversion of the order of Daniel and Esther, and the removal of Ruth from the head of the list, were probably designed to effect this, the position of Daniel before Esther having thus a claim to be regarded as the older; and (4) that the original position of the Book of Ruth is quite uncertain, because the first place among the rolls may have been assigned to it by the Massora simply because it had been deposed from the first place among the Hagiographa. We may, further, regard it as probable that Proverbs was originally connected, as in *Baba B.*, with the other Solomonic writings. Finally, it may be taken as perfectly certain that Ezra and Chronicles closed the list.²

The definition, division, and arrangement of books as given above, which rests on real tradition, and must constitute the basis for our subsequent investigations, is violently at variance with that of the LXX. It will be sufficient merely to indicate the differences here, for, as compared with the canon of the synagogue, that of the LXX represents only a secondary stage in the development.

(1) The arrangement of the LXX is apparently intended to be based on the contents of the books. The poetical books are, on the whole, regarded as didactic in character, the Prophets proper as mainly predictive, whilst the Law leads up to the historical books and is closely connected with the Former Prophets. As the Prophets are placed at the end, the progress of the collection is normal—from the past (historical books) to the present (didactic books) and the future (books of prophecy).

Certain, however, of the miscellaneous collection which forms the Hagiographa—those, namely, that are historical—are transferred to the first division, where a place is assigned them on chronological principles. Ruth (cp 12) is inserted immediately after Judges, whilst Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther are appended at the end. Lamentations, on the other hand, regarded as the work of Jeremiah (cp 2 Ch. 35.25 and the opening words of the book in 5), is transferred to the third division (prophetic books) and appended to Jeremiah; whilst Daniel closes the entire collection. Lastly, Job, regarded as a purely historical book,³ serves to effect the transition from the historical to the didactic writings. Of the prophetic books, the Dodecapropheton heads the list (in a somewhat varying order of the individual books), presumably on account of the higher antiquity of the writings which open it.

(2) Samuel and Kings together are divided into four books of Kings. Chronicles is divided into two books, as is also (subsequently) Ezra. (3) In varying degrees new writings unknown to the Hebrew canon are interpolated.

¹ Cp also 2 Mac. 2.13 f.; 1 K. 24.44.

² This is supported by Jerome in *Prolog.* (cp the text in Ryle, 287 ff.). Other variations, it is true, occur in the same author.

³ It should be added that the MSS show the utmost irregularity in their arrangement of the Hagiographa; cp Ryle, *Excursus C.* 281 f., and, for some important details, A. Rahlf's, 'Alter u. Heimat der vaticanischen Bibelhandschrift,' *GGV*, 1899, Heft 1 (Philol.-hist. Klasse).

⁴ There is, however, considerable vacillation as to its position. For other variations, which are very numerous, cp Ryle, 213 ff., and the table appended to 281.

The very various arrangements of the Hebrew canon which have been adopted in the Christian Church can all be traced back to the LXX, with more or less far-reaching corrections based on the canon of the synagogue.

11. Ruth and Lam.

Among all the divergences of the LXX from the synagogue arrangement, there is only one concerning which it is worth while considering whether it may not possibly represent the original state of things as against the synagogue tradition: Ruth is made to follow Judges, and Lamentations Jeremiah. If the actual state of the case be that these two books ranked originally among the prophets, but were afterwards transferred to the Hagiographa, the historical value of the threefold division of the canon is very largely impaired. Now, this order of the books is supported by the oft-recurring reckoning of twenty-two books instead of twenty-four (cp above, § 2), a reckoning which can be explained only on the assumption that Ruth and Lamentations were not

counted separately, being regarded as integral parts of Judges and Jeremiah. Our sole Jewish witness to this is Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 8; circa 100 A.D.). He gives the total as twenty-two, made out as follows: Moses, 5; Prophets after Moses, 13; hymns to God and precepts for men, 4. The last-named category doubtless means the Psalms and the three Solomonic writings. Thus Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Chronicles, and even Job, are, as historical books, reckoned with the prophets, and Ruth and Lamentations are not counted at all—that is to say, they are included in Judges and Jeremiah.¹ Here clearly a compromise has been struck between the threefold division of the synagogue, which places the prophets in the intermediate position, and the division of the Alexandrians, which arranges the books according to subjects. The Alexandrian canon is obviously in view also in the pointed addition [*βιβλία τὰ δίκαια πιστευμένα*],² by which the books not contained in the canon of the synagogue are excluded. We may conclude, therefore, that also the reason why Ruth and Lamentations are not reckoned as separate books is that the LXX is followed; and thus we have no fresh testimony here. There is a further remark to be made. That the seven books just mentioned should be removed from the prophetic canon, if they once were there, to a place among the Hagiographa³ could be explained only by a desire to have the festal rolls beside one another. In the oldest tradition, however, there was no such group of rolls (see above, § 9).

13. Origin of No. 22.

The supposed motive, therefore, could not have been operative. On the other hand, the number twenty-two has an artificial and external motive, not indicated by Josephus, but mentioned by all the Church fathers from Origen downwards:⁴ there is thus one book for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. This childish fancy is carried to an extreme point when the books are reckoned as twenty-seven (an alternative which is offered by Epiphanius and Jerome) to do justice to the five final letters also: the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra are divided, the fifth being supplied in Epiphanius by Judges and Ruth, in Jerome by Jeremiah and Lamentations. That this is mere arbitrary trifling is obvious.

On the other hand Jerome gives also the number twenty-four (*Prolog. Gal.*), cautiously describing it as a reckoning accepted by 'nonnulli,' Ruth and Lamentations thus being

¹ For various blundering attempts to put another meaning on the canon of Josephus, cp Strack, 428, Ryle, 166. Briggs (*see op. cit.* below, § 75, p. 127 f.) inclines to the opinion that Josephus did not recognise as canonical the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. See, on this point, below, § 52 ff.

² The word *θεία* after *δίκαια* is disallowed by Niese as an interpolation.

³ A thing improbable in itself, as implying a degradation. See below, § 43.

⁴ Cp the passages in Ryle, 221, and still more exhaustively in Strack, 435 ff.

counted among the Hagiographa. A symbolical sense, handed Rev. 14, is found for this number also. In the *Prologue to Daniel*, however, Jerome ad loc. 24 as the only reckoning: he counts 5, 8, and 11 books to each of the divisions respectively, though he does not mention the total. Support is given to the *Baraytha Baba B. 14b, 15a* in like manner by the contemporary testimony of *Berachoth 57b*, which quotes Cant. Eccl. and Lam. as 'writings,' and by the Targum of Jonathan on the prophets, where Ruth and Lam. are wanting. Finally, our oldest witness—4th Esdras, probably written under Domitian (85-96 A. D.), and therefore contemporary with Josephus—represents Ezra as writing at the divine command 93 books (chap. 14)—i. e., after deduction of the 70 esoteric books, the 24 books of the canon.¹

The number twenty-two, therefore, certainly comes from a Jewish source; but it is a mere play of fancy. The original place of Ruth and Lamentations, accordingly, was in the third part of the canon.

II. TRADITION RELATING TO THE CLOSE OF THE CANON.—Even had there been a binding decision of a qualified body by which the number

15. No canonization. of books (twenty-four) was declared to be canonical and all other books were excluded from the canon, there could hardly have been any tradition of it. According to the idea of the meaning and origin of canonicity entertained by the synagogue (the sole custodian of tradition), and inherited from it by the Christian Church, canonicity depends on inspiration, and this attribute each of the twenty-four books brought with it into the world quite independently of any ruling, and in a manner that unmistakably distinguished it from every other writing. The growth of the canon was represented as being like that of a plant; it began with the appearance of the first inspired book, and closed with the completion of the last. The question accordingly was simply this: When was the latest canonical book composed? or, if this admits of being answered, Who was its human author?

To this question the tradition of the synagogue actually offers an answer.—in the same *Baraytha Baba Bathra*

16. Baba Bathra. 14b 15a in which the order of the Prophets and the Writings is determined. The passage proceeds thus:—'And who wrote them?'—and names the writers of the several books in exact chronological sequence. The last of them is Ezra. With him, therefore (i. e., according to traditional chronology, about 444 B. C.), the canon closed.²

One can easily understand that, once Ezra had been named as the latest author of any biblical book, men did not remain content with the assertion (quite correct, if we admit its premises) which attributed to him the closing of the canon merely *de facto*, without deliberate act or purpose. Rather did each succeeding age, according to its lights, attribute to him (or to his time) whatever kind of intervention it conceived to be necessary in order to secure for the canon a regular and orderly closing. The oldest form of this kind of tradition, so far as known to us, goes back earlier by a whole century than the tradition of the synagogue. It is to be found in the passage of 4 Esdras (chap. 14) that has been referred to already.³ Ezra (v. 18 ff.) prays God to grant him by his Holy Spirit that he may again write out the books

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¹ The numbers differ in the various forms of the text. Besides 94 we find 904, 204, 84, 275. All, however, agree in the decisive figure 41 cp Ryle, 156 ff. 255.
² The real date of Ezra and the promulgation of the law related in Neh. 8-10 will be considered elsewhere (see CRONICOLOGY, § 14; NEHEMIAH). The results of the present article would not be altered essentially by fixing it, e. g., in the year 497 or even 397, instead of 444. In what follows, therefore, 444 B. C. means simply the date of Neh. 8-10. A full discussion of the point and a survey of recent literature will be found in C. F. Kent, *A History of the Jewish people during the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek periods*, New York, 1899, pp. 195 ff. 354.
³ For what follows cp Ryle, *Excurses*, p. 239 ff., where a very copious literature with fully translated quotations is given.

(here called 'the law,' *torah*, in which perhaps lingers a trace of an older form of tradition) which had been burnt (with the temple, one understands). God bids him take to himself five companions, and in forty days and nights he dictates to them ninety-four books (see above, § 14), of which seventy are esoteric writings, and the remaining twenty-four are the canon of the OT. Of this legend no further trace has hitherto been found in the remains of Jewish literature;¹ but within the Christian Church it shows itself as early as the time of Irenaeus, frequently recurred in certain of the fathers (so Tertullian, Clem. Al., Orig., Euseb., Jerome, etc.), and is prevalent throughout the scholastic period, although there it is weakened by references to the powers of ordinary human memory.

The period of the humanists and of the reformation extinguished this as well as many other legends;² but if the old legend disappeared, it was only to make way for a modern one, not mystic but rationalistic in character. This latter (cp above) originates through *ἡ δὲ βιβλία* (*ob. 1549*), who says³ that Ezra and the men of the great synagogue (*גבאי כנסת הגדולה*), among other things, had united in one volume the twenty-four books (which until then had circulated separately) and had classified them into the three divisions above mentioned, determining also the order of the Prophets and the Writings (differently, it is true, from the Talmudic doctors in *Baba Bathra*). This assertion satisfied the craving of the times for a duly constituted body, proceeding in a deliberate manner. Accordingly the statement of Elias Levita, especially after it had been homologated by J. Buxtorf the elder in his *Tiberias* (1620), became the authoritative doctrine of the orthodoxy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To it were added, as self-evident, though Levita said nothing of them, the authoritative decree (Hottinger), and the separation of the non-canonical writings (so already Buxtorf, and after him Leusden and Carpov).⁴

It is vain to seek for the tradition on which Elias Levita based his representation. The 'Talmud,' which says a great deal about 'the men of the great synagogue,' has not a word to say about this action of theirs with reference to the whole body of Scripture. The mediaeval Rabbins also touch on the matter but lightly. We conclude therefore that, to suit the needs of his time, Levita merely inferred such an action from the existence of the body in question.⁵

The evidence for the very existence of a body of the kind required, however, is extremely slender. From the middle of the seventeenth century it was continually disputed anew. If even

19. Its true nature. moderns must admit that there was a body of some kind, the kind of existence that we can accord to it supplies the strongest refutation of the statement of Elias Levita. The question as to what we are to understand by 'the men of the great synagogue' (or

Strack gives the originals of the most important passages: cp above *Falschungen*, *Excursus Pseudopigraphicus*, § 2 (173 ff. 113 ff. 20 (173 ff. 20 ff.).

¹ Cp, however, the elucidation of the passage in *Baba B. 14b* 15a, below, § 21.

² See, for the attacks directed against it on rationalistic grounds in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic church, Ryle, 247 ff.

³ See the third prolegomenon to *Massorah Sefer ha-Masorah* (1538, ed. Ginsburg, 1867, p. 120); cp Strack, 416.

⁴ Cp the passages quoted in Ryle, 201 ff. It should be added that the same step had been taken already in the late post-Talmudic tractate *Abot* (cf. *N. Nathantals*, i), where it is said of 'the men of the great synagogue' that they decided on the reception of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, against objections that had been urged (see the passages in C. H. H. Wright, 11). We shall see below that an artificial antedating can be clearly demonstrated here.

⁵ When Levita points out that the order of the Prophets and the Writings, as fixed there, was different from that in *Baba B.*, this only goes to show that the sages of the Mishna still found something for them to give decisions about. Elias Levita forgets that the sages found the books written on separate rolls, and that, therefore, there was not yet any order to fix. Cp above, § 7.

rather 'assembly') in the sense in which the expression was originally used, may be regarded as now fully cleared up. By a brilliant application and criticism of all that tradition had to say and all the work of his modern predecessors, Kuonen¹ demonstrated that this 'synagogue' is no other than the great assembly at Jerusalem described in Neh. 8-10: the assembly in which the whole body of the people, under the presidency of Nehemiah and through the signatures of its representatives, pledged itself to acceptance of the law-book of Ezra. This assembly, as the latest authority mentioned in the OT, was afterwards, by the tradition of the synagogue, made responsible for all those proceedings of a religious nature not referred to in the OT, which, nevertheless, so far as known, dated from a period earlier than the tradition laid down in the Talmud. Since this last, however, with its most ancient (and almost mythical) authorities, the five 'pairs' and Antigonus of Socho, does not go back farther than the second century B.C., there gradually grew out of the assembly, whose meetings began and closed within the seventh month of a single year, a standing institution to which people in that later time, each according to his needs and his chronological theories, attributed a duration extending over centuries. This was made all the easier by the chronology of the Talmud bringing the date of the Persian ascendancy too low by some 150 years, and thus bringing the beginning and the end closer together.²

The activity as regards the canon, then, which Elias Levita and his followers ascribe to 'the men of the great synagogue', implies for the most part a comparatively late and false conception of the character of that supposed body. What ancient tradition has to say about it remains well within the limits of time assigned to it by criticism. In *Baba B. 14b 15a*, 'the men of the great synagogue' have assigned to them a place immediately before Ezra; they write Ezekiel, the Dodecaprophet, Daniel, and Esther. When, therefore, Ezra had contributed his share (Ezra and Chronicles), forming the closing portion of the series of the twenty-four books, the canon was forthwith complete. It is evident (1) that here the activity of 'the men of the great synagogue' does not extend below Ezra's time; and (2) that it extends only to four books, not to the whole canon. Therewith the absolute untenableness of Levita's assertion becomes apparent. Expedients have been

resorted to in vain; as, for example, that נָתַן , 'to write,' means in the *Baraytha* 'to collect,' or to 'transcribe and circulate,' or both together (cp Marx, 41). 'The writer' of the Mishna most certainly means the *author of the books*—so far as there can be a question of authorship where, in the last resort, the author is the Holy Spirit. Of authorship nothing but writing is left. This, accordingly, is the sense assumed by Gemara and by rabbinical exegesis. What we are told concerning 'the men of the great synagogue' is not more startling than it is to learn that Hezekiah and his companions wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes,—books of which tradition is unanimous in saying that the last two were

¹ *Overs de mannen der groote Synagoge* (Amsterdam, 1876), translated into German by K. Bülle in his edition of Kuonen's collected essays (*Gesammelte Abhandl.*, 1894, p. 161 ff.).

² Kuonen's proof has, in Great Britain, been accepted (among others) by Robertson Smith (*OTJC* 163 ff.), Driver (*Introd.* 11 xxxiii), and (at least in all essentials) by Ryle, to whose very careful *Excursus A* (239-272) the reader is especially referred. It has indeed found an uncompromising opponent in C. H. H. Wright (*Kohleth*, 5 ff. 475 ff.), whose arguments, however, amount to little more than this—the necessity (which in fact produced the legend) for some corporate body by the tradition the religious duties of that time could have been discharged. This, however, cannot convert what is demonstrably legend into history. Whatever has to be conceded is granted already by Kuonen (*Ges. Abh.* 1 156, 158); and writers like Strack (*PRE* 12 330, footnote*) are skilful enough to reconcile the demand for such 'organised powers' between Ezra and Christ with Kuonen's results. The most recent apology for the tradition is that of S. Krauss 'The Great Synod,' *JQR*, Jan. '98, p. 347 ff.). Of course he does not defend the theory of Elias Levita.

wholly, and the second in great measure, written by Solomon two centuries before Hezekiah. Here, in fact, it is the miraculous that is deliberately related. The meaning is that Solomon had only *spoken* (cp 1 K. 5 12 f.) what is contained in these books, and that 200 years later, divine inspiration enabled the men of Hezekiah to *write it out*, and so make it into canonical books. By exactly the same operation 'the men of the great synagogue' were enabled to write out what an Amos and a Hosea, a Micah and a Nahum, and so forth had spoken in the name of God. There is nothing to surprise us about such a view as this, if we remember what we have already found in connection with 4 Esdras (above, § 14). In the present instance, indeed, it is only a portion of the OT that comes into question, not the whole mass as in 4 Esdras; but, on the other hand, in 4 Esdras it is only the reproduction of books that had been lost that is spoken of, whilst here it is their very composition.¹

That stories such as these should ever have passed current as real historical tradition resting upon facts is surprising enough. Almost more astonishing is it that such baseless fancies should not yet have been abandoned, definitely and for good, by the theology of the Reformed Churches.

Whether the tradition is genuine need no longer be asked. The only question is, How was it possible that the Mishnic doctors, and perhaps those who immediately preceded them, arrived at such a representation? This question in some cases already greatly exercised the exegetes of the Gemara, and even led them to attempted corrections; and Rashi (*op. cit.* 1105) gives a solution of some of the knottiest points which, if we are to believe Strack,² represents the view of the Baraytha. According to this explanation, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther did not write their own books, because they lived in exile, and outside the borders of the Holy Land it was impossible for any sacred book to be written. Even, however, if this view had some element of truth in it, it hardly meets the main point. The *writing* of each book the scribes, as was natural to their order, sought to assign to a writer like themselves, a veritable *siphër* (see SCRIBE), and attributed the authorship of any book only to one to whom writing could be assigned on the authority of a proof text. In the case of books whose reputed authors could not be shown to have been *sophrim*, the authorship was attributed to the writers of such other books as stood nearest to them in point of time.

That Moses was a scribe was held to be shown by Dt. 31 9 24 (the Book of Job also was attributed to him on account of its supposed antiquity), and the same is true of Joshua (Josh. 24 26). Similar proof was found for Samuel in 1 S. 10 25, and to him accordingly was assigned, not only the book that bears his name, but also Judges and Ruth. In the case of David, if the words דָּוִד in 2 S. 1 18 were not enough, there was at all events sufficient proof in 1 Ch. 23 ff. and especially in 28 11; means were found also for reconciling the tradition that he wrote the whole Psalter with the tradition (oral or written) which assigned certain psalms to other authors. It was declared that he wrote the psalms, but לְיָי of those other writers. Of Solomon all that was said in 1 K. 5 12 was that he *spoke*, not that he *wrote*; but no one felt at any loss, for in Prov. 25 1 the production of a portion of his Book of Proverbs is attributed to the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah. Those genuine scribes were utilised to the utmost. They had ascribed to them not only all the Solomonic books, but also the book of their contemporary Isaiah, although Is. 8 1 might well have been taken as saying something for the prophet himself. Whether in this instance some special cause contributed to the result, or whether it was merely that prophet and scribe had at any cost to be kept separate, it is impossible to say. For Jeremiah, the one prophet in the narrower sense of the word amongst those who are named, Jer. 36 spoke too distinctly to be ignored; that Kings also should have been attributed to him is at once sufficiently explained by 2 K. 24 18, and chap. 25 compared with Jer. 52. Next in order as biblical authors come 'the men of the great synagogue', who, as contemporaries of Ezra the scribe *par excellence* (himself also one of their number) but at the same

¹ That the two legends have an intimate connection is by no means improbable.

² *Op. cit.* 418, with the quotation there given; cp also Ryle, 263 f.

time also as signatories of the act in Neh. 10, were expressly called to this. Why Ezekiel (the scribe, if any scribe there was among the prophets), to whom the act of writing is repeatedly attributed (37.16 ff. 43.1), should not have been credited with his own book, may perhaps be rightly explained by Rashi. The twelve prophets could not have written severally their own books, because all the books together form (see § 6) but one book (a somewhat different turn is given to this in Rashi), and as the latest of them belonged to the period of the great synagogue, and, indeed, according to tradition, were actually members of that body, the assignment of the authorship to it presented no difficulty. Finally Daniel and Esther, regarded as books of the Persian period, easily fell to their domain. Ezra, with his account of his own close of the series. Some explanation is needed of the fact that whilst 'the genealogies in Chronicles down to himself' (this is no doubt the easiest explanation) also are assigned to Ezra, no account is taken of the remainder of that work. The most likely reason is that the main portion of Chronicles was regarded as mere repetition from Samuel and Kings, the origin of which had been already explained.

It is not of the slightest importance to consider how far this attempted explanation of the origin of the various books is in agreement with the real thought of the Baraytha; in any case it remains pure theory, the product of rabbinical inventiveness, not of historical tradition. Apart from a fixed general opinion about certain individual books and about the Pentateuch, the tangible outcome of the beliefs of the whole period with which we are dealing is that the canon was held to have been closed in the time of Ezra. The theory upon which this belief proceeded will occupy us later (§ 44 ff.).

As against this congeries of vague guesses and abstract theories, science demands that we should

22. Scientific method.

examine each book separately, and endeavour, with the evidence supplied by itself, and with continual reference to the body of literature as a whole, to ascertain its date and to fix its place in the national and religious development of the Jews. This is the task of 'special introduction'; but its results must always have a direct bearing on the history of the canon. This history must give close attention also to all the external testimonies relative to the formation and to the close of the canon, and, after weighing them, must assign to them their due place. Above all, it must trace out all general opinions and theories, such as we have been considering, ascertain their scope and meaning, and satisfy itself as to the period at which they arose, and as to their influence on the formation of the canon. In so far as we succeed in these endeavours, we shall arrive at a relatively trustworthy history of the canon.

III. HISTORY OF THE OT CANON.—(1) *The first canon: the Law.*¹—Whatever difficulties we may have

¹ W. J. Beecher (see below, § 75) offers a solemn protest against the fundamental proposition of this article (as of all modern discussions of the subject)—a triple canon, collected and closed in three successive periods. He denies that there is any evidence of a time when the Law alone was regarded as canonical, or of a time when the Law and the Prophets stood in authority above the Writings. He declares that the canon of the Law was originally regarded as less authoritative than the Pentateuch. He sees in the canon of the OT an aggregate of sacred books growing gradually and continually to a definite time when the part written latest was finished and the collection was deemed complete. Law (or rather, Message), Prophets, and Writings are nothing but three different names for the same books—*e.g.*, the prophetic writings. We do not test, he says, these terms came to be the names of three different parts of this collection. The fundamental fact that the Law alone was promulgated and made authoritative by Ezra and Nehemiah, is obscured by Beecher by the statement that the term 'book of Moses' is applied to an aggregate of sacred writings including more than the Pentateuch. His only proof is Ezra 9.38, where we are told that the returned exiles set up the courses of the priests and Levites, "as it is written in the book of Moses." The Pentateuch contains nothing in regard to priestly or Levitical courses. Possibly the reference is to written precepts now found in 1 Chronicles. Beecher does not translate accurately. The text runs: 'They set up the priests in (by) their courses and the Levites in (by) their divisions.' This means that the priests and the Levites are set up 'as it is written in the book of Moses'; but it does not necessarily mean that their courses and divisions were based on the same authority. Beecher never mentions the fact that the Samaritans accepted only the Law (see below, § 25), nor does he investigate what grain of truth is contained in the same statement as to the Sadducees

in dealing with the later stages of the history of the canon and with its close, there is no obscurity about its commencement. It was indeed by those

23. **The Torah.** 'men of the great synagogue,' to whom orthodoxy assigns the close of the canon, that its foundations were laid, in the clear daylight of well-authenticated history. From the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month of the year 444 B.C. onwards, Israel possessed a canon of Sacred Scripture. It was on this day that the great popular assembly described in Neh. 9. f. solemnly pledged itself to 'the Book of the Law of Yahuw their God' (9.3), 'which had been given by the hand of Moses the servant of God' (10.30), and had been brought from Babylon to Jerusalem shortly before by Ezra the scribe (Ezra 7.6-14, Neh. 8.1 f.). In virtue of this resolution the said law-book at that time became canonical; but only the law-book.

Already, indeed, in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, between 623 and 621 B.C., there had been a solemn act of a similar character, when the king and people pledged themselves to the law-book that had been found in the temple, the 'book of the covenant' (2 K. 23). The entire editorial revision of the Books of Kings, and especially the express references to the law-book (1 K. 2.3, 2 K. 23.25, and above all, 2 K. 14.6 compared with Dt. 21.6), clearly prove that it had canonical validity during the exilic period, whilst the book of Malachi (cp esp. 2.4 ff. 3.5 ff. 2.2) shows that also in the post-exilic period down to the time of Ezra it continued to hold this place in Jerusalem.¹ The critical labours of the present century, however, have conclusively established that this first canonical book contained simply what we now have as the kernel of our Book of Deuteronomy.

The law canonised in 444 was a very different document. The only possible question is whether it was the entire Pentateuch as we now have it,

24. **Its extent.** or only the Priestly Writing, the latest and most extensive of the sources which go to make up the Pentateuch. The latter is, so far as we can at present see, the more likely hypothesis. In that case what happened in 444 B.C. was that the Deuteronomic Law, which had until then ruled, was superseded by the new Law of Ezra. A determination of this kind, however, was unworkable in view of the firm place which the older book that had been built up out of J E and D² had secured for itself in the estimation of the people. Accordingly, the new law was revised and enlarged by the fusing together of the Priestly Writing and the earlier work, a process of which our Pentateuch, the canon of the Law, was the result.

This last stage was most probably accomplished in the next generation after that of Ezra, and completed

25. **Samaritan Torah.** before 400 B.C. We have evidence of this in the fact that the schismatic community of the Samaritans accepts the entire Pentateuch as sacred. It is true that the solitary historical account we possess (Jos. Ant. xi. 7.2-8.4) places the separation of this community from that of Jerusalem as low down as the time of Alexander the Great (about 330 B.C.); but the cause that led to

(see below, § 38), or consider the reason why the Law is wanting in 2 Macc. 2.13 (see below, § 27). On the other side, it may be hoped that he will find the difficulty caused by the Book of Joshua, a difficulty greatly exaggerated by himself, removed (in fact turned into a help) in § 28 f. of this article, written two years before his paper was published. This is only one of many instances. The theory of the triple canon of the OT, based on incontestable facts, is not as mechanical as Beecher represents it. It is able to satisfy every demand for organic growth in the collection of OT writings. Beecher's paper (a total failure, it seems to the present writer, in the main point) may do much good in cautioning against too mechanical a conception; but it did not furnish to the present writer any occasion to alter the views developed in this article.

¹ The reasons for saying that the references in Malachi are to Dt. and not to Ezra's law-book cannot be given here (see Now. *Al. Proph.* 391; but cp MALACHI).

² On this and on the larger critical question cp HEXATEUCH.

the separation—the expulsion of the high priest's son, the son-in-law of Sanballat, who founded the community and sanctua-; of the Samaritans—is rather, according to Neh. 13:28, to be referred to the period of Nehemiah (about 430 B.C.). It has already been mentioned (§ 19) that Jewish chronology has dropped a whole century and a half, so bringing the periods of Nehemiah and Alexander into immediate juxtaposition; and this is the explanation of the confusion found in Josephus. We may suppose that before the final separation of the Samaritans there elapsed an interval of some decades which would give ample time for the completion of the Law.¹ This does not exclude the possibility that adjustments may have been made at a later date between the Samaritan Pentateuch and that of Jerusalem, or that later interpolations may have found their way into the Samaritan law. The compass of the work, however, must have remained (to speak broadly)² a fixed quantity, otherwise the Samaritans would not have taken it over.³

At the same time the Samaritan canon, which contained nothing but the (complete) law, is our oldest witness to a period during which the Law alone, canon and Law being thus coextensive conceptions. If alongside of the Law there had been other sacred writings, it would be inexplicable why these last also did not pass into currency with the Samaritans. There are other witnesses also to the same effect. The weightiest lies in the simple fact that the name Torah or Law can mean the entire canon, and be used as including the Prophets and the Writings. We find it so used in the NT (Jn. 10:34 12:34 15:25 1 Cor. 14:21), in the passage already cited from 4 Esdras (14:20), and, at a later date, in many passages of the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the Rabbins (cp Strack, 439). This would have been impossible if the words 'canon' and 'law' had not originally had the same connotation, other books afterwards attaining to some share in the sanctity of the Law.

26. Torah = entire canon. canon consisted of the Law alone, canon and Law being thus coextensive conceptions. If alongside of the Law there had been other sacred writings, it would be inexplicable why these last also did not pass into currency with the Samaritans. There are other witnesses also to the same effect. The weightiest lies in the simple fact that the name Torah or Law can mean the entire canon, and be used as including the Prophets and the Writings. We find it so used in the NT (Jn. 10:34 12:34 15:25 1 Cor. 14:21), in the passage already cited from 4 Esdras (14:20), and, at a later date, in many passages of the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the Rabbins (cp Strack, 439). This would have been impossible if the words 'canon' and 'law' had not originally had the same connotation, other books afterwards attaining to some share in the sanctity of the Law.

27. 2 Macc. same thing is shown by an often-quoted and much-abused passage in 2 Macc. (2:13). There we read that Nehemiah, in establishing a library, brought together the books concerning the kings and prophets τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν and the (poems) of David (τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ) and the letters of kings concerning consecrated gifts (to the temple: ἐπιστολάς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων). The passage occurs in a letter from the Jews of Palestine to their compatriots in Egypt, and is an admitted interpolation in a book which is itself thoroughly unhistorical; it is thus in the highest degree untrustworthy (cp MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7). As evidence of what could be believed and said at the time of its composition, however, in the first century B.C., it is unimpeachable. When we find the Former and Latter Prophets and the Psalms catalogued as forming part of a library, and, alongside of them and on the same level, letters of kings (heaven kings of course), it is clear that there is no idea of sacro-

¹ This explains why the Book of Nehemiah closes with the expulsion of the son-in-law of Sanballat, but says nothing as to the setting up of the temple and church of the Samaritans. There is no occasion for scepticism as to the entire story in Josephus (as in Kautzsch, *PRE³*, art. 'Samaritan', 343/4).

² See below, § 47.

³ Against the completion of the law at this date Duhh (*Jesaja*, 1892, p. v.) urges objections. He thinks that as late as the time of the Chronicler (third century B.C.) the so-called Priestly Document had not yet been fused with J E and D; for the intention of the Book of Chronicles is, in his opinion, to continue the Priestly Document (which comes down only to the end of Joshua), not the older work embracing the Book of Kings, which indeed it sought to supersede. Neither intention, however, can be attributed to the Chronicler. In fact, he begins with the creation, his method being to write out at full length the genealogies from Adam downwards, taking them from the work that lay before him (J E D P). Since, however, he is writing a history only of Jerusalem and the temple, he passes over all that does not relate to this. At the same time, even if the Chronicler had used nothing but P, this would not prove more than that, after its fusion with the other sources, P continued to be used also separately for a long time.

sanct books. The Law is not mentioned in the same connection; as the sacred canon, it receives a place to itself and has nothing to do with the library. Whether all the contemporaries of this author shared his view is another matter; in any case, the possibility of such a view being held is proof of the original isolation of the Law. Moreover, it appears from this passage that at the time when it was written, or within the writer's circle, the legend of the closing of the canon by Ezra can have been prevalent only in the (narrower and historically much more accurate) sense that the canon of the Law received its validity as such by Ezra's action. The fact, moreover, that in the LXX the version of the Law appears to be distinctively an official work, not the result of private enterprise, confirms the inference already drawn from the exclusive attention given to the Law in the period represented by Ezra.

(2) *The second canon: the Prophets.*—The nucleus for a second canon was laid to the hand of the scribes

28. J E D. of the fifth century in the very fact that the canon of the Law had been set apart to a place by itself. It is one of the certain results of the science of special introduction that the Priestly Document on which Ezra's reform rested, followed the history of Israel, including the division of Canaan, down to the end of the Book of Joshua; the portions derived from it can still be distinguished in our present Book of Joshua. The same holds good for J E D. We can go further. It may still be matter of dispute, indeed, whether the material for the subsequent books (Judges, Samuel, Kings) also was derived from J and E; but so much is indisputably certain, that the Deuteronomistic redaction embraced these books also, in fact, the whole of the Former Prophets, and that at the end of Kings the narrative itself is from Deuteronomistic hands. As even now each of these books is seen to link itself very closely to that which precedes it, it follows that J E D, ultimately at least, in the form in which the work was used in the fifth century, included the Law and the Former Prophets. That the Law might attain its final form as a separate unity, therefore, it was not enough that P and J E D should be worked up into a single whole. This whole must be separated from the history that followed it. How and when this was effected we can imagine variously. According to the view taken above, what is most probable is that in 444 the entire Priestly Writing, including the closing sections relating to the entrance into Canaan and the partition of the country, was already in existence and canonized in its full extent.¹ Not until its subsequent amalgamation with the corresponding sections of J E D did the hitherto quite insignificant historical appendix to the 'law,' strictly so called, acquire such a preponderance that the division was found to be inevitable. It was made at the end of the account of the death of Moses, and thus a portion of the Priestly Writing also (as well as of J E D) was severed from the body to which it belonged. In any case, however we may reconstruct the details, the great fact abides that, after the Law had been separated, there remained the compact mass of writings which afterwards

29. Pentateuch. came to be known as 'the former prophets,' a body of literature which from the very first could not fail to take an exceptional position from the simple fact that it had once been connected with the sacred canon, and must necessarily have been prized by the community as a possession never to be lost. Equally certain is it that by far the larger proportion of the 'latter prophets' was already in the hands of the scribes of the fifth century. In these books God spoke almost uninterruptedly by the mouth of his prophets—in itself

30. 'Former Prophets.'

31. 'Latter Prophets.'

¹ A last trace of some reminiscence of this short period during which the Book of Joshua still belonged to the 'law' may be seen in the Apocryphal Book of Joshua of the Samaritans.

reason enough for assigning to them the attribute of holiness. If, nevertheless, the books were not reckoned to the canon, the explanation is to be sought in the practical character of the first canon: Ezra gave to the community in the canon of the Law all that it required. It was not new when he gave it; he only gave over again what God had once already given through Moses to the people as his one and all. If the people had remained true to this Law, not only would they have escaped all the disasters of the past, but also they would never have needed new revelations from God through his prophets. These prophets contributed nothing new; they were sent only to admonish the unfaithful people to observe the Law, and to announce the merited

**32. Pro-
visional.** punishment of the impenitent. The Law thus had permanent validity, whilst the work of the prophets was transitory; the Law addressed itself to all generations, the prophets each only to his own, which had now passed away. The generations that had sworn obedience anew to the Law under Ezra, therefore, had no need for the prophets. Should similar circumstances recur, it might be expected that God would send prophets anew; but the prevailing feeling was, no doubt, that the time of unfaithfulness, and consequently of the prophetic ministry, had gone for ever.¹

The view here set forth is that of the OT itself, pre-eminently that of the Deuteronomistic school, where it is constantly recurring.² Indeed, since the Deuteronomistic and the Priestly Laws alike, each in its own way, had assimilated the results of the work of the prophets, this view must be called, from their point of view, the right one. Accordingly it has throughout continued to be the view of the synagogue, as can be proved from many passages in the Talmud and the

**33. Historical
books
'prophetic.'** Midrashim.³ It explains at the same time why it is that the historical books (Joshua-Kings) are called 'prophets.' They speak just in the manner of the prophets of the unfaithfulness of past generations to the law, and of the divine means—chiefly the mission of prophets—used to correct this. Both relate in a similar way to the past. For the same reason the prophets, conversely, are called history; for 'tradition' in the sense of 'history' is what is meant by אֲשֵׁרָא (ash-lemta), the Massoretic term for the canon of the prophets, the נְבִיאִים (nəbi'im), as a whole (cp further, Strack, 439).

We can thus very easily understand how it was that the Prophets could not be canonized simultaneously with the Law. To pledge people to the

**34. Not yet
canonized.** Prophets was not possible, and the obligation to the Law would only have been obscured and weakened by a canonization of the Prophets at the same time. The idea of canonicity had first to be enlarged; it had to be conceived in a more abstract manner, on the basis of a historical interest in the past, before the canonizing of the Prophets—that is to say, their being taken in immediate connection with the Law—could become possible.⁴

Of course a considerable period of time must have been required for this; and the same result follows from

**35. Freely
edited.** the established facts of 'higher criticism.' Of the Prophets properly so called, not only are Joel and Jonah later than the completion of the Law, but also the older books, over wide areas of their extent, bear more or less independent

¹ With every reservation let it be noted here that in Mal. 3:23 the promise is not of a new prophet, but only of the return of Elijah, and that in Zech. 13:2 ff. to come forward as a prophet is to risk one's life.

² Compare also, however (especially), the confession of sin which in Nehemiah precedes the taking of the covenant (particularly 20: 16 ff. ab 20 ff. 34).

³ See Weiser, 18 f. 78 f.

⁴ Cp the passage (2 Macc. 2:13), already spoken of, in which such a historical interest appears, but leads only to the foundation of a library, not to the canonizing of its contents.

evidence of a secondary literary activity.¹ These phenomena are so manifold, and there are traces of periods so widely separated, that we must believe not a few generations to have borne a part in bringing the prophetic books to their present form. Yet these extensive additions and revisions, at least most of them, must of course have taken place before the canonization.

This obvious conclusion is indeed contradicted by the tradition of the synagogue, which tells us that the books

**36. Gap in
tradition.** of the prophets were written by 'the men of the great synagogue,' on which view the canon of the prophets was already complete in 444 B.C. Nor does this assertion, the baselessness of which we have already seen, stand alone. It is backed by others. Josephus (c. Ap. 18) says expressly that it was down to the time of Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes (i.e., Artaxerxes I., Longimanus, 465-424) that the literary activity of the prophets continued. The passage in the Mishna in which the unbroken chain of tradition is set forth (*Pirke Aboth*, 1:1) represents the Law as having been handed down by the prophets to the men of the great synagogue; which again brings us to the same date, and dispenses with the need of any further testimony.

It is exactly this chain of tradition, however, that supplies the interval of time that we need. The passage goes on to say: Simon the Just was one of the last survivors of 'the men of the great synagogue'; he handed on the tradition to Antigonus of Socho, by whom² in turn it was transmitted to Jose b. Jozer and Jose b. Johanan, the first of the so-called 'pairs.' That the chronology of this section leaves much to be desired is clear.³ It seems to be as safe as certain, however, that the fourth of the five pairs lived about 50 B.C., the third about 80 B.C. The same ratio would bring us to somewhere about 140 or 150 B.C. for the first 'pair,' whilst the time of Antigonus and Simon would fall about 200 B.C., or a little earlier. In that case, Simon the Just would be the high priest Simon II, b. Onias who is briefly mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4:10). The cognomen of 'Just,' however, is given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2:5-4:1) to Simon I, b. Onias, who lived almost a century earlier, about 300. If we must consider that he is the Simon who is meant, it is clear that the alleged chain of tradition is defective in its earlier portion, only a single name having reached us for the whole of the third century. Further, Simon the Just is the connecting link with 'the great synagogue,' and as the assembly that gave rise to this name was held in 444, there is again a gap, this time of a century, even if we concede that Simon reached a very advanced age. The long interval between Simon the Just and 444 B.C., however, is not to be held as arising from a different view about the synagogue; it is to be accounted for by the hiatus (already referred to, §§ 19, 25) in the traditional chronology between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great, similar to that which brings Zerubabel into immediate relation with the

**37. Activity
in interval.** time of Ezra.⁴ It is within this vacant period that we must place those reductions, the fact of which has been so uncontestedly proved by critical inquiry. The main reason why the synagogue has no recollection of this period, is that during this time the activity of the scribes (with the history of which alone the chronology busies itself from Ezra onwards) had no independent life, but devoted itself almost exclusively to the sacred writings of the past, and left its traces only there, so that whatever it

¹ This is true especially of Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah; but most of the other books show the same thing in some degree. The details belong to the special articles.

² By whom' is plural according to the text, the reference including perhaps Simon the Just. Zunz (37 n.) would interpret 'from the successors of Antigonus, mediate or immediate'; but this is hardly permissible.

³ See Schürer, *GH* 2:209 ff.

⁴ Cp also *Jos. Ant.* xi. 6:1, with 7:1 and 8:1.

accomplished was put to the credit of the earlier times. This holds good, in the first instance, of the Law, to which considerable additions were still made as late as the third century (see above, § 25). Still more extensive was this activity in the case of the prophetic books; it was now that they took their final literary shape.¹ The additions naturally corresponded to the thoughts and wishes of the age in which they arose; on the lines of older models, the elements of hope and of comfort received a much fuller development, and thus the prophets were made of practical interest for a present time that, contrary to expectation, had turned out badly.²

It is possible that we even possess a proof that the canonization of the prophets did not take place quite

38. Canonization perhaps opposed.

without opposition and dispute, a thing in itself not improbable. In the Church fathers we meet with the very definite assertion that the Sadducees had scruples about acknowledging any sacred writings (especially the Prophets) in addition to the Law.³ It cannot be supposed that there is here any confusion with the Samaritans, who are expressly named along with them as sharing the same view; a somewhat easier view is that what is referred to is their rejection of the oral legal tradition.⁴ Let it be borne in mind, however, that we here have to do with our best Christian authorities on matters Jewish—Origen and Jerome, the former of whom was contemporary with the period of the Mishna. That neither the Mishna itself, nor yet Josephus, has a word to say on such a dangerous subject, is intelligible enough. It is, of course, not for a moment to be supposed—even though this is suggested by some of the passages cited—that the Sadducees rejected the prophets, or, in other words, refused to recognise them as having been channels of divine communications. On the other hand, it is not difficult to believe that these conservative guardians of the old priestly tradition should have resisted the addition of a second canon to that of the Law, which until then had held an exclusive place. In doing so, they would only have been maintaining the position of 444 B.C., whilst in this, as in other matters, the Pharisees represented the popular party of the time. The controversy

¹ Cp We. *IJG* 155 ff. and esp. 159 ff.; Montefiore, *Origins and Growth of Religion* (Oxford, 1912, 1920), 440 ff. The assertion, frequently repeated in the tradition of the synagogue, that it was expressly prohibited to commit to writing the traditional law cannot of course, strictly speaking, be maintained (cp Strack, art. 'Thalmud' in *PREL* 18337 ff.). Still it is not impossible that there lies at the bottom of it a true reminiscence. Hardly, indeed, such a one as Strack supposes (p. 333 ff.); but rather this: that the addition of all sorts of novelties to the canonical Law was definitely put a stop to, and that, as a reaction against this tendency to add, there arose, some time (say) in the course of the second century, a certain reluctance to write the further developments of the law—the Halakoth—until at last the codification of the Mishna put an end to this.

² Ryle's conjecture (p. 117) that the gradual admission of the prophets to a place in the public reading of the synagogue preceded and led to their canonization, rests unfortunately on an insecure foundation, as we do not know whether the Haphjārā goes back to a sufficiently early date. The first mention of the public reading of the Prophets is in the NT (Lk. 4.16 ff.; Acts 13.15 ff.), the next, in a inscription and obscure poem, in the Mishna (*Meqilla*, 3.4 ff.), and, very full and clear, in the *Tosephta* (*Meqilla*, 4[8], ed. Zuckerman, 225 ff.). This much may be taken for certain, that the reading of the Prophets came in very considerably later than that of the Law. That what led to it was the destructive search after copies of the Law in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (I Macc. 1.57) is pure conjecture. Even if proved it would be insufficient for Ryle's purpose. For the age of the Haphjārōth, see Zunz, 5 ff.; Ryle, 116 ff.; and on the Haphjārōth in general, see Schürer, 2.370 ff. It is necessary to raise a note of warning as to Grätz, 156 ff.

³ See the passages textually quoted in Schürer, 2.342; Orig. c. *Cels.* 1.49 (ed. Lommatsch, 18.93); *Comm. in Matth.* 11, chap. 35 ff. on chap. 22.29.31 ff. (ed. Lomm. 4.166.166); Jer. *Comm. in Matt.* 22.1 ff. (Vall. 7.1.170); *cont. Luciferianos*, chap. 23 (v. 2.197); *Philosophumena*, 9.29; Pseudo-Tert. *adv. Her.* (v. 1).

⁴ Yet in the last-cited passage there follows immediately: 'Pherismito Pharisaeos qui additamenta quaedam legis adstruendo a Judaeis divisi sunt.'

about defiling the hands (*M. Yadayim*, 4.6) may have been a last echo of this.¹

Lastly, we must endeavour to fix an inferior limit for the date at which the prophetic canon was fixed.

39. Inferior limit—Eclus.

For the literary close of the prophetic collection, we fortunately have an external testimony almost three centuries older and much more exhaustive than 4 Esdras and Josephus, namely the hymn to the great men of the past with which Jesus b. Sira (Ecclesiasticus), in chaps. 44-50, concludes his didactic poem. From Enoch downwards all the righteous are panegyricised, exactly in the order in which they occur in the Law and the Former Prophets. The kings are treated quite on the Deuteronomistic lines. David, Hezekiah, and Josiah receive unqualified praise; Solomon is commended only half-heartedly, whilst Rehoboam is spoken of as a fool, and Jeroboam as a seducer. Elijah and Elisha find their place in the series immediately after these two kings, whilst between Hezekiah and Josiah comes Isaiah.² Of him we are told in one and the same sentence what we read in chaps. 36-39 (= 2 K. 18-20), and that under mighty inspiration he foresaw the far future and 'comforted them that mourn in Zion' (cp 40.1). This proves that not only chaps. 36-39, but also chaps. 40-66, already were parts of the Book of Isaiah, and thus that the last essential steps to its final redaction had been made (cp *Che. Intr. Is.* xviii.). Still more significant is it that after Jeremiah (who is associated with Josiah, as Isaiah is with Hezekiah) and after Ezekiel, the twelve prophets (οἱ δώδεκα προφῆται) are mentioned, and disposed of collectively in a single panegyric. Here already, that is to say, we have the same consolidation as we have seen (§ 21) in the Mishna (where a single authorship in the persons of 'the men of the great synagogue' has to be found for the one book of the twelve). We may be sure that Jesus b. Sira found the twelve books already copied upon a single roll, and thus in their final form. By his time the prophetic canon had been closed.³

The conclusion of this hymn (chap. 50) answers the question as to the date of its author. It is the panegyric on Simon b. Onias who was high priest in Jesus b. Sira's own day. In this instance, it is certainly not Simon the Just (cp § 36) that is intended, if it were only on account of the absence of the surname distinctively given in Josephus and the Mishna. The question is decided for Simon II. (circa 200) by the prologue of the translator, grandson of the author, who made his version later than 132 B.C. (see ECCLESIASTICUS, § 8).⁴ We therefore

¹ The arguments for utter rejection of this statement can best be read in Winer, *HWB* 2.353 ff. The view taken in the text seems to be shared by We. when he writes (*IJG* 251; 2nd ed. 286; 3rd ed. 297): 'They (the Pharisees) stood up against the Sadducees for the enlargement of the canon.' Another view is expressed in *Einl.* 614.

² The precedence here given him has no bearing on the place assigned to his book in the Prophetic canon (cp above, § 8). It is the chronological succession of the persons that is being dealt with.

³ The doubt raised (not for the first time) by Böhme (in *ZATW* 7.280 [87]) against the genuineness of 49.10a, where the XII are referred to, was excellently disposed of by Nöldeke (*ZATW* 8.55 [88]), by the evidence of the Syriac translation (which rests immediately on the Hebrew), and by showing that in π . 106, according to Cod. A and others, the correct reading is the plural $\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ (followed by $\gamma\alpha\rho$ instead of $\theta\epsilon$), and $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\tau\eta\rho\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$, so that $\iota\omega\theta$ refers not to Ezekiel but to the XII. Another circumstance ought to be noted. If the praise of Ezekiel is completed in ν . 8 ff., it agrees in length and substance exactly with that of Jeremiah in ν . 7, with that of Isaiah (apart from Isaiah) in 48.24 ff., and finally with that of the XII, if ν . 10 is taken as applying wholly to them. To place $\iota\omega\theta$ before $\iota\omega\alpha$ as Zöckler (*Die Apokryphen des AT*, etc., 1891, p. 348 ff.) silently does is quite inadmissible. To all this must now be added the testimony of the lately discovered Hebrew. The genuineness of 48.23 ff. is doubted by Dahm (*Cesaja*, 1892, p. vii), but without any reasons being given. On p. xvii. he appears to be able to accept the genuineness.

⁴ The arguments by which J. Halévy (*Étude sur la partie du texte Hébreu de l'Ecclesiastique récemment découverte*, 1897) endeavours to prove that Simon I., the Just, is the hero of chap. 50, have failed to convince the present writer. Still it should be kept in mind that even if Halévy were right the

conclude—and the conclusion agrees with the course of the development traced above—that the prophetic collection already existed as such, pretty much in its present form, about the year 200 B.C.³

Notable reasons for the same conclusion are supplied by the Book of Daniel (written about 164 B.C.). In the first place there is a reason of a positive character: in 9:2 we find Jer. 25:11 f. cited as ספר ('in the [Holy] Scriptures'). Of greater weight, however, is a negative reason: the Book of Daniel itself found a place—not among the Prophets, but—among the Writings. Other reasons for this might be conjectured;² but the most probable one still is that at the time of its recognition as canonical the canon of the Prophets had in current opinion been already definitely completed. The time of admission, however, must be taken to have been considerably later than the date of composition (164 B.C.), and so this evidence does not go for much. Still less important is the further fact, that the work of the Chronicler (composed during the first half of the third century) is not included among the Former Prophets. Its special character as a Midrash to already accepted biblical books must long have prevented its attaining the dignity of canonization; but a further circumstance helped to impede its recognition. The immediate contiguity of the Former Prophets and the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (brought to their final form at an early date) must comparatively soon have come to be regarded as fixed and unalterable,³ whilst, on the other hand, to append Chronicles to the later prophets was plainly impossible.

It remains, then, that the completion of the collection—we might almost say also of the canon—of the Prophets

took place in course of the third century. This, however, does not yet bring us to an altogether unambiguous finding with reference to their 'canonization.' It is only misleading if we allow ourselves, without qualification, to carry back the idea of 'canonicity,' in the fully-developed form which it finally reached, to the earliest beginnings of the formation of a canon. It was impossible for the Prophets ever to receive a canonical value in the same sense in which this was given to the Law; the subordinate character of the Prophetic canon remains fixed for all coming time.⁴ Holiness was, and continued to be, a relative conception, and we do not need to give to the designation קדש in Dan. 9:2 the same fullness of meaning that it has in the Talmud. The gulf between the Law and all the remaining books could be bridged only artificially, and we know with certainty that the bridging idea—the idea of a property common to all holy books, that of 'defiling the hands'—was an invention of Pharisaic scholasticism, withstood by the Sadducees even after the destruction of Jerusalem (*Yad*, 46). Until this bridge had been securely constructed there was no idea of a canonicity that included all three portions equally. This is proved by a fact to which we have already referred,—the Sadducean recognition of nothing but the Law. Before a definitive union of the Prophetic canon with that of the

³ Cf. of Ecclesiasticus ought not to be pushed back more than fifty or sixty years. The author may be describing in his old age some memories from his early youth. See Kautzsch in *AT*, 7, 1, p. 198 f.

⁴ The possibility of much later additions to the books admitted to this canon is unfortunately by no means excluded, as is sufficiently evidenced by the simple fact that even the Pentateuch continued to be added to long after its canonization (see § 37). Thus there is nothing in the nature of the case to prevent us from attributing the appendices to Zechariah (chaps. 9-14) to the later Maccabean period, as We. (*JG* 228, n. 2, 3rd ed. 274, n. 2) appears to do (cp. ZECARIAH II.), or admitting the interpolation of passages in Isaiah (already enlarged by the addition of chaps. 40-66) as indicated by Duhm's results. In these cases, however, we are justified in demanding very conclusive arguments.

² Cp. for example, Duhm, *op. cit.* vi, n. 1.

³ Hence also the exclusion of the Book of Ruth.

⁴ As to this cp. the very significant passage (*Megilla*, 27a)

quoted in *Bur*, 29, n. 3.

Law could be effected the way had to be prepared by a continually rising appreciation of the prophetic literature, and by an ever-growing conception of its sanctity. To this result the Maccabean period must unquestionably have contributed much. Such passages as 1 Macc. 4:6 9:27 14:41 and the Song of the Three Children (7: 14; cp. Ps. 74:9) show not only how far people then felt themselves to be removed from the prophetic times, but also how highly those times were thought of. Still we must bear in mind the passage in 2 Macc. (2:13) already referred to (§ 27), which seems to show that, even in the last century B.C., it was still possible to speak of the Prophets and of profane writings, in the same breath, as parts of the same library.

On the other hand, it can be shown that there was once a time in which the Prophets, but not the Hagiographa, could be spoken of along with the Law as included among the sacred writings. As the name 'the Law' can be used to designate the whole tripartite canon (see above, § 26), so also can the double name 'the Law and the Prophets' (Cp. in N.T., Mt. 5:17 12 Lk. 16:16 29:31 Acts 28:23, and, in the tradition of the synagogue *Kush hush-Shana*, 46; *Baba B.* 8:14; Talm. J. *Megilla*, 3:1; also *Yoma* B. 1:3f.). It may also be pointed out that the name *Kabbālā* ('Tradition') includes the Prophets and the Writings (cp. the numerous passages in Zunz, 44 n. a), but the synonymous expression *Ashlemta* (see above, § 33), if we are correctly informed (Strack, 439), the prophets only.

(3) *The third canon: the Hagiographa.*—Here, again, there is no possibility of doubt that, at the time when the prophetic collection was closed, much of what we now find in our third canon was already in existence, and yet it did not gain admission into the collection and found no place in the canon of that day. At bottom the reason is self-evident; it was a collection of prophets that was being made, a collection, that is to say, of writings in which God himself spoke, enforcing the Law by the mouth of his messengers. Such other writings as were then extant did not profess to be the immediate utterance of the God of Israel. One of them, indeed, the earlier nucleus of the Psalter, was in use as the hymn-book of the Temple services; but to have admitted it into the canon on that account would have been very much the same as if now a Christian church were to place its hymnal among its symbolical books. There was necessary, accordingly, a further (cp. § 34) extension of the idea 'Sacred Writings' or (using the word with caution) of the idea of the 'canon,' and (so to say) a reduced intensity, before any further books could find admission, not of course into either of the canons already existing, but into a third, subordinate in rank to these. It is obvious, further, that again a considerable period must have elapsed before this extension of the idea could make way, and thus render possible the admission of books which, at the time when the prophetic canon was closed, were still unwritten.

Besides the (obvious) condition of a book's having a religious character, the only remaining condition demanded by the best implied in the expanded idea of canon is the condition of date. Those books were accepted which were considered to have been written during the prophetic period.

Our earliest witness to this is Josephus. In the passage already referred to above (c. *Ap.* 18), after setting forth his tripartite division of the sacred writings (5:1-13-4), he goes on to say:— $\text{ἀπο τῶν Ἀποστόλων μέχρι τοῦ σφραγισθέντος τῶν προφητῶν δια τὸ μὴ γινώσκοντες τὰς τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆς ἡμετέρας.}$ That is to say, the prophetic period closes with Artaxerxes (Ezra and Nehemiah).

Grätz, 150 f., wishes to exclude the Hagiographa in both cases. It must be concluded that the evidence for their inclusion cannot be regarded as being so certain in the case of the 'Law and the Prophets' as it is in that of the 'Law' alone.

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and canonically (even in the case of non-prophetic books) is guaranteed only by contemporaneity with the continuous series of the prophets. This view is confirmed by the Talmudic tradition. Tos. Yadayim, 2:1 (p. 68.) rules that 'books such as Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) and all books written בְּיָמֵינוּ do not defile the hands.' This בְּיָמֵינוּ —i.e., 'from that time forward'—is the standing expression for the cessation of the prophetic period. Corresponding with it is the other phrase עַד הַיּוֹם ('until then'), denoting this period. Further confirmation is found in *San. 28a*: 'Books like Ben Sira and similar books written בְּיָמֵינוּ are not considered as a letter' (cp on this, Buhl, § 2). The point of time is fixed by a passage in *Seder olam rabba*, 30, as the time of Alexander the Macedonian: 'The rough בְּגָדִים (Dan. 8:21) is Alexander the Macedonian, who reigned twelve years; until then the prophets prophesied by the Holy Spirit, from that time forward incline thine ear and hearken to the words of the wise.'¹ If Alexander the Great here takes the place of Artaxerxes in Josephus, the explanation is simply that, according to the Jewish chronology and computation of history, Haggai and Zechariah, Ezra and Malachi all lived at the same time, which is contiguous with that of Alexander.²

We now know, therefore, that it is not out of mere caprice, but in accordance with a settled doctrine, that 4 Esd. 14 and *Baba Bathra 15a* declare all the canonical books to have been already in existence in Ezra's time. The time limit was a fixed one; difference of view was possible only with regard to the person of the author. From this doctrine we deduce the proposition: *Into the third canon, that of the Hagiographa, were received all books of a religious character of which the date was believed to go back as far as to the Prophetic period, that is, to the time of Ezra and the Great Assembly.*

The reason for the setting up of such a standard is easily intelligible. Down to the time of the Great

45. Reason of limit.

Assembly, the Spirit of God had been operative not only in the Law but also outside of it, namely in the Prophets; but 'from that time onwards' the Law took the command alone. 'Until then' it was possible to point to the presence of the factor which was essential to the production of sacred writings, but 'from that time onwards' it was not. Hence the conviction that the divine productive force had manifested itself even in those cases where the writing did not claim to be an immediate divine utterance; but only down to the close of the prophetic period. The proposition we have just formulated is sufficient to explain the reception or non-reception of all the books that we now have to deal with. Job was received as, according to general belief, a book of venerable antiquity; Ruth as a narrative relating to the period of the judges, and therefore (as was invariably assumed as matter of course in the case of historical narratives) as dating from the same time; the Psalms as broadly covered by the general idea that they were 'David's Psalms'; Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes as resting on Solomon's name; Lamentations as resting on that of Jeremiah; Daniel as a prophet of the Persian period (which in its whole extent was supposed to fall within the prophetic age) overlooked in the earlier collection. The same consideration held good for Esther, regarded as a history book. At the close comes the Book of Ezra—separated from the general work of the Chronicler³—which, in its account of the Great Assembly, contained the original document on the close of the Prophetic period and so, as it were, puts the

46. Appon-dices.

colophon to the completed canon. Had what we now call Chronicles—i.e., the first part of the Chronicler's work—been incorporated in the canon simultaneously with the incorporation of its second part, the Book of Ezra, the two would never have been separated, and even arranged in an order contrary to the chronological (cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 15). We may therefore say with all confidence that Chronicles did not come in till after-

wards, as an appendix to the canon. The reason for its original exclusion was no doubt the consciousness that, strictly, it was but a Midrash to other canonical books. The second part of the Chronicler's work, once canonized, tended to take the other along with it; possibly too the Book of Chronicles may have been helped by the minuteness with which it goes into the temple service—a feature to which at a later date, in the Massoretic arrangement (see above, § 8), it was indebted for a first place among the Hagiographa. From this one certain case, the last, may be inferred the possibility that other books also, especially the immediately preceding ones (Ezra, Esther, Daniel; perhaps also Ruth: see above, § 9), were only gradually added, one by one, to the third canon by way of appendices. At least, they all of them have the appearance of being, as to their contents, appendices to the two halves of the Prophetic canon, whilst the remaining six books form a class by themselves. We are not, however, in a position to speak with certainty here.

Conversely, all other writings, so far as not excluded by reason of their language or some exception taken

47. Excluded books.

to their contents, may safely be supposed to have been excluded either because, manifestly and on their own confession, they did not go back to the Prophetic time, or because their claim to do so was not admitted.¹ The first-mentioned reason must have been what operated in the case of works of so high a standing as 1 Macc. and Ecclesiasticus; as instances of the application of the second principle, we may take (in contrast to Daniel) the books of Baruch and Enoch.²

The attempt to determine the date at which the canon of the Hagiographa, and with it that of the

48. Date, inferior limit.

entire OT, was finally closed, is again surrounded with the very greatest difficulty. Let us, to begin with, fix the *terminus ad quem*. It is given us in the passages, frequently referred to already, in Josephus (c. Ap. 18) and 4 Esdras (chap. 14), where the entire corpus of the OT Scriptures, in twenty-two or twenty-four books, is set apart from all other writings. As to the extent of the canon, unanimity had been reached by at least somewhere about the year 100 A.D.

For a superior limit we shall have to begin where our investigation as to the prophetic canon ended—with

49. Superior limit.

the son of Sirach. In his hymn he commemorates, as the last of the heroes of Israel, Zerubbabel and Joshua as well as Nehemiah, thereby conclusively showing that he was acquainted with the work of the Chronicler (49:11 ff.). Moreover, he makes use of passages from the Psalms. Neither fact proves anything for a third canon; the fact that he found his ideal and pattern in the prophets is rather against this (24:33: $\text{\textepsilon}\tau\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\upsilon\ \nu\ \pi\text{r}\text{o}\phi\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\chi\eta\omega\upsilon$). The prologue of his descendant (later than 132 B.C.) shows still more unmistakably that no definite third canon was then in existence, even although already a certain number of books had begun to attach themselves to the Law and the Prophets. Three times he designates the whole aggregate of the literature which had been handed down, to which also his ancestor had sought to add his quota, as $\text{\textdelta}\nu\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{oi}\ \pi\text{r}\text{o}\phi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\text{\textdelta}\nu\ \delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \alpha\iota\omega\tau\iota\sigma\iota\ \eta\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha$; $\delta\epsilon\ \nu.\ \kappa.\ \text{oi}\ \pi\text{r}.\ \kappa.\ \tau\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \beta\epsilon\beta\lambda\iota\alpha$; $\delta\epsilon\ \nu.\ \kappa.\ \alpha\iota\ \pi\text{r}\text{o}\phi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ ($\text{oi}\ \pi\text{r}\text{o}\phi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ [C]) $\kappa.\ \tau\alpha\ \lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omega\upsilon$. What is thus designated by three different indeterminate expressions cannot have been a definite collection. That of these books, in whole or in part, there were already Greek translations we can gather from the Prologue; but we get no help either from this or from the LXX generally.

¹ 'Some found their way in, others not, on grounds of taste—the taste of the period,' says Wellhausen (*Eint.* (4) 559, 6th ed. 512). No doubt considerations of taste must have had influence on the decision whether the books in question came up to the standard; but it was the doctrine that formally decided.

² As to Ecclesiasticus note the express testimony of Tosephta and Gemara (above, § 44).

¹ 'The wise' are the (post-canonical) scribes; cp Weber, 102 ff.

² Cp copious proofs for this point, already more than once touched on above, in Marx (see below, § 75), 53, n. 4.

³ Cp CHRONICLES, § 2 and EZRA, § 8.

In 1 Macc. 7:16 *f.* we find Ps. 79:2 *f.* cited with the formula *κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ (τοῦ) λόγου οὗ (Α) Ἐγγαφῆ*, in other words, as Holy Scripture. In 2 Macc. 1 Daniel and his three friends are named as patterns in immediate connection with Elijah, David, Caleb, and others; 1:54 seems to quote Daniel's prediction (Dan. 9:2). We have seen, somewhere about the close of the second or the beginning of the last century B.C., the Book of Daniel for the first time coming into evidence as a fully accredited authority—we could not possibly have expected so to find it at any earlier date.

Unfortunately these testimonies, such as they are, are followed by a very wide hiatus. Philo (*ob. circ.* 50 A.D.) is our next resort; but, great as is

50. Philo. the extent of his writings (all proceeding uncompromisingly on the allegorical method of biblical interpretation), they do not yield us much that is satisfactory in our present inquiry.¹ Nowhere do we find a witness to a tripartite canon.² Of the canonical books he nowhere quotes Ezekiel, any of the five Megilloth, Daniel, or Chronicles.³ The blank is a great one. Still we may find some compensation in the fact that at least the book of Ezra is cited with the solemn formula applicable to a divinely inspired writing.⁴ A certain conclusion as to the incompleteness of the canon cannot be drawn from this silence regarding many books. On the other hand, real importance attaches to the following piece of negative evidence: Philo, although (as an Alexandrian) he must have been acquainted with many non-canonical books, and indeed actually betrays such acquaintance, in no instance uses them in the same way as the canonical. This allows as probable the inference that a definitely closed canon was known to him; only we are not able to say from any data supplied by him what was the extent of that canon in its third part.

Our next witness is the NT. In Lk. 24:44 we have evidence of the tripartite division, for 'the psalms' probably stands *a posteriori* for the whole of the

51. NT. third canon. Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, and Ezra are not referred to at all. Of course here again nothing certain is to be inferred from the silence; but, if other considerations came into play, this fact also ought to be taken into account. On the other side, the certain reference to Chronicles in Mt. 23:35, Lk. 11:51⁵ is entitled to have weight. The quotation of Dan. 7:22 in 1 Cor. 6:2 also must be referred to.⁶

There thus remains a space of something like two centuries—say from the end of the second century B.C.

¹ Cf. Hornemann (*Verharmenung und Illustration des Corpus de canonis II*), *de Philone*, 1770, *capitulum octavum de canonis* (an edition of E. Schwartz's *Antiq.* 1113 ff.). Till the appearance of Prof. H. E. Ryle's *Philo and the Holy Scriptures* (1911), 250 statements of Hornemann had never been verified with sufficient care; though, on the other hand, they had not in any point been shown to be inaccurate. Prof. Ryle's results, on this, however, differ much from those of Hornemann.

² Apart from Dan. 7:22, *contemptus*, *sc.* probably a work of a much later date. Cf. Lohmeyer, *Die Vorlesungen*, 1909, and Schürer's review of Conybeare's *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, *TLZ*, 20th July 1895.

³ That 1 Ch. 14 is quoted in the tract *De unguine quare oritur gratia*, is as attested by Hirschfeld (*IEJ* 3:6 [1872]); but cf. also Richter's edition of Philo, 1828), and has been taken over from him by all subsequent writers; but it is either a misquoting error (enlarged perhaps from Ch.) of Gen. 46:20, which varies from Ch. Ryle (*Philo*, etc., p. 289) finds 1 Ch. 9:1 *f.* quoted (*De Præm. et Foen.* § 13, li. 420); it is, however, the next note. Of the minor portion only Hirschfeld, Lohmeyer, and Zellerwald are made use of; but this guarantees the entire Dodekapropheton.

⁴ Unless here (*De Conf. Linguarum*, § 28, 1 *f.*) the whole of 2 Ch. 8 be intended, rather than (as is universally assumed) Ezra 8:2 (see in 1 Ch. 3:22 the one descendant of David mentioned in Ezra 8:2). Cf. the plur. of *καταγραφαί* *α. τ. λ.* and *β. βιβλιοθήκη* *β. β. β. β.*

⁵ Actually taken to mean 'from the first book to the last book of the OT'. Then the passage would prove the close of the canon with the Book of Chronicles, and, in fact, its close altogether; but the expression may refer to the sacrifice implied in the locality of Zechariah's murder.

⁶ Cf. Ryle, p. 143 *f.*

to about 100 A.D.—within which we are unable to point out any sure indications of the close of the third canon.

52. No decision. Ryle (p. 173 *f.*) thinks it can be made out with a very high degree of probability that the close took place as early as the second century B.C., between 106 and 105, the year of the death of John Hyrcanus II. His one positive reason¹ is that the civil wars and scholastic controversies of the last century B.C. must have withdrawn interest from such things and made impossible any union of schools or any public step that could alter the *status quo*. That there ever was a union of schools, however, we have every reason to deny; the extension of the canon was in all probability only one of the internal affairs of the Pharisaic school (cp above, § 37). From this it necessarily follows that there is no question about any public step being taken—say a deliberate decision, reached once for all, or a decree of any authoritative assembly.

We actually have express information, however, of such a decision at a much later time. It is obvious that no such thing would have been necessary if a binding decision had already been long in existence. We refer at present to the controversy of which we read in the Mishna (*Yad.* 3:1, 3:2 *f.* *Yebmoth*, 5:4).

The general proposition there laid down runs as follows: 'All holy scriptures (קְרָאִים תְּכַתִּיב) defile the hands' (cp above, § 24, note 1) *from the public*. (Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands'. Then we have the controversy. R. Juda said: Canticles indeed defiles the hands; as regards Ecclesiastes opinion is divided. R. Jose said: Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands, but as regards Canticles opinion is divided. R. Simon said: About Ecclesiastes the school of Shammai gives the laxer, the school of Hillel the severer decision (here compare the elucidation in *Yebmoth*, 5:3, that according to the former (Shammai) Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands, according to the latter it does).² R. Simon b. 'Azai said: To me it has been handed down from the mouth of the seventy-two elders that, on the day on which R. Eliezer b. 'Azarya was made supreme head, it was decided that (both) Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. R. Akiba said: God forbid that there should ever have been difference of opinion in Israel about Canticles, as if it did not defile the hands for the entire world, from the last time until now, does not outweigh the day in which Canticles was given to Israel. For הַקְּרָאִים הַשְּׁלֵמִים הַשְּׁלֵמִים הַשְּׁלֵמִים הַשְּׁלֵמִים, but Canticles is holy of holies (קֹדֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ). If people were divided in opinion, it was as to Ecclesiastes alone. R. Johanan b. Jehoshua, the son of R. Akiba's father-in-law, said: As the son of 'Azai says, people were thus divided in opinion, and it is thus that the matter has been decided.'³

It has been contended that the dispute here was not about the question of canonicity, both books being clearly included in the opening sentences under **54. Meaning of dispute.** the category of holy, and that the word *לַיָּד*, 'to preserve, lay aside, hide,' the technical expression for the treatment with which the books in question were threatened, does not mean 'to pronounce apocryphal' but only something like 'to exclude from public reading.'⁴ Both contentions are incorrect. The word in question is not used with reference to Ecclesiasticus or other apocryphal works, simply because no one had ever spoken of canonizing them, and thus there could not possibly be any question about doing away with them or removing them. And that our passage certainly is discussing the question whether the two books are Holy Scripture or not, is

¹ A somewhat arguable point raised by Ryle has already been reasoning backwards from the position in Josephus, is toned down by Buhl (p. 27) to the more moderate view that 'the third part . . . had already received its canonical completion before the Christian era.'

² By this we are certainly, in accordance with § 2, to understand the entire canon. On the other hand, the *קְרָאִים* mentioned later may mean merely the Hagiographa.

³ One easily perceives that in point of fact here also the stricter school of Shammai remained true to its reputation, and no less so the laxer school of Hillel.

⁴ The tract, *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (chap. 1), as we saw above (§ 18), carries this decision back, as also in the case of Proverbs, to the time of the Great Synagogue.

⁵ Cf. especially Buhl, 7 *f.* 20, and Ryle, *ibid.* 7. On the other hand, Cheyne (*OT*, 457) acknowledges that the question is that of canonicity.

made unmistakably evident by the words of R. 'Akiba. In this final stage of the development the question cannot possibly be whether perhaps, though integral parts of Holy Scripture, they nevertheless do not defile the hands: it is established that 'all Holy Scriptures defile the hands.' Then follows the Mishnic decision that the books of Canticles and Ecclesiastes also belong to this class; after this, the discussion which preceded the decision, and the grounds on which it was reached, are given.

In this connection the precise fixing of the day on which this decision was arrived at is important—the day on which at Jamnia (Yabna) R. Gamaliel 55. 100 A.D. II, was incidentally deposed from his place as president of the court of justice, an incident for which we have also other early testimonies.¹ This event certainly falls within the decades that immediately followed the destruction of Jerusalem—whether so early as 90 A.D. (the usual assumption) is questionable, but 100 A.D. will not in any case be very wide of the mark. This period, then, saw the settlement of a twofold controversy, which, as regards one half of it at least, had already occupied the schools of Hillel and Shammai about a century before. This last point is conceded even by a zealot like R. 'Akiba; his unrestrained exaggeration as regards Canticles is only a veil to cover the weakness of his position.² We hear nothing of any decision of the question preceding that of Jamnia. That, after the proceedings of that stormy day, the question should have been discussed again some decades later (R. 'Akiba *ob.* 135), need not surprise us. No new decision is arrived at: the question is answered by a confirmation of that of Jamnia.³

Thus, then, about the year 100 A.D. there was still, as an unsettled controversy, the same question as to the canonicity of two books, which as regards one of them (Ecclesiastes; see ECCLESIASTES, § 3) had been a notorious point of difference between the two great schools of the Pharisees.⁴ By that time, however,

¹ For brevity's sake it will be enough to refer to the exceedingly careful list of the activity of the scribes, with copious proofs, given in Schäfer (2, 301 ff.).

² The remark has a wider application to rabbinical Judaism generally and the other Megilloth: cp We. *Eint.* (4) 554, 6th ed. 544.

³ The reader is referred to Buhl (28 ff.), Wildeboer (58 ff.), Kyle (102 ff.), and the articles PUKIMAN and NIKANOR for the later and less amply attested disputes about Esther, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and Jonah (mentioned in the order of the degree of their attestation). It is only in the case of the Book of ESTHER (q.v., § 12) that such disputes can have been really serious. In the case of Ezekiel, there may be a genuine reminiscence of the embarrassment caused to the scribes by the discrepancies between the Law and Ezek. 40-48, perhaps also of the objections raised by the Sadducees on this account. In part at least, we must admit the truth of Strack's remark (p. 429) that 'in many cases the discussions leave one with the impression that the objections were raised merely that they might be refuted.' This impression, however, no way impairs that of the real seriousness of the decision of Jamnia. That the four books mentioned above are not named in *I ad.* 85 proves in any case that at that time serious objections to them were no longer entertained, and as we are here dealing only with the close of the canon, in which the individual books of which it was composed, this fact must suffice for us.

⁴ This is not inconsistent with the fact (which we learn from various sources) that Simon b. Shetah (who belonged to the third of the five 'pairs,' in the first half of the first century B.C.) quotes Eccles. 7. 12 as Holy Scripture (for details see Buhl, p. 15 f.). He represents the one side of the case. The subject is one that belongs to 'special introduction'; but, in passing, the present writer may be allowed to express the view that, in the present text of Ecclesiastes, traces are to be clearly found of the assistance which it was found necessary to give, in order to secure for this book a place in the canon. In 12. 10 it is testified of the preacher (חֲכָמִים) that he was a well-meaning and respectable man (of course otherwise unknown). The contradiction to 1. 1, where he is represented as being 'the son of David,' 'king in Jerusalem,' is glaring. These words, as also 1. 12. 15, a good deal in 2. 4-9 and perhaps also 7. 154 and certainly 12. 11-14, are interpolations, by means of which alone the reception of the book into the canon was rendered possible. It is self-evident that Canticles also became a part of the canon, only by virtue of its superscription which ascribes it to Solomon. A valuable light is thrown on R. 'Akiba's assertion that Canticles had never been disputed, and at the same time a trustworthy evidence,

the question had long been (substantially) a settled one, as is shown by the passages quoted from Josephus and 4 Esdras; settled, however, not by any single decision, but only by the gradual clearing up of public opinion. Of other books in addition to the twenty-four there is no question whatever, and as regards those two about which alone any difficulty is possible, common opinion came to be so decidedly in favour of what claimed to be the stricter but in reality was the looser opinion, that the zealot R. 'Akiba comes forward fanatically on the side of Hillel.

We may now venture to figure to ourselves what was the probable course of the development, and what the attitude assumed by various sections of the community towards the decisive questions.

It is probable that among the Sopherim (professional students of Scripture) of the last century B.C., but without the co-operation of the Sadducean priestly nobility, there was gradually formulated a scholastic doctrine as to which of the many religious writings then current¹ could establish a just claim to a sacred character. We have already seen by what standard the writings were judged. As this doctrine gradually took shape, unanimity was reached on every point except on a dispute with reference to two minor books, in which, as was natural, the victory was ultimately gained by the more liberal view. This doctrine of the Sopherim, as being the view of those who were the only qualified judges on the special subject, readily gained admission amongst such as were in doubt and sought to inform themselves.² Thus the learned Philo, though living in Alexandria, takes very good care not to contravene the stricter practice; what we know about the opposition offered to the books of Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Esther, even suggests the possibility (incapable of course of proof) that his silence about certain books (cp above, § 50) really arises from a still greater strictness. As a convert to Pharisaism, Josephus professes the school doctrine of his teachers with an emphasis all the greater because his own personal leanings were (perhaps) against such exclusiveness. On the other hand, though the doctrine made way, yet the majority of the people betook themselves quite naturally to the mass of apocalyptic and legendary literature, which, in the century immediately before and after the birth of Jesus, exercised a very great influence, and did much to prepare the way for Christianity. The formulated theory possessed obvious advantages, however, and the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem left the Pharisees in sole possession of the leadership of Israel. This is shown most clearly by 4 Esdras. Against his will, the author of that book is constrained to acknowledge the divine authority of the canon with its twenty-four constituent parts. Being, however, a thoroughgoing partisan of the apocalyptic literature, he outdoes the Pharisees. To the seventy books³ which they exclude he attributes a still higher authority, placing them in an esoteric as distinguished from an exoteric canon.

By the end of the first century the scribes had settled the last of the questions controverted in the schools, and not long after the beginning of the second century (R. 'Akiba *ob.* 135), to refer to the decision at Jamnia is decisive. Later, following in 'Akiba's footsteps, the scribes succeeded, not only in obliterating every trace

showing how long its true character still continued to be known, is conveyed by the information that R. 'Akiba himself hurled an anathema against those who sang the Song of Songs with wanton voice in houses of public entertainment (Tosephta, *Sanh.* chap. 12; cp WRS, *OT/C* (3) 186).

¹ To this period and not to the fourth or the third century B.C. belongs the complaint, expressed in the epilogue of Ecclesiastes (Eccles. 12. 12), as to the making of many books.

² If, as we have conjectured, the Sadducees were in general opposed to, or suspicious of, the recognition of any sacred writings besides the Law, there would be an open field for a view like that of the Pharisees, which took a middle course between Sadducean rigour and the fashionable tendency to the endless multiplication of religious literature.

³ In round numbers of course.

of variations in the text, but also in driving from circulation the whole body of extra-canonical literature.¹

Christianity, however, in the vigour of its youth, emancipated from the authority of the scribes, continued to pursue the old ways. In the rejected literature it discovered prophecies of the appearing of Jesus; and what the Pharisees destroyed in the original language it eagerly handed down in translations and revisions to succeeding generations. The NT writers show no scruple in quoting extra-canonical books as sacred, and we find ascribed to Jesus some expressions quoted as Holy Writ (Lk. 11:49; Jn. 7:38) which are not contained in the OT.² What is more, examples of this form of Jewish literature fused with Christian elements, or worked over from the Christian point of view, have found their way into the canon of the NT itself—a fact which only lately has begun to receive the attention it deserves.³

This independent drift of tendency within the Christian Church greatly increases the difficulty of estimating the so-called 'canon of the Alexandrians.'⁴ As is well known, even the oldest extant MSS of the LXX contain, in addition to the canonical books, a greatly varying number of writings which are not recognised in the canon of the synagogue, and indeed in some cases were not even originally written in Hebrew. On the other hand, the oldest of these MSS are several centuries later than the Christian era, and are the work of Christian copyists. It becomes a question, therefore, which is the earlier: the freer praxis of the Alexandrian Jews or that of primitive Christianity; whether the greater compass of the LXX canon of the Alexandrians influenced the view of the Christian communities or whether the influence flowed the other way.⁵ The probability is that, in fact, the influence worked both ways. What principally concerns us here, however, is this. About the middle of the first century A.D., when the Greek-speaking Christian community began to break entirely with Judaism, the narrow Pharisaic doctrine of the canon had certainly not as yet penetrated into the domain of Hellenistic Judaism so deeply as to delete completely, or to exclude from the MSS of the LXX, all the books that Pharisaism refused to recognise. The vacillation in individual MSS must at that time have been even greater than it is in those which have reached us; although on this point definite knowledge is unattainable. It is certain, however, that to some extent precisely those books belonging to this category which lay nearest to the heart of the Christian community in its most primitive days (especially Enoch and 4 Esdras) have come down to us in no Greek MS. The conclusion is that the additions to the LXX are for the most part older than Christianity.

The doctrine of the Pharisees, however, ultimately won the day also in its proper home. Not only did

¹ Indeed it was supposed, until the discovery in 1892 of a part of the Dead Sea Scrolls, that they had actually succeeded in extinguishing it—so far, that is, as it was not able to hide itself under the veil of exegesis in the Haggada, Midrash, and Talmud (We. J.G. 252, second ed. 287). Even Ecclesiastes would be no exception if we could admit the contention of D. S. Margoliouth (*The Struggle of the Original Hebrew of Ecclesiastes, 1898*). In his opinion the 'Original Hebrew' is a lad retranslation from the Syriac version and a Persian translation of the Greek made after 1000 A.D. by an Arabic-speaking Jew (or Christian?) who was taught Hebrew by a Jew with a pronunciation similar to that of the Christians of Urmia. The reader will probably hesitate to accept this theory; still it cannot be denied that Margoliouth has availed himself with great skill of many weak points of the Hebrew text, which in any case need a thorough investigation.

² As to this cp. Willeboer, 42 f., who must be held in all essentials to have the better of the argument as against the vigorous polemic of Ryke, 152 f.

³ See, for example, *Abbe ALVISE*.

⁴ In fact, to speak strictly, there never was such a canon. The Alexandrine collection of Holy Books never underwent that revision in accordance with the Pharisaic conception of 'defining the hands' which finally fixed the Hebrew canon.

⁵ On this point there seems to be some self-contradiction in Meade, if we compare pp. 146, 208 f. with 180 f.

it succeed in extending its influence over the Hellenists by means of the new Greek translation of Aquila; but also the Church itself ultimately surrendered. A strange and significant fact! From about 150 A.D. onwards these constantly occur patristic statements on the extent of the OT canon, which avowedly rest upon Jewish authority. This certainly had its advantages; for in this way many books of merely temporary value were excluded which, if rendered authoritative, could hardly have furthered the interests of Christianity. On the same ground too, the return of the Reformers to the canon of the synagogue is justifiable, especially when, as in the case of Luther, the relative importance of the Apocrypha is duly recognised. On the other hand, it must be confessed that even the unanimously accepted canon¹ of the Church is not without books of a similar character (notably Esther and Canticles; also Ecclesiastes and Daniel), and that thus the distinction between canonical and uncanonical books (if they are judged by their intrinsic value) is a fluctuating one.² Besides this, it is certain that in the excluded books, of which we know so many already, and are continually coming through new discoveries to know more, there has come down to us a treasure of unspeakable value for a knowledge of religious life as it was shortly before and after the time of Jesus, and so for an understanding of the origin of Christianity (see APOCRYPHA, APOCALYPTIC).

K. L.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

The problem of the NT canon is to discover by what means and at what period a new collection of sacred books came to be invested with all the dignity which belonged to that of the Synagogue. Jesus had claimed to speak with an authority in no way inferior to that of the OT, and had placed his own utterances side by side with some of its precepts as fulfilling or even correcting them. The remembered words of Jesus thus became at once, if the expression may be allowed, the nucleus of a new Christian canon. At first they circulated orally from hearer to hearer. Then narratives were compiled recording the Sacred Words, and the no less Sacred Deeds which had accompanied or illustrated them. Some narratives of this kind underlie our Gospels, and are referred to in the preface to the Third Gospel. In course of time these were superseded

by the fuller treatises which bear the names of apostles or the chosen companions of apostles; and their superior merit, as well as the sanction thus given to them, soon left them without rivals as the authorised records of the Gospel history. They were read side by side with books of the OT in the public worship of the Church, and were appealed to as historical documents by those who wished to show in detail the correspondence between the facts of the life of Jesus and the Jewish prophecies about the Messiah. This stage has been definitely reached by the time of Justin Martyr; but as yet there is no clear proof that a special sanctity or inspiration was predicated of the books themselves. The final step, however, could not long be delayed. The sacredness of the Words and Deeds of Jesus which they contained, the apostolic authority by which they were recommended, and, above all, their familiar use in the services of the Church, gradually raised them to the level of the ancient Scriptures; and the process was no doubt accelerated by the action of heretical and schismatical bodies, claiming one after another to base their tenets upon

¹ There is, however, a singular passage in the sixth of the Anglican Articles of Religion limiting 'Holy Scripture' to those canonical books of the Old and the New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church, which Bishop Westcott (*On the Canon of the NT*, 494) cannot undertake to explain.

² See Cheyne, *Founders*, 349, and cp preceding note.

certain of these documents or upon others peculiar to themselves.

Meanwhile a similar process had been going on in regard to other writings of the apostolic age. These

62. Epistles. were for the most part letters, written in many instances to particular churches, and designed to meet special needs. The writers betray no consciousness that their words would come to be regarded as a permanent standard of doctrine or of action in the Christian Church: they write for an immediate purpose, and just as they would wish to speak, were they able to be present with those whom they address. In their absence, and still more after their death, their letters were cherished and read again and again by the churches which had first received them, and by others who naturally welcomed such precious relics of the apostolic age. For the apostles were the authorised instructors of the Christian Church. In the age which succeeded them, 'the Lord and the apostles' became the natural standard of appeal to which reference was to be made in all matters of faith and practice. For some time 'the tradition of the apostles,' as handed down in the churches of their foundation, was regarded as the test of orthodoxy. Oral tradition, however, is necessarily variable and uncertain. It was natural that, when actual disciples of the apostles were no longer living, appeal should more and more be made to their written words, and that these should be set side by side with the Gospels as the primary documents of the Christian faith. Here again the same elements as before come into play, though probably at a slightly later period—viz., the liturgical use of the epistles, and the necessity of maintaining them intact against the mutilations or rejections of heretical sects.

In the collection which was thus gradually being formed by the pressure of various circumstances and

with no distinct consciousness of the creation of a canon, a place was found beside the Gospels and the epistles for two other books. The Apocalypse of John opened with the salutation of an epistle; and, even apart from this, its apocalyptic character claimed for it a special and abiding sacredness; moreover it contained an express blessing for those who should read and listen to it, and a warning against any who should presume to alter or add to it. The Acts of the Apostles would find an easy entrance, partly as an authorised account of the deeds of apostles written by one who had contemporaneous knowledge of them, and still more as being in form the second part of the Third Gospel and properly inseparable from the earlier book.

Thus, side by side with the old Jewish canon, and without in any way displacing it, there had sprung up a new Christian canon. Although its exact

64. A new canon. limits were not yet precisely defined, and local variations of opinion were to be observed with regard to the acceptance of particular books, we find the idea of such a new canon in full play in the writings of great representative men of the period from 180 to 200 A.D.—of Irenæus speaking for Asia Minor and Gaul, of Tertullian in N. Africa, and of Clement in Alexandria. The Church is by this time fully conscious that she is in possession of written documents of the apostolic age; documents to which reference must be universally made, as to a final court of appeal, in questions of right faith and right action. The authority of Jesus and his apostles is, in the main, embodied for her in writings which she reads together with the OT in her public services, quotes as Scripture, and regards as the inspired revelation of divine truth. Of the stages by which this result has been reached the writers referred to have nothing to tell us. It was, as we have seen, the issue of an unconscious growth, natural and for the most part unchallenged, and so leaving no recorded history behind it. If the Church was awakened to a consciousness of

her great possession, and to the importance of insisting upon its integrity, by the attempts made by heretics to defraud her of portions of it, there is no evidence of deliberate efforts on her part to build up the conception of a new canon in opposition to them; much less of any formal declarations, such as those of later times, defining what books should or should not be included in it. In the stress of controversy she fell back on the treasures which she possessed, and realised that in the books which she was accustomed to read for the instruction of her children she had, on the one hand, the full and harmonious expression of all those positive truths whose isolation or exaggeration formed the groundwork of the several heretical systems, and, on the other hand, the decisive contradiction of the negations in which their capricious selections had involved those who rejected any part of the common heritage.

2. That the sketch given above of the gradual growth of a new canon with its twofold contents, in the period

65. Evidence of orthodox writers: Clement, etc. anterior to Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement, is justified not only by intrinsic probability but also by references of early Christian writers to books of the NT, may be seen by consulting the collections of such references accessible in modern treatises upon the canon. Here a brief outline of the evidence must suffice.

In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (*circa* 95) we have two precepts introduced by a command to 'remember the words of our Lord Jesus' (cp Acts 20:35); in neither case do they exactly agree with the language of our Gospels; they may be the result of a fusion due to citation from memory, or they may possibly be derived from oral tradition. The epistle is saturated with the phraseology of the Pauline Epistles (Rom., 1 Cor., Eph.; less certainly Tim. and others) and of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but these are not directly cited, and the expressions 'Scripture' and 'it is written' are applied to the OT alone.

In the genuine Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch (shorter Greek recension, *circa* 110 A.D., Lightfoot) the only direct citation of words of Jesus ('Lay hold and handle me and see that I am not a spirit [δαίμων] without body,' *Ad Smyrn.* 3) is possibly derived from an apocryphal book or from an oral tradition. The language of these Epistles shows traces of acquaintance with Mt. and Jn. and with several of the Pauline Epistles. The Epistle of Polycarp (*circa* 110 A.D., Lightfoot) is largely composed of quotations from NT books (especially Mt., Lk., 1 and 2 Jn., 1 Pe., and the Pauline Epistles). There is but one (somewhat uncertain) instance of the citation of NT words as Scripture.

The Epistle of Barnabas (*circa* 98 A.D., Lightfoot: though most scholars place it later) prefixes to the saying 'Many called but few chosen,' the formula 'it is written.' If this be cited from Mt. 22:14—and a later reference makes it not improbable—then we have here the earliest use of this formula in reference to a book of the NT.

The *Teaching of the Apostles* (date uncertain: perhaps 110-130) introduces a form of the Lord's Prayer, which has variants both from Mt. and Lk., by the words, 'as the Lord commanded in his Gospel, so pray ye' (chap. 8; cp chaps. 11, 15). It clearly presupposes a written Gospel, and shows acquaintance with Mt. and Lk. It has embodied an ancient (perhaps Jewish) manual, 'The Two Ways' (used also in *Ep. Barn.* and elsewhere), and also certain early eucharistic prayers which incorporate the language of Jn.

The *Apology of Aristides*, the Athenian philosopher (*circa* 125-130 A.D.), addressed to the emperor Hadrian (acc. to Eus. and the title of Arm. vers.; the title of the Syr. vers. would place it a few years later, under Antoninus Pius), twice refers expressly to writings of the Christians; in the first instance, after enumerating the

main events of the life of Jesus—including his birth 'from a Hebrew virgin' and his ascension—it distinctly appeals to the written Gospel for corroboration. It also embodies language from the Epistle to the Romans.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* (date uncertain: 110-140) betrays a close acquaintance with many NT books, though it makes no direct citations either from OT or from NT. The language of our four Gospels (even of the Appendix to Mk.), of the Pauline Epistles including the Pastoral Ep., of 1 Pe., Acts, Apoc., and above all of Jas., is adopted by the writer; and even 2 Pe. seems to have been used.

Before we come to the fuller testimonies of Justin Martyr and subsequent writers it is necessary to examine the evidence to be derived from

66. Papias. His date and the interpretation to be placed on his fragmentary remains have been the subject of much criticism (see esp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 142-216). He was the hearer of at least two personal disciples of Jesus, and his great work may be placed circa 130-140. It was entitled *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*, 'Expositions of the Oracles of (or 'concerning') the Lord.' As *λόγια* is a term used in the NT of the OT writings, the title of the book naturally suggests some kind of commentary on the writings relating to Jesus—i.e., on written Gospels which held a recognised position of sacredness in the Christian Church. It is probable that similar commentaries on one or more of the Gospels had already been composed by Gnostic writers; thus Basilides is said to have written twenty-four books on 'the Gospel' (circa 117-138). Such books are disparaged by Papias as wordy and misleading; he prefers to fall back on the testimonies of the living disciples of those who had seen the Lord. He gives accounts, not free from difficulties, of the composition of Gospels by Matthew and Mark. On the whole, the facts seem to be most readily accounted for if we suppose that Papias in his five books expounded and illustrated by traditional stories the four Gospels as we at present know them. Eusebius further expressly informs us that Papias used 1 Jn. and 1 Pe. There can be little doubt that his chiliastic views were based on the Apocalypse.

Justin Martyr (circa 152), when mentioning the words of the institution of the Eucharist, says: 'So the apostles handed down in the Memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels'

67. Justin. (Ap. 166). In describing the Sunday worship, too, he refers to 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' (Ap. 167; see *LEWIS'S DAY*), and these Memoirs (ἀπομνημονεύματα) are placed on a level with the 'Writings of the Prophets' as an alternative means of edification in the gatherings of the Christian Church. Justin's use of them, here and in his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*, is conditioned by the necessities of his argument. In themselves they would have no weight with heathen or Jewish opponents. The OT prophecies, however, could be freely appealed to in either case, as the argument rested on their fulfilment rather than on their sacredness. Justin accordingly uses 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' as historical documents in proof of the fulfilment of Messianic predictions in the recorded events of the life of Jesus. Twelve times he refers to them directly in the *Dialogue*—all the instances being in connection with his exposition of Ps. 22. In every case, both here and in the *Apology*, the reference is fully accounted for by the supposition that these 'Memoirs' were our four Gospels, the phraseology of each of which can be traced in his writings. Where he most carefully describes them, after referring to an event recorded only by Lk., he says that 'they were compiled by Christ's apostles and those who companied with them.' This exactly agrees with the traditional authorship of our Gospels, as written two by apostles (Mt., Jn.), and two by followers of apostles (Mk., Lk.). Justin likewise refers

for corroboration of his statements to official *Acta Pilati*: he may perhaps have been acquainted with a more primitive form of the apocryphal materials still surviving under that designation. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence that he used any apocryphal Gospel (unless perhaps a 'Protevangel' or Gospel of the Infancy). He refers directly to the Apocalypse as written by the apostle John (*Tryph.* 81), and shows acquaintance with most of the Pauline Epistles.

From Justin we pass to his pupil Tatian (circa 150-160 A.D.), who helps to confirm our conclusions as to

68. Tatian. Justin himself by his use of our four Gospels and no other in his *Diatessaron*. This remarkable book, which for a long period must have been the only Gospel of many Syrian churches, is known to us mainly through a Commentary upon it written by Ephraim, and preserved to us in an Armenian translation; and also through an Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* itself—made, however, after the later text of the Peshitta Syriac had been substituted for Tatian's own text, which had many interesting variants of an early type. The two sources of evidence supplement each other, and make it certain that Tatian's Gospels were none other than our own. There is some reason for thinking that Tatian also introduced into Syria a collection of the Pauline Epistles.

3. Although Tatian adopted heretical opinions after the death of his master, his great work on the Gospels appears to be quite independent of these

69. Unorthodox Basilides. and was accepted without question by the Syrian Church. It will be well, however, to notice at this point the evidence to be derived from other heretical leaders in regard to the

estimation in which various books of the NT were held by those who were dissatisfied with the teaching of the main body of the Church. It will suffice to take three writers of whom we have a considerable amount of information preserved to us. Basilides of Alexandria flourished in the reign of Hadrian. His Expositions on the Gospel, in twenty-four books, have already been mentioned. Accepting, with Hort, the account preserved in the *Refutation of Heresies* (generally ascribed to Hippolytus) as representing portions of this work, we meet with the striking fact that quotations from the NT, introduced with the words 'The Scripture saith,' and 'as it is written,' are found in a heretical writer at a period at which they cannot with certainty be said to be so introduced by any writer within the Church. Several passages from the Pauline Epistles are so cited by Basilides. He also used Mt., Lk., Jn., and apparently 1 Pe.

Marcion (circa 140) undertook to restore the simplicity of Christianity on the basis of Paul, whom he regarded as the only true apostle. He rejected the OT and retained of the NT only Lk. in a mutilated form, and ten Epistles of Paul; the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews not being included in his canon. There is no indication that he applied any other standard than that of correspondence with his own dogmatic position, in making what must be considered the earliest attempt at the conscious definition of a NT canon.

Heracleon (circa 170, or earlier), a disciple of Valentinus, wrote a Commentary on Jn., of which considerable fragments are preserved by Origen. His system of interpretation shows that he held the exact words of the Evangelist in the highest veneration, as instinct with spiritual meaning. He also commented on Lk., and shows acquaintance with Mt., Heb., and the Pauline Epistles including 2 Tim.

Thus the first certain citations of NT writings with the formula familiarly used of the OT, the first attempt at defining a NT canon, and the first commentary on a NT book, come to us not from within but from without the Church. These are striking evidences of the authority generally accorded to the NT writings; in

of the words of Irenæus (iii. 27): 'So strong is the position of our Gospels, that the heretics themselves bear witness to them, and each must start from these to prove his own doctrine.'

4. The early history of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac versions is wrapt in obscurity; but there is

70. Early versions. reason for believing that the translation of parts at least of both these versions must be placed not much later than the middle of the second century (see TEXT, §§ 20, 32). The Old Latin version seems to have been made in N. Africa, and to have included, probably before the time of Tertullian, all the books of the later canon, excepting Jas., 2 Pe., and possibly Heb. When the Scillitan Martyrs (N. Africa, 180 A.D.) were examined as to what was contained in their book-chest, their brief recorded reply was 'Books and Epistles of Paul, a just man.' Such was their description of the writings which, doubtless, were used by them in their services. It is conditioned by the circumstance of its utterance before heathen judges; it would be wrong to conclude from it that the Pauline Epistles were placed by them on a different level from the other sacred writings. The Old Syriac of the Gospels has till lately been known only from Cureton's imperfect MS; but the palimpsest recently found at Mt. Sinai enables us to reconstruct this version for the most part with approximate certainty. A selection of comments by Ephraim on the Acts of the Apostles, and his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, preserved in Armenian translations, point to an Old Syriac version of these books also. The older MSS of the revised Syriac version (the Peshitta) do not contain 2 and 3 Jn., 2 Pe., Jude, and Apoc.

We have been concerned hitherto with tracing the growth of the conception of a NT canon, without

71. General traces of NT. considering, except incidentally, the range of writings included in it. The influence of the main body of the NT literature upon the writers of the period with which we have been dealing cannot be at all fully appreciated from our scanty analysis. Their writings must themselves be studied line by line, if we are to understand the debt which they owed, as regards both ideas and phraseology, to the documents of the apostolic age. In that age new conceptions had been given to the world, and a new terminology had been formed for their expression. The next age reproduced these; but it was not itself creative. This is seen, for instance, in the technical terms of even the boldest of the Gnostic speculations. Whatever may have been men's conscious attitude towards the NT writings, it is clear that they are dominated by them from the very first. Gradually they come to recognise them more and more as their masters; and then, both within the Church and outside it, we find them definitely declaring the limits of the canon to which they owe this allegiance.

Marcion's list of sacred books has already been noticed. The next list of which we have any knowledge is

72. Muratorian canon. unfortunately a fragment, and tells us neither its date nor its author's name or locality. It was published in 1740

by Lodovico Antonio Muratori, the librarian at Milan. Hence it is known as the Muratorian canon. It is in barbarous Latin, in a seventh or eighth century MS; but its original must have been Greek, and it is generally agreed that it was written in the West (perhaps at Rome) towards the close of the second century. Lightfoot conjectured that it was a portion of the 'Verses on all the Scriptures' assigned to Hippolytus. The fragment commences with the end of a description of Mark; it goes on to speak of Luke and John, and refers to the different beginnings of the four books of the Gospel. After Acts come the Epistles of Paul; the seven churches to which he wrote being paralleled with the seven of the Apocalypse, and enumerated in the following order—Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., Gal., Thess.,

Rom. Then come four private letters—Philemon and the Pastoral epistles. Two other epistles are declared forgeries—viz., those to the Laodiceans and to the Alexandrians. Then we have Jude, two epistles of John (1 Jn. has been quoted from at an earlier point, so that these may perhaps be 2 and 3 Jn.), and the Wisdom of Solomon, 'written in his honour.' Then the 'apocalypses of John and Peter alone we receive, which (*sing.*) some among us will not have read in the church.' The *Shepherd of Hermas* 'ought to be read,' but not reckoned either with the prophets or with the apostles. After a few more lines as to rejected books, the text being very corrupt, the fragment suddenly closes. The omissions are deserving of notice—nothing is said of 1 and 2 Peter, James, and Hebrews—but the omitted epistles were undoubtedly (if we except 2 Peter) known at this time in the Roman church. It is difficult, therefore, to draw conclusions from their omission in a fragment of whose history so little can be ascertained and whose text is so obviously corrupt. The Muratorian canon is fully discussed by Zahn, *Hist. of the Canon* ('90) 21-43; quite recently Dom Amelli of Monte Cassino has published fragments of it from other MSS (*Misc. Cassin.*, 1897).

5. The inclusion (though with an expression of variance of opinion) of the Apocalypse of Peter in the 'Muratorian Fragment' leads us to say something of books which for a time claimed a place in the canon, but were ultimately excluded.

The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and the *Homily*, mis-called his 'Second Epistle,' are contained, after the Apocalypse, in Cod. A (the great Greek Bible of the 5th cent. in the Brit. Mus.). The Epistle of Barnabas and the *Shepherd of Hermas* hold a similar place in the Sinaitic Bible (S, 4th cent.). The two latter books are occasionally cited as Scripture in patristic writings, and this is the case also with the *Teaching of the Apostles*.

Of apocryphal Gospels two deserve special notice. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is known only by a few fragments, which show that it bore a close relation to our First Gospel. Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote from it, although they insist on the sole authority of our four Gospels. The *Gospel according to Peter*, a considerable fragment of which was published in 1892 from a MS found in Egypt, is known to have been used in the church of Rhossus near Antioch. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (190-203), at first permitted its use, but subsequently disallowed it on the ground of Docetic errors. The extant portion embodies the language of all our four Gospels, though it often perverts their statements. There is no trace of the use of any other Gospel in its composition, though certain phrases may possibly be borrowed from some earlier apocryphal book. Its composition may with probability be assigned to circa 165. Its testimony to the canon is thus somewhat parallel in date and extent to that of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

The *Apocalypse of Peter*, of which a fragment was recovered at the same time, was an early book which powerfully influenced subsequent literature of a similar kind—e.g., the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It seems to be responsible for much of the medieval conception of heaven and hell. It presents curious coincidences with 2 Peter. It is quoted as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria; and as late as the fifth century it was read on Good Friday in certain churches of Palestine.

6. Our inquiry has revealed to us that towards the close of the second century, by the time of Irenæus,

74. Result. Tertullian, and Clement—writers whose testimonies are so abundant that we need not dwell upon them here—the Church had attained to a conscious recognition of a canon of the New Testament. Three classes of books have come into view: (1) the main bulk of the NT books, as to which no

doubt at all is expressed by writers within the Church; (2) books whose position in the canon was challenged in certain quarters, although they ultimately were included; (3) books which were read in certain churches, but were ultimately classed as non-canonical. With regard to books of the second of these classes the later history of their reception will be found under the special articles devoted to them, and in the works to which reference is made below. With regard to the third it may suffice to say that the verdict of the Church has been fully justified by the fact that no serious effort has ever been made to reinstate them.

J. A. R.

Literature of the Subject. i. *OT Canon*.—The following works dealing with the OT canon may be mentioned. The authors are arranged in alphabetical order.

75. Biblio-

graphy: OT. W. J. Beecher, 'The alleged Triple Canon of the OT', *JBL*, 1846; C. A. Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, 1893; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text d. AT*, 1894; De Wette-Schrader, *Handb. in d. AT*, 2th ed. 1895; Duhm, *Das Buch Isaias, seine Entstehung des AT*, 1897; Faust, *Der Kanon des AT*, 1898; Scaets, *Koheloth*, 1897; Holzmann, *Einl. in d. NT*, 2d ed. 1898; Koenig, *Essai sur la formation du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*, 1898; Marx, *Tradition Rabbinorum veterina*, etc. 1884; WRS, *OTJC*, 1892; Ryle, *The Canon of the OT*, 1890; Schuler, *GT*, 4, 1891; Strack, art. 'Kanon des AT' in *PKL*, 7; Weiler, *System der altay. pal. Theologie*, 1890; We., 'Die Sammlung der Schriften des AT' in *Bleek, Einl.* (78) and *Einl.* (93); Wildeboer, *Die Entstehung des AT-lichen Kanons*, 1891 (ET '95); C. H. H. Wright, *The Book of Numbers*, 1891; *Ann. Theol. Soc.* 1891; *Vorträge der Juden*, 2d ed. 1832. Moreover, Wildeboer in his valuable article, 'De voor-Thaludische Joodsche Canon' (*Theologische Studien*, 1897) cites the following books and articles, written, with the exception of the first, by Roman Catholics: T. Mullen, *The Canon of the OT*, 1893; A. Loisy, *Histoire du Canon de l'AT*, 1890; Magnier, *Étude sur la Canonie des Saintes Ecritures*, I, 1892; B. Pörtner, *Die Autorität der deuteronikanischen Bücher des AT*, 1893; J. P. van Kasteren, *De Joodsche Canon (Stud. op. godsl. wetensch. en letterk. gebied, xxviii.)*, 1895.

K. B.

ii. *NT Canon*.—A brief outline of a subject of the highest importance, which bristles with points of controversy, has necessarily passed over in

76. Biblio-

graphy: NT. silence a large portion of the evidence, and needs to be supplemented by a list of books in which the various topics are treated in detail and, in some cases, from a different point of view. The following will prove most useful to the modern student—

Westcott *On the Canon of the NT* (7th ed. 1896), a mine of information on the early Christian writings; Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion* (re-published 1895), especially important for Pappas and other early writers; Salmon's *Historical Introduction to the NT* (8th ed. 1897), a vigorous examination of adverse criticism; Sanday's *Hampton Lectures on Inspiration*, a careful and sympathetic account of the present position of controversy; Weiss's *Introd. to the NT* (1886; ET, 1887), a clear exposition of the early history; Zahn's *Gesch. d. NT Kanons* (1888-9), together with his *Forschungen* (in five parts 1881-83), by far the most exhaustive treatise that has appeared; Harnack's examination of vol. I, pt. 1 of this work in *Das NT um das Jahr 200* (89), a severe criticism—his own position is stated positively in his *Dogmengesch.* (1888; 2nd ed. 1888, pp. 304-328); Jülicher's *Einl. in das NT* (94), an able statement of a position intermediate between Weiss and Harnack; Harnack's preface to his *Chronologie der apok. Literatur* (97) is a noteworthy utterance, indicating the abandonment of the Tübingen positions in regard to the dating of N T documents.

[Holzmann may also be mentioned as an eminently fair-minded guide, and abundant in literary references (*Einl. in das NT*), 1891]. Among older books, see Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons* (47), and his *Gesch. des NT Kanons*; edited by Volkmar (60); important for the history of the study of the canon; also Hilgenfeld's *Einl. in das NT*, 1875-1.

J. A. R.

§§ 1-59, 75. K. B.; §§ 60-74, 76. J. A. R.

CANOPY (הַמָּוֶל), Is. 45 RV, AV 'defence'; see TENE § 4.

CANTICLES. We have before us a book which has suggested as many problems as Shakespeare's

1. Problems. Sonnets. The name which we give to it, therefore, should not be a question-begging name. We will call it in this article neither 'Canticles' nor 'Song of Solomon,' but, following the best interpretation of 1, 'Song of Songs'—the

choicest of all songs (like 'servant of servants,' Gen. 9:25—i.e., 'lowest of servants').

The first difficulty arises when we seek to determine precisely the subject of the Song (§§ 2-4); the next, when we investigate its poetical form (§§ 5-11), and seek to fix its date (§§ 13-15). We will consider these difficulties in order; but the first cannot be treated completely (§§ 10 f. 17) until we have overcome the second.

1. Subject (preliminary). Jewish tradition laid down very positively that, both as a whole and in its several parts, the Song describes the phases of a spiritual (not merely an earthly) love. The bride was the symbol of Israel, the bridegroom that of its divine King; and by the labours of countless homilists the Song became a lyric record of the intercourse between the Lord and his people from the Exodus (cp Jer. 22) to the Messianic time. Of those exegetical labours, or rather poetical broodings, we have a summary in the *Midrash ha-Shirim* (transl. Wünsche, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* 1 f. 6), with which the not less fervidly-written Targum (of post-Talmudic origin) may be compared.¹ This theory was introduced in a modified form into the Christian Church mainly through the influence of Origen, of whom Jerome says that, 'while on the other books he surpassed all others, on the Song of Songs he surpassed himself' (Origen, *Op.* 31a). This theologian treated the bride as being either the Church or (an important variation) the soul of the believer. The boldly avowed heterodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who interpreted the Song solely as relating to the Egyptian marriage of Solomon, was fruitless. Its condemnation at the second council of Constantinople (553 A.D.) postponed the acceptance of the literal interpretation in the Church for a thousand years. The great St. Bernard wrote eighty-six sermons on Song 1 and 2 alone, and his example fostered similar mystical studies in the Latin Church. Only among Jewish commentators was a natural exegesis not wholly unrepresented.² Ibn Ezra, in particular, is so thorough in his literal exegesis that it is doubtful whether he is serious when he proceeds to allegorise. Though Luther was moving in this direction, no Christian scholar before Sebastian Castellio (1544) ventured to maintain the purely secular character of the poem, and all that mediæval mysticism could do was to exercise its right of selection from the two allegoric views. The idea that the bride was the Christian soul became the favourite: partly because it seemed to promote edification, and partly because it commended itself to the romantic spirit of the young western nations. Thus, Dante surprises us when (*Convivio*, 2 15, end) he identifies the bride with Heavenly Wisdom.³ Even in the time of the Reformation we find the evangelical 'Horace of the cloister,' Fray Luis de Leon, translating the Song mystically in 'ottava rima'; and in our own day Bishop Alexander, though a Hebraist, has made an earnest poetic protest in favour of a mystic and against a dramatic theory (*Poems*, 1886, pp. 26-51).

Grammatical exegesis, however, destroys the basis of the old verse-by-verse allegorical interpretation. The only question possible is, whether a general allegory of subject may have been intended by the poet—whether he considered the earthly love that he described to have a true symbolic resemblance to the spiritual love.⁴ The answer is, that

3. Not an allegory. The answer is, that

allegory of subject may have been intended by the poet—whether he considered the earthly love that he described to have a true symbolic resemblance to the spiritual love.⁴ The answer is, that

¹ On the Jewish interpreters see S. Salfeld, *Das Hohelied Salomos bei den jüd. Erklärern des Mittelalters* (79); on both the Jewish and the Christian, W. Riegel, *Die Auslegung des Hoheliedes in der jüd. Vorzeit u. der christl. Mittelalt.*

² See Salfeld, 52; Grätz, *Schir ha-Shirim*, 119 f., and cp Matthews, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Canticles* (74), Preface.

³ Dante's Jewish friend, Immanuel ben Sh'lohom, identified the bride with the 'material intellect' (Salfeld, 91). The biblical point of contact is Prov. 8.

⁴ Ep. Lowth is one of the chief defenders of a secondary and general allegorical sense. He appeals not only to 'the most

such a symbolic resemblance is inconsistent with the spirit of Hebraism. It is true that the relation between Yahwè and his people is described in the prophets by the symbolism of wedlock (Hos. 1-3; Jer. 2:2-3; Ezek. 16; Is. 50: 54-56). It is true, also, that the phrase 'to love (אהב) Yahwè' occurs frequently in Deuteronomy and (less often) in the Psalter, and that the word אהב (used in the Song) is applied once by Isaiah (51) to Yahwè. Still, the notion implied by the prophetic allegory of wedlock, as well as by the phrase 'to love God,' is not that of free inclination on Israel's part towards the All-beautiful One, but rather of an obedience which is in the first instance the condition of divine protection, though, as favours multiply and the essential goodness of the divine commands appears, it becomes a habit and a passion. In Deuteronomy, therefore, the love of Yahwè is prescribed as a duty not invited or presupposed; and even in the Psalter, where devotional feeling finds the freest expression, there are only three passages in which the phrase 'to love Yahwè' occurs (Ps. 31:23 97:10(?) 145:20), and in the first of these it occurs in the imperative mood. It is in harmony with this that three other passages (Ps. 5:11 69:36 119:132) contain the fuller phrase 'to love Yahwè's name,' which appears to mean (see Is. 56:6) the performance of religious duties with a certain fervour. Such a conception of the love of God we find in the Koran (Sur. 3:29; cp 19:96). It was one of the Jewish elements in Mohammed's teaching, and failed to satisfy later generations of Moslems. In Syria and in Egypt, and still more in Persia, arose a mystic type of devotion, which sought by contemplation to lift the veil between man and God. The mystic love-songs of the Cairo dervishes, and the fine love-poems of the Sifî-poet Hâfiz, have been compared by Orientalists with the Song of Songs; but it has been forgotten that, fervid as the love of God became among the later Jews, it never divested itself of the chastening restraints of legalism, and that, in Persia at least, mystic poetry is one of the fruits of a national reaction against the aridity of Islam. It is still stranger that Sir William Jones and Sir Edwin Arnold have compared the Gitagovinda of the admired Indian poet Jayadeva (14th cent. A.D.), in which it would appear (but may we not suspect an afterthought of the poet?), 'from the few stanzas scattered through the poem where the author speaks in his own person, that he means his verses to be taken' in a mystic sense—Krishna symbolising the human soul, the shepherdesses the allurements of sense, and Râdhâ the knowledge of, or meditation on, divine things. Surely the pantheistic atmosphere in which Jayadeva lived, and the excessive imaginative fervour of the Indian genius, are altogether unlike the conditions under which the Song of Songs must have been penned.

How came it, then, it may be asked, that the Jews of a later time, in their exegesis of the Song, adopted a theory which is, strictly, contrary to the spirit of Hebraism? Probably thus. We know from the Mishna (*Taanith*, 48) that, before the destruction of the temple, passages from the Song were sung at certain popular yearly festivals. We know, too, that after the great catastrophe all expression of exuberant joy was forbidden. Now, what in those gloomy days was to be

ancient authority,' but also to the analogy of Ps. 45 and (more safely) to passages in the prophets. Such a position, however, was tenable only provisionally. The Bishop expressly rejects the most poetic form of the allegorical theory, for which alone most Christians have cared—it was defended by Bossuet—that which explains the Song of the loving intercourse between Christ and the soul. Surely the election of a Gentile Church ('dark but comely') might have been foreshadowed at a less expenditure of poetry. Rightly, therefore, did J. D. Michaelis and the acute Bp. Warburton criticise Lowth for not going further. Lowth answered that without allegory the place of the Song in the canon could not be justified. All his literary taste could not dissolve his narrow notion of the authority of the canon.

done with the Song, which tradition already ascribed to Solomon? The answer was ready:—Consecrate it by allegorical interpretation. This course corresponded to the change which had passed upon the national character. The enthusiastic element in Jewish piety was becoming, in adversity, more intense. This element needed the expression which it found in the Song of Songs (see *Berachoth* 57b, שירי שירי is ascribed to the Megilla of the Song of Songs as well as to the Book of Psalms). It should be added, however, that even after 70 A.D. the natural interpretation found some supporters. At the synod of Jamnia (90 A.D.) R. 'Akiba had still to defend the sacredness of the Song of Songs (Mishna. *Yadayim*, 35), and in *Sanhedrin*, 101 a, we find a solemn anathema on those who treat the Shir ha-Shirim as a secular song (שירי שירי). The grounds on which this secular character was asserted may be guessed from the *Aboth de R. Natan*, chap. 1, which states that 'formerly' some counted the Song 'apocryphal' (נוג), quoting in support of this, not 7:1-9, but 7:11 f.

It is about, or soon after, 90 A.D. that we find the first traces of the allegorical view (see 4 Esdras 5:24 26 7:26, and R. Simeon ben Gamliel's allegorical interpretation of Song 8:11 in *Taanith* 48). Before that time Jewish teachers seem to have shrunk from quoting the Song; even Philo neglects it. Nor is any use made of it (or of Kôhéleth) in the NT. Eph. 5:27 alludes perhaps to Ps. 45:13, but certainly not to Song 4:7; and the parallelism between Rev. 3:20 and Song 5:2-6 (Trench, *Seven Churches*, 225 f.) is incomplete. This silence on the part of early Jewish and Christian writers shows the weakness of the argument from tradition adduced by the allegorists.

II. *Poetical form*. Is the Song of Songs a drama or a bundle of loosely connected songs? The earliest

advocate of a definite dramatic theory was the learned Jesuit, Cornelius Lapide († 1637), who, like Ewald, divided the poem into five acts. Our own Bishop Lowth takes up a middle position. He finds no trace of a regular plot, and only one thing in which the Song closely resembles the Greek dramatic models—the chorus. He allows, however, that the Song may be classed with imperfect dramatic poems, such as the Eclogues of Virgil and some of the Idylls of Theocritus. The first scholar to adopt the second solution of the problem was Richard Simon; but the first to make it plausible was Herder.¹ Influenced partly by the disintegrating tendency of the newer criticism, but still more by an irresistible impulse to search for traces of old popular poetry, he boldly denied the continuity of the poem, dividing it into about twenty-one independent songs (with a fragmentary conversation for an appendix), threaded like so many pearls on a necklace. These songs are sometimes very short; but brevity, Herder thinks, is the soul of a love-song; nor is it important to determine the exact number of songs. Herder does not deny a certain pleasing appearance of unity, but ascribes this to the collector, who wished to show the gradual growth of true love in its various *nuances* and stages, till it finds its consummation in wedlock. In its present form the Song may be taken to consist of six 'scenes'; but the critic apologises for the term, and insists that the poem was intended to be read, and, as it stands, is neither a theatrical piece nor a cantata. Herder's 'exquisite little treatise'² could not fail to make an impression. It gained the approval of Eichhorn and Goethe; but, without a more

¹ *Lieder der Liebe. Die ältesten und schönsten aus dem Morgenlande* (1778). See Herder's *Werke* by Saphan, Ed. 8, and cp Hayn's *Herder*, 2:175, where it is shown that it was really Bishop Percy's *Reliques* which opened Herder's eyes to the element of folk-song in the OT. Herder, however, came to recognise that this element was somewhat modified in the Bible by a certain inherent and distinctive sanctity.

² We have borrowed this and a few other characteristic phrases from the EB article 'Canticles' by Robertson Smith for the pleasure of quoting from such a fine piece of critical exposition.

thorough justification than Eichhorn gave, it could not permanently subvert the rival theory. Apart from its eloquent defence of the literal interpretation, its chief contribution to biblical study is perhaps this—that it has unintentionally proved the impossibility of recovering the original songs (if songs there were) and of retracing the plan (if plan he had) of the hypothetical collector. Goethe appears to have felt this. Tempted himself, as he tells us in the *Westöstlicher Divan*, to select and arrange some of 'these few leaves,' he took warning from the failure of previous efforts, and left the poem in its hopeless but lovely confusion.

A first step in the criticism of the Song was taken by Ewald in his early commentary (1826). He did not as yet venture to suppose that the 'cantata' was really acted on the stage; but from the first he asserted its genuinely dramatic character, and in 1839 he repaired his original omission (*Die poet. Bücher des AT*, Bd. i.). Was this a step backward? Only in appearance. Until the necessity of disintegration had been convincingly proved, Ewald was always on principle opposed to it. The cleverness and moderation of his critical theory, aided by his growing reputation for broad and deep scholarship, led to a very general adoption of the dramatic hypothesis, though the names of De Wette, Gesenius, Bleek, and Magnus may be quoted on the other side. The last-named scholar, however, did not effect much for his cause. His theory 'involved the assumption that the editor often displaced part of a song, sacrificing the unity of the original lyrics to an artificial composition of the whole.' It is only fair to add that in 1850 Böttcher did his best to make the opposite view absurd by introducing into the supposed Hebrew drama 'the complexities and stage effects of a modern operetta.' In 1860 Renan observed, with truth, that the dramatic theory had become 'almost classic,' and in 1891 and 1893 it was put forward as correct in the *Introductions* of Driver and König. Other eminent defenders of this theory are Hitzig (1855), Ginsburg (1857), Kuenen (1865), Delitzsch (1875), Robertson Smith¹ (1876), Kaempf (1877), Kohler (1878), Stöckel (1888), Oetli (1889), Bruston (1891), Martineau (1892), and Rothstein (1893).

By degrees, however, the theory of the separatists recovered from the effects of Magnus's imprudence. It began to pass into a new phase, and to exercise a stronger attraction. Diestel (art. 'Hohes Lied,' *Schenkel's Bib. Lex.* iii. [71]); Reuss ('79, in *La Bible*, etc., also *Gesch. der Schriften des AT*;² [90], 231-239); Stade (*GVI*, 2197 [88]); Cornill (*Finl.* [91], pp. 236-240); Budde (*New World*, March '94, pp. 56-77); Kautzsch (*HS*, '94; *Lit. of the OT*, 148-151), and Siegfried (*Hohes Lied*, '98) have done much to show that the view of Herder had not yet been adequately considered. Among these Budde deserves prominence for being the first to utilise adequately the information respecting Syrian marriage customs given by Consul Wetzstein in 1873.

Before reviewing this theory ourselves, we shall do well to examine the dramatic hypothesis more attentively.

(a) The forms which it has taken are numerous and varied; in dividing the hypothesis into acts and scenes critics are by no means unanimous.² According to Reuss, this wide divergence is fatal to the hypothesis. It seems fairer to admit that if it could be made out (1) that there is a plot, and (2) that there is any reason to

¹ Of this lamented scholar's later views we have, unfortunately, no record.

² The dramatic schemes of Ew. and Del. are given in full by *Dr. Introd.* 438-444. Delitzsch finds only two chief characters, Solomon and the Shulammitte. Passages like 2:10-15 and 4:8-15, which seem to speak of a shepherd-lover, really refer, he thinks, to Solomon, who adopts the circle of ideas and images familiar to his rustic love. Against this absurd view, see Oetli, 157. Martineau, on the other hand, eliminates the king altogether. So too Castelli, who describes the poem as an idyll in dialogue, the chief personages of which are the Shulammitte and her lover.

expect a drama among a Semitic people, we might excuse this divergence as an unfortunate consequence of the absence of stage directions.

i. First, then, is there any plot? The dramatists (as we may call the defenders of this theory) answer that there is. Stöckel even discovers two plots, developed by distinct pairs of lovers—the Shulammitte (who is a vine-dresser) and her 'friend' (יָרֵךְ), and a shepherd and shepherdess of Lebanon (besides the royal suitor, Solomon). The two latter are introduced in three scenes, 1:7-8 1:15-2:4 4:7-5:1. They know nothing about the Shulammitte and her 'friend.' The poet has interwoven the two movements to amuse the audience and produce a pleasing contrast between the different fortunes of the two pairs of lovers. All very conceivable! Double musical themes can be treated in fugues; why not also in Hebrew drama, granting that a regular Hebrew drama ever existed, and that Stöckel's view of the text is justified? However, all that this critic has shown is that 1:7, f. and 1:15-17 are out of connection with the previous verses; and in the case of the latter passage an easy emendation¹ enables us to recognise a continuous speech of the bride in 1:12-2:1.

Most critics, on the other hand, are content with one plot, and approach more or less closely to the dramatic scheme of Ewald, according to which the heroine is a maiden of Shulem or Shunem in Issachar (see SHUNEM), who has two lovers, the one at a distance, the other (till he finally disappears) near at hand; the one poor but favoured, the other royal but treated with disdain. In chap. 1:4, f. we find the maiden, who makes no secret of her country origin, in the 'chambers' of the king among the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (the ladies of the palace); but in 8:5 she suddenly appears, approaching her mountain home on the arm of her betrothed.

From the context it is thought to be clear that the suitor whose riches are contemned (8:7, cp 11: f.) is King Solomon, to whom the flattering compliments offered to the maiden in previous chapters must be assigned. How, then, came 'the Shulammitte' to exchange her free country life for the irksome splendour of the court? It is inferred, from 6:11, f., that she had been surprised by Solomon's courtiers (who had often been employed, no doubt, in similar abductions) on a royal progress in N. Israel. She 'had gone down into the nut-garden to look at the green things of the valley,' when 'suddenly,' she says, 'my desire brought me to the chariots of my noble people' (Ewald). It is some excuse for Solomon that, if Ewald may be followed, 'the Shulammitte' had not even been betrothed to the shepherd when she was carried off. (R. Martineau, however, thinks that between the third and the fourth scene—i.e., between the 3:6-11 and 4:7-16—'the Shulammitte' and the shepherd lover have been formally betrothed.)

Then, how came the girl to be delivered from her royal captor? Renan has offered a very modern solution of the problem; but it is one which has no basis in the text, and may be safely neglected. Most have supposed (cp 8:9, f.) that the escape of 'the Shulammitte' was due, not to any favourable combination of circumstances, but to the effect produced upon Solomon by her own frank and loyal character; 'all the actors,' says Ewald, 'recognise the restraints of the true religion.' Will this view hold? Is it conceivable that the luxurious Solomon should have been represented by any popular poet as releasing one of the 'maidens innumerable' in his 'chambers'?² Is it probable that such a maiden would have had, in the poet's fancy, the liberty implied in the early scenes of the 'drama,' or that she would have met Solomon's advances, that extra-

¹ 1:15 has evidently been interpolated from 4:1, and the opening word of v. 16 has been put in to match the first word of v. 15. An address of the heroine to her lover is out of place in this context (Hickel).

² Stöckel quotes an example of such magnanimity from the life of the Caliph Harun (Kraemer, *Ulluz-gesch. des Orient*, 2:127); but can we compare the characters of the two sovereigns?

ordinarily absent manner which Ewald's view of 19-26 supposes? Why should the recurring phrase 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp 'daughters of Zion,' 311) have such a limited reference as the dramatic theory requires? Then, as to the Shulammitte and her abduction. Theory apart, what right have we to assume that the intercourse implied in the poem between the girl and her lover was prior to marriage? To this point we shall have to return. Can we safely infer from the title that Shulem or Shunem was the girl's home? The title occurs in a single passage (613 [71]); but there is no allusion elsewhere to confirm this supposition. Next, how can Ewald base such a romantic story simply on the very obscure passage, 611 f.? Lastly, how do we know that the Solomon of history or legend plays any part in the poem? As Castelli, himself one of the dramatisers, has well pointed out, Solomon is mentioned by name only in some simile or figurative contrast.¹ Thus in 15 the heroine likens herself for comeliness to the curtains of the pavilions of Solomon (but we should rather read with Brüll, We., and Wl., אֲרָבָה, the name of a nomad Arabian tribe; see SALMAH, 2). In 37-11 Solomon's litter is spoken of jestingly; and so, in 811, 'to the costly vineyard of Solomon the heroine prefers her own symbolic one, which does not require the anxious supervision of others.' There is a fourth passage in which, according to an extremely probable correction of the text, Solomon is named,—68 f.:

'Sixty queens had Solomon, and eighty concubines, and maidens innumerable. One is my dove, my spotless one.'

Here again there is a contrast between Solomon's large harem and the speaker's single incomparable bride.

Can we, then, be sure that where the phrase 'the king' occurs alone, it is not a honorific designation of the bridegroom? And this suggests the question, which Castelli, however, does not raise, whether the term 'the Shulammitte' is not as purely figurative as 'the king'? Several writers (e.g., Klostermann) have conjectured that the story of Abishag the Shunammitte (1 K. 13 f.) supplied the plot of the supposed drama; but considering the difficulty of making out any plot at all, and the fact that 'the Shulammitte' is referred to only in one passage, we may ask whether it is not more probable that the term is applied metaphorically, and is equivalent to 'the fairest of women' (18 59 61)? If we omit 611 f. as misplaced (doubtless a correct view), and read 610 and 13 [71] together, we shall see how natural it was for the poet to seek out some striking variation on the rather hackneyed phrase just mentioned. The passage will run thus:

'Who is she that looketh down as the dawn, fair as the moon, clear as the sun? Turn, turn, thou Shulammitte, that we may look upon thee.'

It is usual to assume that the spectators, being ignorant of the heroine's name, address her with blunt directness as a girl of Shunem, and that she answers by the modest question, 'What do you see in the simple Shulammitte girl?' It is much more natural to suppose that 'the Shulammitte' (Shunammitte) is a term not less complimentary than 'fair as the moon' in v. 10, and points back to the Abishag of tradition.² And should it be asked why Abishag's name is not mentioned, we may venture to express the opinion that when the song was written there was probably in the Hebrew text of 1 K. 13 15, 1 Sam. etc., not אֲבִישָׁג, but a very different word (see SHULAMMITE).

There are many other difficulties of interpretation which might be mentioned. For example, how are we to understand the movements of 'the beloved'? Are

¹ Castelli, *Della poesia biblica*, 311.

² This view was proposed by Stade in 1887 (*GVI* 1 292), and adopted by Bu. in his excellent essay, *New World*, Mar. 1894, pp. 62-64. Budde desiderates an OT analogy. Perhaps 'Zimri' in 2 K. 9:31 (see RV) is such.

all the meetings of the lovers, except the final reunion, in reminiscence or in sleeping or waking imagination only? Can we conceive of a drama in which each of the actors seems almost if not quite uninflected by the speeches of the other? Not so did the Yahwist and the Elohist and the author of the Prologue of Job manage their dialogues. Less important is the difficulty which arises from the changes of scene, a weakness which need not surprise us in primitive plays. We must be careful, however, not to attach too much importance to European parallels. Renan, for example, goes too far when he refers to the comparatively elaborate pastoral play called *Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion*, or *Li Jeus du Bergier et de la Bergiere*, composed in 1282 by Adam de la Halle for the diversion of the court.¹ It would be more natural, with R. Samuel ben Meir (Rasbam), to compare the simple pastoretas of the Troubadours; but even that might be misleading.

ii. We have now to ask, further, Have we a right to expect a Semitic drama, however primitive in form?

7. No Semitic drama. That Semitic nations are not at all devoid of general dramatic capacity may be granted. In Mohammedan countries the *nawā'ī* ('reciter') still displays all the faculties of an actor, and stirs his hearers to the depths as he tells the story of 'Antar or the tales of the Arabian Nights; and there is an unmistakably strong dramatic element in Arabic works such as the 'Sessions' of Hariri. It cannot have been otherwise with the Israelites. They too must have laughed and wept as they listened to their story-tellers. At all events, the relics of their literature contain genuinely dramatic passages: see, for example, the stories of Jacob and Samson (evidently of traditional origin), of Ruth and Job. Even in the psalms and prophecies we have pieces like Ps. 2 24 7-10 Is. 63:1-6 28:8-11 Mic. 6:6-8, and the colloquies in the Book of Job have at least a distant affinity to the drama of character. Still, there is no evidence that the transition to a drama was ever made by a Semitic people. We have an Assyrian epic, but no Assyrian drama. Least of all can we reasonably expect to find one in the OT. Theatrical performances were not known at Jerusalem before the time of Herod, and to all good Jews such heathenish practices were detestable (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 81; cp *BJ* i. 21 8). Hence the dramatic theory of the Song is plausible only if the composition of the poem be placed at *Alexandria* (during the Greek period). Why, upon this supposition, did not the dramatist write in Greek, as did Ezekiel, the author of the drama on the Exodus called Εξάγωγη? In a word, the difficulties of the dramatic theory are insuperable.

(b) The Israelites, however, had a still more characteristic gift—that of lyric poetry. Singing and dancing

formed essential parts of their festivities, as they still do among the Bedouins;

8. Popular lyric poetry. and when these festivities were occasioned by some great local or national event, a dramatic element would naturally infuse itself into the popular songs, and this all the more easily because the custom of alternate song, which is in its nature dramatic, was very ancient (cp Ex. 15:21 1 S. 21:11). Ewald thinks that the Song (which is, according to him, a cantata) was originally intended for a festival of the independence of the N. kingdom, and that it was performed in five days, an act in a day. This view suits his theory of the 'plot' of the Song; but it is no longer tenable—we have seen that the references to 'Solomon' are figurative, and that 'the Shulammitte' is also a mere eulogistic term.

Why should not we take up again the suggestive idea of Bossuet and Lowth that the Song was intended for use on the seven days of the marriage festival (cp

¹ *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, par Monmerqué et Michel, 102-135. (Renan's account differs.)

Gen. 29:27 Judg. 14:2 Tob. 11:19)? On such occasions there would, of course, be alternate songs by the bridegroom and the bride, and to this Jeremiah refers when, describing the calamities of invasion, he says that God will 'cause to cease from the cities of Judah and from the streets of Jerusalem the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride' (Jer. 7:34 25:10). There is also an illustrative passage in the Mishna (*Taanith*, 4:8, already referred to), and the strangeness of the notice affords the best guarantee of its truth. It was customary at the 'Wood Festival' (*ξυλοφόρια*) on the 15th of Ab (August) and at the close of the Day of Atonement¹ for the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp Song 1:5, etc.) to go out and dance in the vineyards, and whoever had no wife went thither also. (Was it a relic of 'marriage by capture'? Cp Judg. 21:21.) There was also alternate singing, and the youths went to use the words of Song 3:11. See DANIEL § 6.

It is from Syria, where so many old customs have survived, that we get the fullest confirmation of Bossuet's

9. Syrian wedding festivities.

idea. Let us turn to Song 36-11 (translated by the present writer in *JQR*, July 1899), where the words referred to so strangely in the Mishna occur. Solomon is here introduced riding in his palanquin 'with the crown with which his mother crowned him on his wedding-day,' escorted by sixty warriors 'with the hand on the sword.' What this means we can tell from von Kremer's account of the marriage processions in Moslem villages in the Lebanon.² The procession goes from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, and in it there is a band of youths armed with long poles, which they keep striking together, and hold in such a way as to form a kind of roof over them. The poles were probably in olden times lances; the open country was not secure from bandits (Hos. 6:9; cp Ps. 108).³ The 'crown' is, of course, that of the bridegroom (cp Is. 61:10); 'in the war with Vespasian,' says the Mishna (*Sota*, 9:14), 'the crowns of bridegrooms were forbidden.' The Solomon of 3:11, then, is not the Solomon who made himself a state-litler, but a happier though a humbler mortal. It is, in sooth, a pretty jest to liken the bridegroom with his nuptial crown and the sixty 'companions' (Judg. 14:11) who roof him over with their poles to the luxurious Solomon in his gorgeous palanquin with his martial bodyguard around him; and the jest has a wholesome moral.

A much fuller account of the customs of the Syrian peasants in the month of weddings (March) is given by Wetzstein.⁴ During the seven days after a wedding, high festivity, with scarcely interrupted singing and dancing, prevails. The bridegroom and the bride play the parts of king and queen (hence the week is called the 'king's week'), and receive the homage of their neighbours; the crown, however, is at present in Syria (as in Greece) confined to the bride (contrast Song 3:11). The bridegroom has his train of 'companions' (to borrow the ancient term, Judg. 14:11), and the grander the wedding the more of these there are. The bride too has her friends (cp 'daughters of Jerusalem,' Song 1:5, etc.), the maidens of the place, who take an important part in the reception of the bridegroom (cp Ps. 45:14 Mt. 25:1-13). In the evening of the great day a sword-dance is performed. In the Arabian desert it is the young

¹ The tenth of Tisri must anciently have had a festive character; even it have been a prelude to the joyous Feast of Booths (Kohler).

² *Mittheilungen und Poesien* (73), p. 123.

³ Wetzstein says that the bridegroom's friends are really armed. He thinks that 'by reason of fear in the night' (Song 3:6) may allude to the insecurity of the villages.

⁴ Applicable to *Diebstahl* (*Robberies*) (1872), pp. 167, 168, 177; cp Wetzstein in *Die Arab. Ethnographie*, 1873, pp. 280-294. Even among the *fellahin* of Palestine there seems to be a vestige of the sword-dance. The bride on her camel is conducted to the house of the bridegroom holding a drawn sword, *PEFQ*, April 1894, p. 136.

men of the tribe who thus display their agility (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2:118); but in the Syrian wedding festivals the sword-dancer is the bride. When taken in connection with another Syrian custom and with the passage of the Mishna mentioned above, this may be thought a relic of primitive 'marriage by capture.' (The connected custom referred to is this—that when, on the morning after the wedding, the royal seat has been erected, a crier comes forward declaring that the 'king'—the bridegroom—has made a campaign against a hitherto impregnable fortress, and calls upon him to say whether he has succeeded or not. The 'king' answers in the affirmative, and upon this the seven days of rejoicing begin.) However this may be, the sword-dance at the Syrian weddings has a significance of its own. It not only displays the physical gifts and capacities of the bride, but also symbolises her womanly self-respect, which keeps all intruders afar off (cp Song 8:9 10). 'The figure of the dancer, her dark waving hair, her serious noble bearing, her downcast eyes, her graceful movements, the quick and secure step of her small naked feet, the lightning-like flashing of the blade, the skillful movements of her left hand, in which she holds a handkerchief, the exact keeping of time,' form a scene which contributes not a little to make the 'king's week' the happiest in a Syrian peasant's life. (The description throws a bright light on Song 6:10 13 7:1-6 (which forms a connected passage).¹ The opening verse is probably spoken by the chorus of neighbours on the approach of the bride with the sword; it abounds with respectful compliments suitable to the occasion. 1: 13a also belongs to the neighbours, who call to the bride to turn that they may see her better. Then, to draw out their admiration further, the bridegroom asks them why they are gazing so fixedly at this paragon of beauty—this second Shulammitte—'at the dance of warlike hosts,' i.e. at the war-dance, or sword-dance (שִׁירֵי מַלְחָמָה; *ὡς χοροὶ τῶν παρμαστῶν*; so Budde). It often happens in the Syrian desert, says Wetzstein, that when a woman performs this dance on occasion of a victory of one tribe over another, and some young man shows special admiration of the dancer, he is called upon to fight unarmed, according to certain rules, with the dancer, and may chance to pay for his boldness with his life. To this the question in Song 6:13b may allude. Song 7:1-6 (which is in a different metre from 6:10 13) exactly answers to the Syrian *wafz* (i.e., 'laudatory description') sung during the sword-dance by the leader of the chorus. We must not criticise it too severely. The tone is that which popular taste required and (to judge from the *wafz* quoted by Wetzstein) still requires in Syria.

On the day after the wedding, when the 'king' has announced his 'victory' over the 'fortress,' another *wafz* is sung. This time the attractions of the lady are described with less unreserve, in deference to wifely dignity. Such a *wafz* we seem to have in Song 4:1-7. Is the bridegroom, then, exempt from laudation? Not in modern Syria, nor in the Song. True, in Song 36-11, sung (it would seem) during the procession from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride, flattery goes no further than to liken the crowned bridegroom to Solomon. The young wife naturally goes further. The *wafz* itself is found in Song 5:10-16. Prefixed to it is a speech of the bride describing a weird dream that she has had, in which she believes so firmly that she begs for the help of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' in restoring her to her beloved. These are the chief songs of this class; but in Song 6:4-7 we have at least a fragment of a laudatory description of the bride, part of which is an ill-connected quotation from 4:1-3. Wetzstein assures us that the *wafz*-passages are the weakest part of the wedding-songs, and accordingly, he adds, the *wafz*-portion of the Song of Songs is much inferior poetically to the rest. Certainly the most striking part

¹ On 6:11f., see above, § 10. Reuss despairs of 6:10 13 without reason.

of the Song of Songs is the passage which contains 7 11-87 (excepting the interpolated verses 8 3-5¹). It is a song such as might have been sung on the evening of the wedding-day. The opening description is true in idea, though imaginary in its incidents. It is true in idea; for every marriage, according to the poet, should arise from the free affection of one man and one woman. It is imaginary in its details, for the incidents are inconsistent with what was allowable in courtship. For real songs of courtship such as an Israelite might have used, see Rückert's *Hamäsa*, bk. iv. The closing eulogy of love as 'strong as death, inflexible as Sheöl, whose flashes are flashes of fire, [whose flame is] a flame from heaven'² (8 6), is noble.

The poetical form, and therefore also the origin, of the Song of Songs seems to be no longer doubtful.

Fully twenty years ago (1878) the present writer rejected Ewald's interpretation of Song 6 11, f., but still thought it possible,

10. Present writer's relation to Wetzstein.

by omitting interpolations and transposing certain misplaced passages, to restore something like the original sequence, and to recognise a loose imperfect plot such as quick-witted hearers and spectators might have divined. He saw also that the poem was based on popular songs,³ and admitted the critical significance of the information furnished by Wetzstein. 'When we consider,' he then wrote, 'that processions and the choral performance of lyric poems were familiar to the Israelites from Samuel downwards, it becomes a highly probable conjecture that this custom of the Syrian peasants was already in vogue in the times of the O.T. writers. This is confirmed by the remarkable coincidence between the time when the incidents of the Song are supposed to take place (see Song 2 1-13) and the time of the peasants' weddings in Syria (March is the most beautiful time of the Syrian year)'. He further noticed two or three of the *wort-* passages in the Song, and (after Kohler) the implied reference to the sword-dance in Song 6 10 13 (*v. 11, f.* being misplaced). He was far, however, from realising the extent to which the Hebrew songs were analogous to the traditional Syrian, and thought that a part of the Song related to the happy courtship of the rustic lovers; nor did he understand the reference to Solomon or the meaning of the Shulamite. To Budde he owes it that he has adopted a more consistent theory.⁴

The book is an anthology of songs used at marriage festivals in or near Jerusalem, revised and loosely connected by an editor without regard to temporal sequence; in saying which, we do not deny that the kernel of the work may have been brought from some other part of the country, perhaps in the north.

11. Result. What of the supposed indications of unity? These are found partly in the phraseology ('Solomon,' 'the king,' 'daughters of Jerusalem,' 'my beloved,' 'my friend,' the seeming refrains in 2 7 3 5 8 4; as well as in 2 17a 4 6a; and in 2 17b 8 14d), partly in the poetical colour, partly in the feeling or spirit, and of course in the circumstances. This agreement between the several parts of the poem is not as great as was supposed.

As Bickell observes, 'Generatim omnia verbotenus repetita serius inserta sunt'; in \mathfrak{S} such repetitions are even more plentiful than in MT. The genuine points of phraseological agreement are quite accounted for by the traditional conventions of these love songs. That the feeling, the poetical colour, and the circumstances are the same, harmonises with the assumed origin of the songs. The prominence of the mother (16 3 4 8 2 5) is to be explained not (with Ewald, 334) by 'the Shulamite's' supposed loss of her father, but as a vestige of the matriarchate (*Mutterrecht*). With regard to Song 1 4 and Song 8 10, which, taken together, may seem to show that the heroine had been placed in a royal palace but had 'compelled her assailant to leave her in peace'

¹ These verses are not in the metre of the rest of the passage; the two former come from 2 6 f. (cp 3 5), while the last has been suggested by 3 6.

² Or, 'a most vehement flame.' The final η may be simply an affirmative (*Jäger*, Jastrow).

³ See *Founders of O.T. Crit.* (1893), 250.

⁴ Budde's attempt (*New World*, March 1894) to show that some of the less poetical passages are due to the collector and reviser of the songs, who now and then misunderstood the texts, cannot here be considered.

(Robertson Smith's paraphrase of 8 10d), we should hold that the 'chambers' of 1 4 are those of the crowned bridegroom, and that the 'peace' of 8 10 belongs to the characteristic figure of the 'fortress' (see above).

Historically, the Song would gain, could it be shown to be pre-exilic. What would not one give for the

13. Date. light liltings of ancient Hebrew maidens, and for a noble popular protest against the doubtful innovations of the unpatriotic Solomon? Robertson Smith in 1876 held that the Song of Songs was just such a protest. 'The conservative revolution of Jeroboam was,' he remarks, 'in great measure the work of the prophets, and must therefore have carried with it the religious and moral convictions of the people. An important element in these convictions, which still claims our fullest sympathy, is powerfully set forth in the Canticles, and the deletion of the book from the Canon . . . would leave us without a most necessary complement to the Judæan view of the conduct of the ten tribes which we get in the historical books.' The reference to the harem life of Solomon, however, is confined to two verses (Song 6 8 f.); it is rather sportive than polemical, and, attractive as the protest-theory is, it is opposed to a sound exegesis (see above).

For a pre-exilic date there is no solid argument.

(a) The title, which is not by the author (note η η), is of course not more trustworthy than the headings of the 'Solomonic' psalms.

14. Not pre-exilic. (b) The points of contact with Hosea (cp Song 2 13 4 11 6 11 with Hos. 14 6-9) and Prov. 1-9 (cp Song 4 11 14 f. with Prov. 5 3 7 17 5 15-17) prove only that different poets used similar (conventional) images. Moreover, recent criticism tends to show that Hos. 14 2-10 and Prov. 1-9 are post-exilic. (c) The phrase η η 'going down) straight,' used of wine, in Song 7 9 Prov. 23 31, is indecisive, whether Prov. *l.c.* is early or late. (d) The mention of Tirzah beside Jerusalem (Song 6 4) need not point to 'the brief period when that city was the capital of the dynasty of Baasha' (but see TIRZAH), for (if MT is correct) it is the beauty of the site of Tirzah that is referred to—a beauty which could not pass away with a dynasty. Most probably, however, we should emend the text thus, 'Thou art beautiful as the narcissus, comely as the lily of the valleys'¹ (cp 2 1). If so, Tirzah is not mentioned. (e) That the references to Solomon prove nothing, we have seen already. It will, therefore, be absurd to base an argument on the comparison of the lady in Song 1 9 with one of Pharaoh's mares. If the bridegroom could be likened to Solomon, the bride could be likened to one of Solomon's finest Egyptian horses, especially if the songs were written while Palestine formed part of the Græco-Egyptian empire (cp Theoc. *Id.* 15 52 f.). Whether Solomon really obtained horses from Egypt, is a question which need not be discussed here (see MIZRAIM, § 2a).

For a post-exilic date the main arguments are these:

(a) The position of the book among the Hagiographa.

(b) The beauty of Jerusalem is mentioned late (Ps. 48 2 50 2 Lam. 2 15).

(c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression.

(d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4 12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

η η (also Ps. 45 9, late, where, as here, it is coupled with η η ; cp Prov. 7 17, and see ALOES). η η (also Prov. 7 17 Ex. 30 23, both passages late, η η).

¹ MT is hardly defensible. Fair women would not be compared to thistles. Tg. paraphrases 'as the women of Tiran (η η) or Tirzah (Neub. *Géog.*, *du Talm.*, 172). Bickell and Bud. omit 'as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem,' as weakening the effect of 'terrible' which follows; but η η , 'terrible,' is simply a corruption of η η (in the phrase ' η η ', 'lily of the valleys'). On η η , see ENSIGNS, § 1 b.

אֵשׁ, נָר, נָר (also 12), and, following Grütz, וְרֵיחַ (for the tautologous רֵיחִים), new Heb. for 'roses.'¹

The fondness of the poet of Canticles for spices led the ancient scribes into some very strange textual errors—viz., (1) 4, 'to the mountains of myrrh (הַר הַמִּיָּר) and the hill of frankincense' (הַר הַלְבָנֹתָה) where צֶמֶר should be חֶרְמוֹן. 'Hermon,' and צֶמֶר לְבָנֹתָה should be לְבָנֹתָה (קַיִן שִׁמְרָא); very probably, also, the correct reading in 8, 8 is 'from the hills of the cedars, from the mountains of the cypresses' (בְּצִמְבֹתֵי אֵיוֹם חֶרְמוֹן בְּרֵיחוֹם); (2) 8 14, in the 'mountains of spices' (בְּרֵיחוֹם) צֶמֶר should certainly be שִׁמְרָא, to which, if We.'s view of חֶרְמוֹן, 'mountains of malobathron' (We. *Procl.*³ 409),² was that of the early scribes, we may add 2:17 where we should read הַר בְּרֵיחוֹם 'mountains of cypresses' (see B. 1100B).

Add אֲמֹנָה = new Heb. אֲמוֹנָה. B 13, and perhaps בָּקָר = κῆρος, 1:14 4:13 (plur.). Last, not least, we have the Persian loan-word for plantation or park, פָּרְדֵּס, 4:13; elsewhere only Neh. 2:8 Eccl. 2:5, though the exact history of the form is doubtful.

One Greek loan-word³ has been found in אֲפָרָיִן 'palanquin,' 3:9 φάλαγγ (שׁ וּ; but see LITTELL). In the Mishnah it is explained by פָּרָסִיָּה, i.e., φάλαγγ. In *Seder* 402 it is said that the use of the bridal litter (פָּרָסִיָּה) was forbidden by the Jewish authorities during the Bar-Cochba war. On the gorgeous φάλαγγ of the Syrian ladies under Antiochus Epiphanes, see Polybius (ap. Athen. 5:22). The only doubt can be whether 'א' is not a gloss. Metrical reasons suggest its excision (Bickell).

(e) Among the distinctly late words are אֲרִיָּוֶן 3:10 7:6⁴ (for Judg. 8:22-27 is not, as it stands, ancient; see Budde); אֶשׁ, 5:15 Esth. 1:6; אֶבֶן (plur.), 6:11 Job 8:10; קֶשֶׁת, 4:1 6:5; הַבְּצֵלָה, 2:1 Is. 35:1; הַצִּיץ, הַשֵּׁשֶׁן, קֶבֶל; 1:10 (רוּר). Aram. and new Heb.); 'to glance,' to glance 'smoke-holes,' 2:9; אֶסְבֵּן, 1:12; מִרְיָה, 2:14 Ezek. 38:28 (Aram. רִמְיָה 'a step'; אֶסְבֵּן, 2:13 15 7:12 and perhaps Is. 168 (for שִׁמְרָא, see SBOT, *ad loc.*); cp Diaval, *AP*/14:277; חֶמֶן, 'winter,' 2:11; קֶרֶבַּת, 5:2 11:1 רִמְסִים, 5:2; שֵׁשׁ (plur.), 3:3 Prov. 7:8 Eccl. 12:45 (cp Grütz, 49); אֶבֶן (Piel), 5:3; קֶמֶן (Piel), 'to spring,' 2:8; אֶשׁ, 'to keep,' 1:6 8:11 12; טֹבָה, 'enclosed,' 7:3. (f) Grammatical forms. Note רֵיחֵה, 1:15, etc.; קִירוֹ, 1:17; אֲרָבָה, 'where,' 1:17 (קָדַח, Dan. 7:28); אֲרָבָה, 'how,' 7:5, Esth. 8:6. Also אֶשׁ for אֶשׁ, 22 times. שִׁלְטָה, 17, like שִׁלְטָה, Jon. 1:7, and אֶשׁ, Eccl. 8:17. אֶשׁ, Dan. 1:16. שֵׁשׁ, 1:6 8:12; שֵׁשׁ, 3:7 (exactly the Mishna usage). (g) וְרֵיחַ, 4:4, for רֵיחַ, may perhaps point to the post-exilic period (see Birk, *ZATW* 11:127).

The preceding list of arguments, though not exhaustive, should be sufficient. Linguists, such as Gesenius among Christians and M. Sachs among Jews, long ago recognised the modern character of the Hebrew. The question, however, was a complicated one, and ingenuity did its best to save an early date, and with it (it appeared) the historical value of the Song. It is time for critical students to look at the facts more frankly. We can now show that this anthology of songs is post-exilic, and may conjecture that it is nearly contemporary with that 'song of love' (and of spices), Ps. 45. It is not easy to find a period more suitable to all the data than one of the early and fortunate reigns of the Ptolemies (cp *Founders*, 353). A still later date is suggested by Winckler (*Altor. Forschungen*, 295).

Like the other poetical books, the Song of Songs suffers from many, often most unfortunate, corruptions of the text; some dislocations of passages have added to the difficulties of the inter-

1 The first mention of roses elsewhere is in Ecclesi. (see ROSE). This would allow us to date the song in 300-250 B.C. There were roses in Babylon in Herodotus's time (*Herod.* 1:205).

2 He was anticipated by Field (*Orig. Hist.* 2:415), who gives the rendering of Sexta as αἰα(αἰα)κ(α)ου. 'Dat et malobathron Syria,' says PL. (HN 12:4).

3 Another of the supposed Greek words arises from a corruption of the text. See ARMOURY.

4 אֲרִיָּוֶן in 7:6, however, is corrupt.

preter. Grütz was the first to recognise the bad state of the text. Among recent scholars Bickell and Budde have done most; Bickell's chief results have been incorporated in Budde's excellent commentary. Perles, in his *Analekten* (95), has considered about ten passages, and the present writer has endeavoured to correct some of the chief errors (*JQR* and *Exp. Times* for 1898-99 and *Expositor*, Feb. 1899, 145 ff.). Among these corrections it may be mentioned that, according to Bickell, 'the Shulammitte' in 7:1 is due to corruption; against this view, however, see Budde, who points out that, since the phrase 'the Shulammitte' is not tantamount to a declaration that the bride is a Shulammitte damsel, and only means 'one who is as fair as Abishag the Shulammitte,' it is no gain to the adherents of the dramatic or idyllic theory to have the correctness of the תְּשׁוּבָה assured to them. Contrary to Perles (who on this point is an adherent of Grütz), Bickell further thinks that אֲרָבָה in 6:12 (see AMMINADIB) also is not the true reading. He regards אֲרָבָה as a doublet derived from אֲרָבָה מִבְּרֵיחַ which is corrupt) as a doublet of [אֲרָבָה] מִבְּרֵיחַ [אֲרָבָה] in 7:2, and renders 'my noble kinswoman'; Budde prefers to wait for more light. Perles has pointed the way to a better solution by grouping 6:12 and 7:2 with 7:7. Here, the present writer thinks, we should read אֲרָבָה תָּה שְׁנֵיטָה 'loved one, Shunammite damsel,' and consequently, he makes the same restoration in 6:12 and 7:2—i.e., תָּה שְׁנֵיטָה. Certainly Bickell is right in refusing to have anything to do with the 'chariots' of which MT and therefore also EV speak in 6:12. The whole story of the Shulammitte's having been surprised in the nut-orchard by the king's retinue (cp Driver, *Introd.*, 442, 446) breaks down, when strict criticism is applied to the text. On Cant. 3:6-11, which is disfigured by curious corruptions (one of which is the famous אֲפָרָיִן, RV 'palanquin'), see LITTER.

We must now endeavour to estimate the value of the Song. We shall not be ungrateful for the material

17. Value. which it supplies to students of manners and customs and the distribution of plants; but it is much more important that it opens a window into the heart of ordinary Israelites. (a) The Song reveals a very pure conception of true love, as springing out of a free inclination of one man and one woman,¹ and rising into a passionate and indestructible union of hearts. If the songs were written (or even if they were only edited, revised, and supplemented) in the early Greek period, what a contrast they offer to much that was current at the luxurious court of the Ptolemies! (b) The Song shows also a genuine love of nature. 'The writer inspires us with his own delicate joys. The breath of spring still breathes through his words. Its scents, its fresh moist greenness, the old hopeful spring notes heard in the woods, again are all here.'² There is nothing more lovely than the spring of Palestine, and this old poet felt it. Where the images are bizarre, we need not put it down to him. The *wassf*-songs were, and still are, governed by strict convention (cp Wetz. in Del. 174-177). Ovid and Theocritus are not without some of these strange love images.³ (c) 'Race-psychology' also may gather something. Twice the heroine falls into a perplexing confusion between dreamland and reality (Song 3:1-4 5:2-7). This can be paralleled from Arabic love poetry, in which the dream-form of the beloved receives an objective existence, and lovers even give their respective apparitions a rendezvous (see *Hamisa*, Freytag, 22; Lyall, *Translations*, 12).⁴ (d) If the poem is post-exilic, it shows us that there were times and seasons (cp Eccl. 3:4) of which legalism could not overshadow the joyousness.

1 It reminds us of the fine love-sentiment of the Arabic *Hamisa*.

2 W. G. Forbes, *Sermons* (55), p. 147.

3 Cp especially Song 1 with Theocrit. *Id.* 18 go.

4 See *Hamisa*, 612, and cp *Journal Asiatique*, 1838, p. 375, etc.

In this and in other respects our notion of the post-Exilic period may perhaps need revision.

Is this, then, the whole worth of the Song for us? Being canonical, must it not have some subtle religious value which has been overlooked?¹

The answer is (1) that we have no right to assume that R. 'Akiba's well-known saying about the Song at the Synod of Jamnia (see CANON, § 53) represents the point of view of those who first admitted this popular and supposed Solomonic work among the Kethubhim; and (2) that the mistake of a Jewish Synod cannot be perpetually endorsed by Christian common-sense and scholarship. We have therefore to revise our conception of the word 'canonical' in its application to the OT writings.

Besides the commentaries of Ew., Hitz., Grätz, Del., Stücker, Orelli (*KHCh*, '98), etc., consult WRS, art. 'Canticles' *EB* 10, Boutillier's review of Koenig, *Lehrb. f. jud. Gesch. u. Lit.*, 1877, p. 128 ff.; Bu. s rev. of Stücker, *PLZ*, 24th March 1888, his art. in *New World*, March 1894, and his fine commentary, 1898; also R. Martineau, *Amer. Journ. of Philology*, 1872, pp. 307-328; Bickel, *Cavennia l'P. metris* ('88); Siegfried, *C. Pred. u. Hohelied* ('08); Riedel, *Die Ausleg. des Hoheliedes in der jüd. Gemeinde u. der christl. Kirche* ('95). T. K. C.

CAP (ΠΕΤΑΧΟΣ [AV]); according to one view it has been borrowed in Aramaic under the form פִּטְיָן Dan. 3:1; but see BRECHES, 2; TURBAN, 2; and cp *Journ. Phil.* 26:306 f.), the Greek broad-brimmed (fr. *περάν-νυμι*) felt hat which Jason made the Jewish youth wear (2 Macc. 4:12 RV; AV 'hat'). It was worn (originally) chiefly by shepherds and hunters, was an attribute of Hermes,² and so became the badge of the palestra.

This assumes that the text is genuine (note that ὑποτάσσου in *GA* precedes). The Syr. reads ܦܝܬܝܢ ܥܘܕܝܢ; cp 2 S. 12:31 (Pesh.), where MT has ܦܝܬܝܢ. Did the translator think of *capitatus*? Equally obscure is the origin of the Vg. in *supra-narius*, though the infamy and vice of the later gymnasium, the fact that the *Epameia* were celebrations of a more or less free and unrestrained character, and the allusion to vicious practices in 2 Macc. 6:4, make it possible that a genuine tradition has been followed.

CAPER-BERRY (כַּפְרִיָּה, ΚΑΠΠΑΡΙΣ [BNAC]), Eccles. 12:5 RV. That the HYSOP (*g.v.*) is the caper-plant (*Capparis spinosa*, L.) is a favourite theory. Still more prevalent is the view that the word rendered 'desire' in AV RV¹⁰⁸ of Eccles. *l.c.* ('the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail') denotes the berry of the caper-plant.³ The difficulties of translation are as great in the third of these clauses as in the others (ALMOND, GRASSHOPPER). The Revisers of OT changed 'desire' into 'the caper-berry', but could not determine on a satisfactory verb; 'fail' therefore remains, with 'Or, burst' in the margin. Thus much at any rate is plain: the noun in this clause must denote some object in the physical world.

The rendering 'the caper-berry' (*AG*, Vg.)⁴ has been adopted by nearly all moderns, among whom G. F. Moore⁵ deserves special mention because of the fresh light which he has brought from Mishnic and Talmudic sources. The rendering 'desire' (Abulwalid; Parchon) is a worthless modern guess.

In spite of the agreement of scholars, the clause remains obscure, mainly from the difficulty of interpreting the predicate כַּפְרִיָּה. (1) Plutarch (*Symp.* 6:2) speaks of the caper being used as a relish to induce appetite for food; medieval Arabic writers mention its effects

¹ Even Herder fell into this error; see Haym, *Herder*, 287. In middle and low Latin *petasum* becomes the winged shoe of Mercury (Dufresne, ed. Favre).

² That this fruit, and not the berry-like bud familiar in modern times, is intended appears clearly from the Talmudic references (see Löw, *Pflanz.* 264), and the exhaustive discussion in Moore's art. referred to below.

³ Pesh. has a double rendering: (1) the caper, (2) misery—the latter seemingly based on a supposed (but impossible) abstract use of the fem. of ܦܝܬܝܢ; cp *Sym.* ἡ ἐπιταχός and Field, *Hex.* 2:403.

⁴ See his article, *JBL* 10:55-61 ('91).

in stimulating sexual impulse (Wetz. in Del. *Koh.* 4:52);¹ and it was in traditional use (especially the fruit) in the middle ages as a stimulant in senile disorders.² It has been sought, accordingly, to explain כַּפְרִיָּה as meaning 'fail of effect' (so RV text), and this will do as a makeshift: when even the caper fails, nothing is left to try. Unfortunately, it is difficult to believe that the Heb. verb can have this meaning; Delitzsch's explanation of it as a case of internal Hiphil ('produces failure'—*i.e.*, 'fails') is most unlikely.

(2) Others have thought of the bursting of the ripe berry and the scattering of its seeds as a synonym for death (so RV¹⁰⁸); but this is quite untenable, (a) because of the fact that the root כַּפְרִיָּה is nowhere used in a physical sense in Hebrew,³ (b) because the context requires a phrase descriptive of old age rather than of death, and (c) because of the botanical impossibility of the interpretation, there being no evidence that the fruit of *Capparis spinosa* is dehiscens.

Unless, therefore, we give the Heb. verb the very unusual sense of 'fail' we can only say that probably, as in the other clauses, the metaphor indicates some feature in the old man's appearance or physical state, and Moore's suggestion, to emend וְהָיָה into some derivative of כַּפְרִיָּה appears a good one.

N. M.—W. T. T.—D.

CAPERNAUM is the transliteration of the Text. Rec. ΚΑΠΕΡΝΑΟΥΜ; but *NBDZ*, followed by Tisch.,

1. **Name.** Treg., WH, etc., read ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ (80 Pesh. and Jos.). The original was, therefore, כַּפְרִי נַחֻם, village of Nahum. It is not mentioned before the NT, and this, coupled with the fact that כַּפְרִי prevails in the composition only of comparatively late names, is proof of an origin shortly before the time of Jesus. Whether by Nahum is meant the prophet, we do not know. In Jerome's time it was another Galilean town that was associated with him (*GASm. Twelve Proph.* 276).

Capernaum became the home of Jesus (ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν, Mk. 2:1) and 'his own city' (Mt. 9:1) after his rejection by the townsmen of Nazareth.

2. **References.** Here he preached (Mt. 8:5 Mk. 1:21 9:33 Jn. 6 etc.); did many wonderful works, healing Peter's mother-in-law and many others (Mk. 1:31 34), a paralytic (Mt. 9:1 Mk. 2:1 Lk. 5:18), a centurion's servant (Mt. 8:5 Lk. 7:1), a man with an unclean spirit (Mk. 1:23 Lk. 4:33), and (by a word from Cana) a nobleman's servant (Jn. 4:46); and called the fishermen Peter and Andrew (Mk. 1:16), and Matthew or Levi, who sat to receive toll (Mt. 9:8 Mk. 2:14 Lk. 5:27). In spite of all this, the body of citizens remained unmoved, and Jesus pronounced we upon the place (Mt. 11:23 Lk. 10:15, RV). These passages imply that Capernaum was a πόλις, with a Roman garrison, a synagogue (built by the centurion), and a customs-station; and that it lay down in the basin of the lake (Jn. 2:12 Lk. 4:31), and on the lake shore (Mt. 4:13), and (presumably from the customs station) on the great high road from Damascus past the N. end of the lake to the Levant (cp *way of the sea* quoted in Mt. 4:15 f. from Is. 9:1 [8:23]). A comparison of Jn. 6:17 with Mt. 14:34 would seem also to imply that it lay on or near the plain of Gennesaret at the NW. corner of the lake.

The name has entirely disappeared, and amid the scattered evidence of writers since the NT and the various groups of ruin which strew the lake shore between Gennesaret and the mouth of the Jordan, diversity of tradition and of modern opinion has naturally arisen. Two sites divide the authorities—Khirbet el-Minyeh (several mounds with indistinguishable ruins and an old Khān also called Minyeh on the N. corner of Gennesaret); and Tell-Hüm, a heap of black basalt ruins

¹ It should, however, be noted that neither Dioscorides (2:204) nor Pliny (13:127 20:65 ff.) mentions either of these effects.

² So Tragus (*De Stirp. Hist. Comm.* 1552, 869ff) writes to the effect that, cooked, and taken with oil and vinegar, it is used with benefit in cases of palsy, gout, 'phlegm,' 'spleen,' sciatica, in urinary troubles, and as an emmenagogue.

³ Even if it were, the Hiphil would not mean 'to burst.'

with the remains of a white marble edifice and a curious tomb two miles and a half farther west, and two miles and a half from the mouth of the Jordan. Between these two the evidence is not quite conclusive.

For Tell-Hüm there is usually quoted the evidence of Josephus, who says that, having been thrown from his horse in a skirmish with the Roman forces

4. Josephus. In Jordan, he was carried to a village called *Κεφαρναχών* (*ibid.* 72), and thence to Taricheæ. Even if this reading were correct, Josephus, with injuries so slight as he reports, might as easily have been carried the 5 m. to Gennesaret as the two and a half to Tell-Hüm, especially as his desire seems to have been to get to Taricheæ. It is suspicious, however, that he calls the place a village (*κώμη*), and Niese fixes the proper reading as *κεφαρναχόν*. The only other evidence Josephus gives favours Khân Minyeh. He describes (*B./iii.* 108) the plain of Gennesaret as watered by 'a most copious fountain' called by the people of the country Capharnaum. This Robinson believes to be the 'Ain et-Tin, close by Khân Minyeh; more probably it was the 'Ain et-Tâbigäh, whose waters were conveyed in an aqueduct past the site of Khân Minyeh into the plain. Tell-Hüm, on the other hand, has neither fountain nor spring.

The Christian and the Jewish traditions are divided. Jerome places Capernaum 2 R. m. from Chorazin, a datum which, if Chorazin be Ketzeh, agrees with Tell-Hüm. So do the data of Theodosius (*circa* 530), who, working from Magdala round the N. end of the Lake,

5. Christian and Jewish traditions. places Capernaum 2 R. m. on the other side of Heptapegon, presumably 'Ain et-Tâbigäh. Isaac Chilo in 1334 (*Carmoly Itinéraires*, etc., *la Terre Sainte des XIII.-XVII. Siècles*, 260) came to Kefar Nachum from Irbid, and found it in ruins with the tomb of Nahum. In 1561 the *Jichus ha-Tsedikim* (*ib.* 385) mentions Tanchum with the tombs of Nahum and Rabbi Tanchum (*cp. Jichus ha-Tsedikim*, *ib.* 438). Taking Kefar Nachum and Tanchum as identical, some find in 'Tell-Hüm' a corruption of 'Tanchum.' This is the case for Tell-Hüm. It really rests on the evidence of Jerome and Theodosius (for it is not certain either that Kefar Nachum and Tanchum were identical or that 'Tell-Hüm' is derived from 'Tanchum'); and it is opposed to the evidence of Josephus. Yet in recent times it has received a large increase of support (Dr. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 2:139-140; Thomson, *Land and Bk.* ed. 1877, 352-356; Sir C. Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 375-387; Guérin, *Galil.* 1227 f.; Schaff, *ZDPV* 124 ff.; Furrer, *ib.* 263 ff., and in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 3:495; Frei, *ZDPV* 2:115; van Kasteren, *ib.* 1:100 f.; Schumacher's *III.* 1-11; Böhl, *Pal.* 224 f.).

On the other hand, Arculf's description of Capernaum (670 A.D.), as being on 'a narrow piece of ground between the mountain and the lake,' suits Khân Minyeh, but not Tell-Hüm. Arculf adds that it lay on the shore *non longo circuitu* from the traditional spot on Gennesaret where the loaves were blessed. He did not visit it, but saw from a distance that it had no walls. Willibald's data (722 A.D.) suit any point between Mejdal and Bethsaida, and equally indefinite are all other references till Isaac Chilo in 1334 states that the town is now in ruins, but was formerly inhabited by Minim—*i.e.*, Jews who had become Christians—all sorcerers (*cp. Neubauer, Géog. du Talm.* 221). Many find Minim in Minyeh. In answer to objections to this (Furrer, *ZDPV* 1:258 ff.), another derivation has been suggested through the older Arabic spelling *el-munya*, common in Egypt and Spain for 'villa,' 'steading,' 'hamlet,' etc. = Lat. *mansio*, Gr. *μῦσις*—from which it is said to be derived (Gildemeister, *ZDPV* 4:194 ff.). In any case, a place lay here in the eleventh century called Munyat Hishâm (Kazwini's *Lexicon*), and in 1430 El-Munja, a village so large that the whole lake was called after it. (Tristram gives the

form 'Minyeh,' which Delitzsch derives from *Minch*, harbour). And Quaresmius in 1616-26 (*Elucid. Terr. Sanc.* 2:568) says that by the site of Capernaum there was in his time a Khân called by the Arabs *Menieh*—*i.e.*, Minyeh. Ruins have been found both on the plain, by Robinson (*LBR* 348-358) and Merrill (*E. of Jordan*, 301 f.), who traced a city wall, and on the hill by Schumacher (*ZDPV* 1:394).

On the whole, then, the balance of opinion is in favour of 'Khân Minyeh.' So Robinson, Conder, Henderson

6. Probably (*Pal.* 158 f.), Keim (*Jesus*, Engl. ed., 2:367 f.), Stanley (*SP* 384), G. A. S. **Khân Minyeh.** (*Hist. Geog.* 456 f.), Ewing (in Hastings, *DB*). The site suits the biblical data, is required by the data of Josephus, and has tradition in its favour from the seventh century onward.

G. A. S.

CAPHARSALAMÁ (ΧΑΦΑΡΣΑΛΑΜΑ [ANV]; see [ANV] KAΦ. [ANV] ΦΑΡC. [ANV] ΧΑΦΑΡΣΑΛΑΜΑ [ANV]), the scene of Nicanor's unsuccessful attack upon Judas, 1 Macc. 7:31 (*cp. Jos. Ant.* xii. 104). The name is obviously כפר סלם, which is met with in the Talmud also. Most commentators (Michaelis, Grimm, Keil) seek the site somewhere to the S. of Jerusalem, on the ground that Nicanor's subsequent movements were first to Jerusalem and then farther northwards to Beth-horon. Ewald and Schürer, however, prefer to identify it with the Carva Salim mentioned in a pilgrimage of the year 1065 as near Ramleh and not far from Lydda (Fw. *Hist.* 5:104, Schürer, *GHJ* 1:109 n. 1; *cp. Le Strange, Palest. under Muslims*, 471 f.). In the time of the crusaders 'Capharsalem' is again mentioned as a casale of the Knights Hospitaliers. Mukaddasi's location of it 'in the district of Cesarea on the high road from Ramleh northwards' agrees with the data in 1 Maccabees. In that region we find at the present day a village Selmeḥ 3 m. E. of Joppa and Khirbet es-Suulimiyeh 6 m. farther N. across the 'Aujeh. Kh. Deir Sellâm, 12½ m. W. of Jerusalem and 1 m. S. of the present high road to Joppa, suits the Maccabean, but not the medieval data. The same remark applies to the other Kh. Deir Sellâm 4 m. N. of Jerusalem. Cp also the important W. Selâm up which runs one of the main roads from the Maritime Plain to Jerusalem.

G. A. S.

CAPHENATHA, RV CAPHENATHA (ΧΑΦΕΝΑΘΑ [ANV]), [ANV] [ANV] [ANV] [ANV], but [ANV] [ANV], a locality on the E. of Jerusalem, which Jonathan the Maccabee repaired (*επισκευάσας*), 1 Macc. 12:37. The reading is uncertain, and the etymologising attempts of the older Lightfoot and others (*κρημνῶν*, 'unripe dates', *κρημνῶν*, from silversmiths or some treasure house) are best avoided. Sepp and Furrer (*TLZ*, 1896, col. 470) identify the place with the Tyropœon valley (see JERUSALEM), in which case *επισκευάσας* (*επισκίασας* [V]) will have to be emended.

CAPHIRA (ΚΑΦΙΡΑΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 5:14 = Ezra 2:25, CAPHIRAI.

CAPHTOR (כַּפְתּוֹר) ; Dt. 2:3, Am. 9:7, ΚΑΠΤΙΤΑ-ΔΟΚΙΑC [BAQL], ΚΑΠΤΑ. [F] ; Jer. 47 [C 29] 1, 6, 6B. **1. Not Crete.** ΒΝΑΥ, Α' ΟΥΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΤΑ. [F 6], also occurring in ritual forms **Caphthorim** (כַּפְתּוֹרִים) ; ΚΑΦΘΟΡΕΙΑ [F], 6B, 6C. Gen. 10:14 ΔΑ. [AE] = 1 Ch. 1:8 = AV **Caphthorim**; ΧΑΦΘΟΡ [ANV] ; Dt. 2:3 = AV **Caphthorim**, ΚΑΠΤΙΤΑΔΟΚΕC [BAQL] ; the land and properly the people whence came the Philistines. In Gen. 10:14 (see below) and Dt. 2:3 Caphthorim is a synonym for Philistines. Caphthor is now generally identified with Crete, an important island of which the mention is perhaps to be expected; see GEOGRAPHY.

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1 The words, 'whence came the Philistines,' in Gen. 10:14 should follow 'Caphthorim.' Probably they are a misplaced (incorrect) gloss from the margin.

§ 15 (7). In Jer. 47 it is expressly called an א ('island'?), and the Philistines (?) are sometimes called 'Cherethites.' The Zeus Cretagenes in Gaza may also suggest a connection of the Philistines with Crete. These are Dillmann's arguments. But (1) Crete does not appear to be mentioned in the Assyrian or the Egyptian monuments; (2) the sense of א is not to be limited to 'island' (BD³, 'coast, border, region'); and (3) in Jer. *l.c.* א gives $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\eta\sigma\omega\upsilon$ —i.e., the text which it followed was without 'Caphtor'; and the 'islands' or 'coast-lands' might be the Phoenician colonies (WMM) as for 'Cherethites,' the current explanation, 'Cretans'

(so too א , Pesh.), is very uncertain; cp $\text{אֶרֶץ\ פִּלְשְׁתִּים}$ probably = Pulasati (Purasati), which is the name of one of the tribes of sea-pirates from the coasts of Asia Minor which harassed Egypt under Rameses III. The probability is that אֶרֶץ is a slightly modified form of the name of another such tribe. Now, the tribe which is constantly coupled with the Pu-ra-sa-ti in the Egyptian inscriptions is that of the Ta-k-ka-ra or Ta-ka-ra-y. It is reasonable to infer that אֶרֶץ is a form of Takaray, which was Hebraised in two ways: (1) by placing the first consonant third instead of first (אֶרֶץ , as if = cut off?), and (2) by omitting the first syllable (אֶרֶץ ; but see CARITES). We look to Egyptology, therefore, for light on this problem.

According to Ebers,¹ Caphtor is the Egyptian Kaft-ur, 'Great Kaft.' This scholar held that Kaft was the name current in Egypt, first of all for the populous Phoenician colonies in the Delta, and then, more widely, Phoenicia, for the Phoenicians of Phoenicia and their colonies. Kaft-ur would therefore mean 'Great Phoenicia' (cp Magna Græcia). This view, however, though not without plausible justification, is no longer tenable, as W. M. Müller has fully shown (*As. u. Eur.* 337 ff.).

Keftō is the name of a country, which together with Asi (the Alasia of Am. Tab.)—i.e., Cyprus—represents the western quarter of the world in the age of Thotmes III. No doubt it is Cilicia that is meant; hence in Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, 63, it is mentioned with Mannus (= Mallus, a region of silver mines) as inhabited by the same people. E. Meyer (who himself, however, still inclines to identify Caphtor with Crete) writes thus² of the land of Kaft (*i.e.*, Müller's Keftō):—'The inhabitants of this land, the *Kafti* (formerly wrongly read *Kefta*) carried on a sea trade, and possessed a richly-developed decorative art which is closely related to the Mycenaean. Upon the Egyptian monuments they present throughout, in contrast with the inhabitants of the Phoenician seaports, a wholly non-Semitic type of features, and appear in the inscriptions as a western people outside the pale of the Semitic world. Rightly, therefore, have Pietschmann, Steindorff, and W. M. Müller rejected the equation Kaft = $\phi\omega\nu\iota\kappa\eta$ of the bilingual decree of Canopus and sought for Kaft in Asia Minor, perhaps in Cilicia.'

Now, when we consider that the sea-pirates called Purasati and Takaray are stated to have come from the 'islands' (*i.e.*, coast-lands), it is obvious that, if Purasati (at any rate) has been rightly identified in Hebrew literature, Caphtor, whence the Peliistim (Philistines) came, must be a name for some part of the sea-board of Asia Minor, and we may expect to find its original in the Egyptian inscriptions. That original must surely be Keftō (or Kaft), which appears to have been Hebraised as Caphtor. That Caphtorim should be called a son of Mizraim (Gen. 10¹⁴) is not surprising, for Caphtorim here, as well as in Dt. 23, means, not the people of Caphtor (the coasts of Asia Minor) but the Philistines, who, as Müller has shown, were subject to Egypt in Shishak's time and earlier (cp DAVID, § 7). It is indeed doubtful whether either Amos or the Yahwist (J) can be presumed to have known the true meaning of Caphtor, for

¹ *Äg. u. die BB. Moses*, 130 ff. [68]. So formerly Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* (ib. 130).

² In a special communication for the present work. Cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 347 ff.

as early as the fourteenth century the name Keftō had passed out of general use. As a name for Cilicia it was superseded by Hīlakku (see CILICIA, § 2). Hence the false tradition, identifying Caphtor with Cappadocia, could easily arise, just as another incorrect tradition identifying the Cherethites with the Cretans (on the other side see CHERETHITES) arose. See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 337, 390, to whom this (probably) right explanation of Caphtor is due. That the final τ in Caphtor still needs to be accounted for is admitted.

T. K. C.

CAPPADOCIA (ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ [Ti. WH] Acts 29 1 Pet. 1:17. Cappadocia, from a similarity of sound, was wrongly identified by the translators of א with CAPHTOR (see readings in previous article). It is allowable, however, to find it in the Gomer (see GEOGRAPHY, § 20, 1) of Gen. 10²; certainly the region called Gimir by the Assyrians was in or near Cappadocia. A still older name for Cappadocia seems to have been Tabal (see TUBAL); the Tabalæans were scattered abroad on the invasion of their lands by the Gimirai. The connection of Cappadocia with the early Hittites can only be mentioned here (see HITTITES).

Cappadocia is mentioned twice in the NT: Cappadocian Jews listened to Peter's sermon (Acts 29), and his first epistle is addressed to Christian residents in the province (1 Pet. 1:1). Jews must early have found their way into this part of Asia Minor, which is intersected by the commercial highways leading to Amisus on the Euxine and to Ephesus on the Ægean.

Strabo (534) sketches the area included under the name of Cappadocia. In the earliest times it embraced the entire neck of the Anatolian peninsula. Subsequently it was split up into the two independent monarchies of Cappadocia Proper ($\eta\ \pi\rho\sigma\ \tau\omega\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega$, $\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$) and Pontus ($\eta\ \pi\rho\sigma\ \tau\omega\ \Pi\omicron\tau\omega\upsilon\ \text{K.}$), separated from each other by the broad irregular elevation of the *Tchamli Bel* and *Ak Dagh* (Strabo, 540; Rams. *Hist. Geogr.* 315). In the south the *Pylæ Cilicæ* and the ridge of Taurus marked the frontier against Cilicia. Lake Tatta was part of the western boundary. In the SW. Cappadocia merged into the vast level plains of Lycaonia and South Galatia; eastwards it extended to the Euphrates. The frontier varied greatly, however, at different epochs, especially towards the N. and the E. Cappadocia is a cold elevated table-land, intersected by mountains, deficient in timber, but excellent for grain and grazing (Str. 73, 539). Its chief export seems to have been slaves (Hor. *Ep.* i. 639; *Mancipii locuples eget aris Cappadocum rex*); but they were not of much account (Cic. *Post. Red.* 614). Red ochre ($\Sigma\iota\omega\mu\alpha\kappa\eta\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$; Str. 540) of good quality was exported: the emporium was Ephesus—not Tarsus, as we might have expected. Several monarchs of Cappadocia Proper bore the name Ariarathes (cp 1 Macc. 15:22). Its last king, Archelaus, was deposed by Tiberius, who reduced the country to the form of a province, in 17 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 242; Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 46).

In Imperial times the Cappadocian roads fall into three groups:—(1) those on the north, and (2) those on the south, of the river Halys, in both cases leading eastwards to the fords of the upper Euphrates; (3) transverse roads leading northwards from the Cilician Gates: one of the chief among these was that which afterwards became the pilgrims' route to the Holy Land (Rams. *op. cit.* 255). The capital, Mazaca (Μάζακα , from Mosoch, the ancestor of the Cappadocians; Jos. *Ant.* i. 61, Gen. 10:2), occupied a central position actually upon the Euphrates trade-route, at the northern foot of Mt. Argæus. It was re-founded by Claudius, who gave it the name *Cæsarea*, about 41 A.D. Because of the strength of the new religion in it, Julian expelled it from the list of cities. By his time the whole town had been christianized ($\text{π\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma}$) and its great temples of Zeus Polichus and Apollo Patroüs had long been destroyed (Sozom. *HE* 5:4; Rams. *op. cit.* 303). This is the more remarkable as southern Cappadocia was the stronghold of the worship of Ma (Enyo), whose priest rivalled the king himself in power (Str. 535). At the time of Strabo's visit the Hieroduli of the temple numbered over six thousand, and

CARCHEMISH

goddess ATARGATIS (*q.v.*). G. Smith's words are (see Del. *Par.* 266 *f.*), 'Grand site [;] vast walls and palace-mounds 8000 feet round [;] many sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions [;] site of Karchemesh.' Some of the sculptures and inscriptions are now in the British Museum. The ruins extend half a mile from N. to S. by a quarter of a mile from W. to E. (Pococke, *l.c.*).

Carchemish was the northern capital of the Hittite empire, the Assyrian *mât* Hatti, clearly a great trade centre, and seems to have been a fortress-city commanding the principal ford of the Euphrates on the trade route from the Mesopotamian plains into Syria. As the mounds lie between Berejik and the junction of the *Sājūr* with the Euphrates, it is certain that a strong force at Carchemish could block the route of an Egyptian army into Assyria. About 1600 B.C. the army of Thotmes III. had to meet the people of Ka-ri-ka-mai(?)-ša (WMM, *Asien*, 263); and the Egyptian captain Amenemhê took some of the inhabitants prisoner. Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1100 B.C.) says that he defeated and plundered people belonging to the city of Carchemish, and when the rest fled and crossed the Euphrates he sent his troops across on floats of inflated skins and burnt six cities at the foot of Mount Biširi (*KB* 132, *l.* 49 *ff.*). It is clear that his victory did not give command of the ford and that he did not take the city itself. Ašur-nāsir-pal (*circa* 880 B.C.) received from Sangara, king of (*mât* Hatti) the Hittites, in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, tribute, the magnitude and variety of which attest the wealth and prosperity of the land (*KB* 116, *l.* 65 *ff.*). Shalmaneser II. about 858 B.C. defeated an alliance of Sangara with his neighbours and received an enormous tribute from him (*KB* 162, *l.* 27 *ff.*). On the bronze gates of Balawât a picture of the fortress is twice given in relief. Sargon II. in 717 B.C. actually captured the city, took its king Pisiris prisoner, deported its people, and settled Assyrians in it (*KB* 238, *ll.* 10, 22; *Wi. Sarg.*, *passim*). From this time it was the capital of a regular province of Assyria, and had its own *saknu* or governor, who took his place among the Eponyms (692 B.C.). A strong proof of its commercial importance is afforded by the fact that by far the most common unit of monetary value in Assyria down to the last was the *maneh* of Carchemish. On the battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C., see EGYPT, § 68; ISRAEL, § 40.

2. History.

See FORTY HITTITES, and cp MASPERO, *Le Car-hemis oppidi sita*, etc., *Struggle of Nations*, 144 *f.*; Schr. *KGF* (78), p. 221 *f.*; G. Hoffmann, *Achaenid. F. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* (D. M. G.), vii. no. 3, p. 161; Del. *Par.* 265-268; Wright, *PSBA*, 1880-81, pp. 57 *f.*; Menant, *Kar-Kamis, sa position*, etc., 157 *f.*

C. H. W. J.

CAREAH (ΚΑΡΘΗ [BA]) 2 K. 25-23. AV. RV KAREAH.

CARIA (ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ) [NV], τ. -ΙΔΔ [A], the southern part of the Roman province of Asia, mentioned as one of the countries to which a Roman note in favour of the Jews was sent in 139 B.C. (1 Macc. 15:23); see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9. At that date Caria was autonomous. Previously the greater portion had been assigned to Rhodes (in 189 B.C.), but after the war with Perseus (168 B.C., cp 1 Macc. 8:5 Pol. 30:5) it was declared free. After 129 B.C. Caria was part of the province of Asia (Cic. *Pro Flac.* 65). Jews were settled in many Carian towns—Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Myndus, Miletus—and in the islands off the coast—Cos, Rhodes, etc.

W. J. W.

CARITES (ΚΑΡΙΤΗ) used thrice in RV of the royal body-guard, 2 K. 11:4, 19 (AV CAPTAINS; ΤΟΝ ΧΟΡΡ[ε] [BAL], ΧΟΡΕΙ [A v. 19] and 2 S. 20:23 mg. (so Kt., Kr. *EV* *CHERETHITES* [*q.v.*], ΧΕΛΕΘΘΕΙ [B], ΧΕΡΕ. [A], ΤΟΥ ΠΛΙΝΘΙΟΥ [L, see BENAIAH]). Perhaps the Carians, the famous mercenary folk (cp. e.g., Herod. 2:152), are meant (see Dr. *ad loc.*, CARIA, above, and cp *CHERETHITES*). Even so, we must not infer a real

CARMEL

acquaintance with the western part of Asia Minor. The name may have meant little more than foreigners. (For another view see CAPHTOR, § 2.) F. B.

CARMANIANS. RV *Carmonians* (*Carmonii* [ed. Bently], -*mini* [A*], -*ne* [A**]), for which some MSS read Armenii, on the principle of substituting the unknown for the known, a people, mentioned in the 'vision horrible' (4 Esd. 15:30), who were to go forth 'as the wild boars of the wood' and 'waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians with their teeth' (so RV); see SWINE. They are probably the inhabitants of Kermân a province on the N. shore of the Persian gulf, lying to the W. of Gedrosia. Kerman is now the name of a province in the SE. of Persia.

In language and customs they were akin to the Persians. They were not unknown to ancient classical authors (e.g., Nearchus, *Arrian Ind.* 38; Strabo, 15:727, the latter of whom gives a very gruesome account of some of their cruelties).

The events hinted at in the vision probably refer to the conquests of the Sassanides, more especially of Shápūr or Sapor I. (242-273 A.D.), and to their expeditions against Valerian (258 A.D.) and other generals. We may thus see in the wasting of a 'portion of the land of the Assyrians' (v. 30) Sapor's expedition towards the NW. where he overran Syria and destroyed Antioch. The dragons of Arabia (v. 29; cp the 'fiery flying serpents' of 1:30:6) would then be the Arabian forces of Odenathus and Zenobia, who drove him back beyond the Euphrates; and the retaliation described in v. 33 would refer to the repulse of the Palmyrene troops, their dislodgment from the banks of the Orontes, and the fall of Zenobia at the hands of Aurelian (272 A.D.).

See ESDRAS, FOURTH BOOK OF, § 5 (B). [For the history of this period cp WRS, 'Palmyra,' and No. 'Persia,' *EB* (B).]

CARME (ΧΑΡΜΗ [BA]) 1 Esd. 5:25, AV = Ezra 2:29 HARIM, I.

CARMEL (הַר הַכַּרְמֶל or הַר הַקָּרְמֶל—i.e., 'the garden-land'; ΚΑΡΜΗΛΟΣ [BAL]). I. (Sometimes also הַר הַקָּרְמֶל.

1. Name and position. Carmel, which is properly a common noun meaning a plantation of choice trees (cp Span. *carmen*), is employed both with and (Josh. 19:26 Jer. 46:18 Nah. 1:4) without the article as the proper name of a mountain. The reference is to the richly wooded character which Mt. Carmel had anciently and possesses still in a large degree (cp 'The Black Forest').

It is convenient to distinguish three separate applications of the name: (1) as denoting the range of hills extending for some 12 or 13 miles from the sea coast in the NW. to the W. el-Milh in the SE.; (2) as including also the farther prolongation (called er-Rujah) of this range for other 12 or 13 miles in a south-easterly direction, as far as to the neighbourhood of Jenin; (3) as designating the promontory or headland in which the range ends at its northern extremity, leaving only a narrow passage between the mountain and the sea. The range and the promontory combine to form a striking feature in the configuration of Palestine. The symmetrical arrangement by which the country as a whole falls into longitudinal sections, running north and south, distinguished as the littoral zone, the hill-country, and the zone of the Ghôr (see PALESTINE, § 6 *f.*), is broken by Carmel alone, intruding into the Mediterranean plain, and interrupting the continuity of the mountain zone so as to form the plain of Jezreel. Topographically it is thus important; and, though Carmel is not often expressly named, the presence of this natural barrier and the adjoining plain had a considerable influence on the course of immigrations or invasions from the time of the Philistines and Pharaoh Necho down to that of Bonaparte.

The eastern slope of Carmel falls sharply towards the plain of Esdraelon; but westward its declivity

towards the Mediterranean is gentle. On this side its configuration presents a series of divergent buttresses separated by valleys and opening up like a fan towards the coast. This western region, properly, belongs to the *massif* of Carmel, and Conder says, quite rightly, 'Carmel is best described as a triangular block of mountains.' From the summit of the main range and, indeed, from almost every point along the ridge extensive views to south and north are obtained, and Carmel in turn is visible and conspicuous from a great variety of distant points. The range reaches a maximum elevation of 1810 feet a little to the south of the village of Esfīyah.

Geologically it is a mountain and tuffaceous limestone, containing fossil ammonites and 'genioles'—i.e., silicious concretions known as *stragelones* or 'wildly-convoluted heads', called by the ancient pilgrims *betulae marini* or Elijah's melons (Loret, *Le Sinaï et le Liban*, 192). There are many caves, and some volcanic rocks. The fauna includes the roebuck, the leopard, and the wild cat. The flora, which is luxuriant, is wholly wild. The most common trees are the pine, oak, lentisk, carob, olive; traces of modern agriculture are confined mainly to the neighbourhood of the villages and of the sea-coast. It was otherwise in ancient times, as is shown by the very name (above, § 1). At various points in the range ancient wine and oil presses have been discovered, and traces of Roman roads have been pointed out to the present writer by Dr. Schumacher.

There is every ground for believing that formerly Carmel was covered much more luxuriantly than it is now. Hence the comparison in Cant. 7: § [cf. *time-honoured* is like Carmel?], and the allusion to the 'splendour of Carmel' in Is. 35: 2. Its prominence is referred to in Jer. 46: 18, where it is said that the king of Babylon will come 'like Tabor among the mountains and like Carmel by the sea.' In conjunction with Sharon, Lebanon, and Heshan, Carmel serves as a type for a land that has been singularly blessed by God (Jer. 50: 10 Mic. 7: 14). The devastation of Carmel implies the severest chastisement for Israel (Is. 33: 9 Jer. 42: 6 Am. 1: 2 Nah. 1: 4). Its thick woods offered shelter to the fugitive, as Amos (9: 3) indicates in an allusion that admits of explanation without supposing that the mountain was held to give protection against Yahwé (for the *idea* cp Ps. 139: 7-12). The passages which assign to Elisha an abode on Carmel do not necessarily mean that he was compelled to seek an asylum there (2 K. 2: 25 4: 25). In the time of Strabo Carmel was still a place of refuge for the persecuted (16: 750).

We cannot say with certainty to which tribe Carmel belonged.

The one reference in this connection (Josh. 19: 26) in the delimitation of Asher is somewhat enigmatical (see ASHER, § 3), and in any case can relate only to the extreme headland. The tribes of Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun must all have touched on Carmel. Doubtless the tribal limits varied from age to age, and there must have been periods of Phœnician ascendancy.

In later times Carmel belonged now to Samaria, now to Galilee, sometimes even to the province of Tyre.

In Ahab's time it certainly formed part of the dominions of that monarch, and it became the scene of the memorable contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal.

Tradition places the scene, and the altar of Yahwé which Elijah repaired, at a point called El-Mohraka ('place of burning'), where there is a Roman Catholic sanctuary 1700 feet above the sea-level, two hours south of Esfīyah. Beneath this spot, at the base of the mountain, near the Kīshan, there is a hillock, the so-called Tell-el-Kassis ('hill of the priest,' not 'of the priests'), which is pointed to—but, of course, with no historical certainty—as the place where the prophets of Baal were put to death.

There are no data for fixing the scene of 1 K. 18 in one locality more than another, and *vv.* 41-46 leave us as much in the dark as the rest of the narrative. Some interpreters take the 'mountain' in 2 K. 1: 9-15 to be Carmel; but it is natural to look for it somewhere on the road between Samaria and Ekron. It has also been supposed to be intended in Dt. 33: 19 ('Issachar and Zebulun . . . shall call the peoples unto the mountain'); but 'what mountain is meant is quite indeterminate. There may have been more than one mountain sanctuary in Zebulun and Issachar; and the reference may be to these generally' (Dr. *ad loc.*).

Carmel had a widespread reputation for sanctity. Thotmes III. has been quoted as a witness. Maspero, in fact, thinks that he can recognize the 'holy headland' (1875 207) of Carmel in the name Ru-ṣa-kdš, no. 48 in the Palestinian place-list of Thotmes III. (*RPP* 5: 47); but this is uncertain.¹

Jacobson (*U. v. P. 38*) assumes that Pythagoras was born on Carmel. Tacitus (*Hist.* 2: 51) speaks of it as a place consecrated by the presence of an oracle, beside an altar that was undared by any image of the deity. Suetonius (*V. esp.* 5) relates that Vespasian sacrificed at this spot, and heard from the prophet of his greatness. Among

6. Later times. Mahomedans the memory of Elijah is indissolubly associated with Carmel, which the Arabs to this day call Jebel Mār Elyās, Mount St. Elias, where they have set up wells and mosques in his honour.

Still greater has its importance been in the Christian world. Many anchorites established themselves there from the earliest times. In 1156 St. Berthold of Calabria founded the order of Carmelites and built their first monastery at the north-western extremity of the range near 'Elijah's grotto.'

In 1252 the monastery was visited by St. Louis (Louis IX.) of France, who is sometimes, but wrongly, represented as its founder. Dedicated to 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel,' it has had a very chequered history. The Carmelites were often persecuted; and their house was destroyed or turned into a mosque. In 1799 it was used as a hospital for the sick and wounded of Napoleon's army. In 1821 it was destroyed by Abdallah-pasha; but a Carmelite friar, Giovanni Battista di Frascati, successfully undertook to collect funds for its restoration. The present building, 560 feet above the sea-level, is due to his efforts; by its side stands a lighthouse. 'Elijah's grotto' forms the crypt of the church; another grotto near, which formerly belonged to the Christians but has now been taken by the Moslems, is represented as having harboured a school of the prophets in Elijah's time, and as having given shelter to the Holy Family on their return from Egypt.

A little way above the monastery, on the crest of the hill, a large sanatorium (*Luftkurhaus*) has been built by the German colony in Haifa.

These colonists pursue agriculture on the slopes of Mount Carmel, and, by their success in vine-culture especially, have demonstrated the possibility of bringing back to the scene of their labours some portion of its ancient prosperity.

Besides papers in *PEFQ*, see especially v. Schubert, *Reise in das Libanonland*, 3: 200-201. Gauthier, *Recherches archéologiques*, 2: 249-252, 266-272. Fillion, *Recherches archéologiques*.

6. Literature. *Durch das heil. Land* 2: 317-320; Conder, *Excavations*, 1: 108-110, 117-120; L. Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte* 2: 227-248. LU. G.

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15: 55) (χαρμείλ [BAL]), the scene of incidents in the life of Saul (1 S. 15: 12) and David (1 S. 25: 2 ff.).² The gentile name Carmelite (καρμηλίτης), is applied to David's wife ABIGAIL (q.v., 1) (2 S. 22 καρμηλιετων [A], etc.) and to HEZRO (1 Ch. 11: 37). The town is mentioned (Χερμαλα, ἡ ἀνωμαρμείλ) in Jos. and Jer. (1 S. 110: 1272 2: 6) as situated 10 m. from Hebron, and as having a Roman garrison. It is the modern *Karmal*, 2887 ft. above the sea-level, about 8 R.m. SE. from Hebron (according to Robinson, who thinks Eusebius and Jerome have exaggerated the distance; see also Palestine Survey map, sheet xxiv.). Robinson speaks of the ruins as 'extensive'; the principal ruin is that of the castle, which he assigns to Herod or the Romans, but Conder to 12th century A.D. The site is upon the edge of the wilderness of Judaea; but to the west the land is broad and fertile, not unlike scenes of upland agriculture in Scotland. The name Carmel is therefore suitable. There are many remains of vineyard terraces, and a reservoir.

G. A. S.

CARMİ (כַּרְמִי, § 70; χαρμείλ) [BAPM], apparently shortened from Beth-hac-cerem² or Beth-hac-carmi [see TAHCHEMONITE], and note in Josh. 15: 59 the name Carem (καρεμ [BAL]).

¹ More precisely, Maspero places the town of Rosh Kodshu on the slope of the promontory (*Struggle of the Nations*, 1: 36; 2: 1, 189, p. 55). W. M. Miller (*Exc. in Tur.* 165) however, points out that the grouping of the names proves that Ru-ṣa-kdš cannot have been far from Carmel.

² Carmel ought also to be read for Raehal in 1 S. 30: 29; so see RAHEAL.

³ In that case it cannot be compared with the Nab. n. p. כַּרְמִי.

1. Father of **ACHAN** (ג. א.): Josh. 7:18 [B om.]; Ch. 2:74. In 1 Ch. 4:1 Carmi, elsewhere called son of Zaleli (or 1 Ch. 2:6 of Zimri), is made son of Judah; but we should rather read **CHELEBATH** (cp 2:9) with We.
2. b. Reuben, supposed ancestor of the **Garmites** (הרמית), Gen. 46:9 Ex. 6:14 Nu. 26:6 1 Ch. 5:31.

CARMONIANS (*Carmonii* [ed. Bensly]), 4 Esd. 15:39, AV **CARMANIANS**.

CARNAIM (καρναϊν [ANV]), 1 Macc. 5:43 f.; and **Carnion** (καρνιον [AV]), 2 Macc. 12:21. See **ASH-TAROTH**.

CAROB TREE (το κεράτιον [Ti. WH]), Lk. 15:16 RV^{mg}. See **HUSKS**.

CARPENTER (כרמיץ [Ti. WH]), 2 Sam. 5:11; ΤΕΚΤΩΝ, Mt. 13:55. See **HANDICRAFTS**, § 2.

CARPUS (καρπος [Ti. WH]) appears to have been Paul's host at Troas; it was with him that the apostle left the cloak and books mentioned in 2 Tim. 4:13. He is named in the lists of 'the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (see **DISCIPLE**, § 3) as bishop of Berea in Thrace.

CARRIAGE. This English word, which has elsewhere in EV, with various special applications as indicated by the context, the obsolete sense of 'something carried,' is found in the sense of 'vehicle' in Lev. 15:9, RV^{mg} (see **SADDLE**), and perhaps in 1 S. 17:20 2 S. 7, AV^{mg} (see **CAMP**, § 1, **WAR**).

CARSHENA (כרשנין) in Esth. 1:14 MT, one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus. ⚡'s equivalent seems to be ἀρκεσσιος [B⁹⁷ = A, L, B], -σσιος [S*], whence Marq. (*Fund.* 67) would restore ἠρκεσση; cp O. Pers. *warkašāna*, 'wolfish.' See **ADMATHA**.

CART (כריה) 1 S. 6:7. See **CHARIOT**, § 2.

CARVING, CARVED WORK. See **HANDICRAFTS**.

CASEMENT (כסמית), Prov. 7:6, RV **LATTICE** (§ 2 (2)).

CASIPHIA (כספיה). An unknown place, near **ATHANA** and **Babylon**, whence **Ezra** obtained **IDDŌ** (i.), the chief man there, and his brethren¹ the **Nethinim**, **Ezra** 8:17 (Μασφει του τόπου [L]) = 1 Esd. 8:45 [47] (see below).

The other renderings are based on the connection of כסף with כסף 'silver, money,' **Ezra** 8:17 (ἀργυριον του τόπου [BA]) = 1 Esd. 8:45 [47], EV 'the place of the treasury' (τῶ τόπου [τῶ] γοσφούλακτον [L, A]), τ. τ. τω κτω [L], . . . τοῖς ἐν τ. τ. γοσφούλακτον [BAL]). It is perhaps possible that this place was no town, but merely a college, or a locality where Levites were educated (cp **Be.-Ry. Ezr.** ad loc.).

CASLEU (χαελεϋ [AN^a]) 1 Macc. 1:54 AV. See **CHINLEU**.

CASLUHIM (כסלחיים), Gen. 10:14 1 Ch. 1:12†. See **GEOGRAPHY**, § 15 (3).

CASPHOR, in 1 Macc. 5:36 AV **Casphon** (χαεφωων [N]: κα [V]; χαεφωων [L]), but in τ. 26 **καεφωωρ** [AN^a], και καεφω [V], **καεφω** [S*]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 83, **χαεφωμακν**, etc., where **μακν** is the name **Maked**, a town of **Gilead** (see under **BOSOR**), taken by **Judas** the **Maccabee** in his campaign beyond **Jordan** (1 Macc. 5:36). It is doubtless the same as the **Caspis**, RV **Caspin** (see **GEPHYRUM**), of 2 Macc. 12:13 (καεπ[ε]ιν [VA], *Κασπα* [Syr.]), a fortress described as strong and fenced about with walls and near a lake 2 stadia broad. These data suit the present el-Muzeirib, the great station on the **Hajj** road, which is not identified with any other OT name (but see **ASHTAROTH**, § 2), and in antiquity must have been a place of importance: its ancient name has not been recovered.

The identification of **Casphon** with **Khisfin** (see **FURRER**, in **Riehm's HWB** 1834 f.) is philologically improbable, and has no

¹ For יחם ('to his brother,' we must read יחם, 'and (to) his brethren,' with Vg. and § 1 Esd. ⚡^{HAL}.

special recommendation. With **Khisfin** cp **Talm. Hasfiya**. On **Muzeirib** see **Schumacher, Across Jordan**, 157 ff. There is another large lake, *el Khab*, 16 m. N. of **Muzeirib**. G. A. S.

CASSIA represents two Hebrew words. קרה (Ex. 30:24 Ezek. 27:19†) appears, along with myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and olive oil, as an ingredient of the holy anointing oil. It is mentioned, along with bright iron and calamus, among the wares brought into the **Tyrian** market. The origin of the word is unknown, nor is it found in any of the cognate languages: some have thought that it reappears in the *κισσά* spoken of by **Dioscorides** (1:12) as one species of **cassia**.

⚡^{BAPL} renders קרה in Ex. 30:24, where *κασσία*, *βυλαλόη*, and *κόστος* are mentioned in other MSS as alternative renderings: in Ezek. 27:19, where ⚡^{HWG} omits, *Αἴ. ἄλ. ἠσπαρίον*, *Sym. σταρέη*, and *Theod. καίδη*. *Pesh.* and *Targ.* identify it with the קרעץ or 'cassia' of Ps. 45:5 (see below).

Scholars are agreed that probably what is intended is some kind of **cassia**.

Celsius (2:186) notices the mention in *Mish. A'ul.* i. § 8 of קרה לבנה, 'white cassia,' as cultivated in **Palestine**; but this, according to **Low** (349), must have been quite a different plant.

2. קרעץ Ps. 45:5 (L), the word which passed into Greek as *κασία*¹ and thence into other languages, is almost certainly a derivative of the root קצץ (= Ar. *kaḏa'a*), to 'scrape'—'properly' to reduce to fine dust' (*WRS* in *J. Phil.* 1671 f.). A 'powdered fragrant bark' is thus indicated. The word is too general to allow of certain identification with any particular species; but probably what is intended is something akin to the modern 'cassia bark' (i.e., the bark of other kinds of *Cinnamomum* than that which yields the true cinnamon). The use of the Heb. plural to denote a substance of this kind is natural.² The word in the singular is found as a female name; see **KEZIAH**.

Fl. and **Hamb., Pharm.** ⚡¹⁰ s19, say: 'That cinnamon and cassia were extremely analogous is proved by the remark of **Galen**, that the finest cassia differs so little from the lowest quality of cinnamon that the first may be used for the second, provided a double weight of it be used.'

A very probable source of cassia is *Cinnamomum iners*, Bl. The *Pharmacopoeia indica* says: 'May be used as a substitute for Cinnamon, to which it can hardly be reckoned inferior.' *C. iners* occurs in S. India and throughout the **Malayan** region. It yielded the 'cassia bark' once so largely exported from **N. Canara**. See **CINNAMON**. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CASTANETS (כסננין), 2 S. 6:5† RV. See **MUSIC**, § 3 (3).

CASTLE. Two buildings are distinguished in **AV** by this title: (1) the 'city [rather, citadel] of **David**' in 1 Ch. 11:5 (כסנניה) 7 (כסנר), where **RV** harmonizes with 2 S. 5:7 by rendering 'strong hold,' and (2) the barracks (lit. camp) attached to the fort **Antonia** (Acts 21:34 37; *παρεμβολή*). See **JERUSALEM, TEMPLE**.

3. **RV** also gives the title to the *birāh* (כסנר) of **Susa** (AV 'palace'). See **PALACE, SHUSHAN**; also **FORTRESS, TOWER**.

4. The word is also used in **AV**, quite wrongly, for כסנר *frāh*, which is rather a nomad 'encampment' (to **RV**), Gen. 25:16 etc. (distinguished from כסנר, 'villages'). See **CAMP**, § 1, **CATTLE**, § 1 D.

CASTOR AND POLLUX. RV **The Twin Brothers** (Διοσκουρῶν [Ti. WH]); so **RV^{mc}**: 'Dioscuri', the sign (*παρασημον*) of the Alexandrian ship in which **Paul** sailed from **Melita** to **Puteoli** (Acts 28:11). **Castor** and **Pollux**, the sons of **Zeus** and **Leda** and brothers of **Helen**, appear in heaven as the constellation **Gemini**.³ See **STARS**, § 3 f. They were the tutelary deities of sailors, and (it may be interesting to note) were held in especial veneration in the district of **Cyrene**, near **Alexandria** (*Schol. Pind. Pylh.* 56). **Catullus** (427)

¹ The spelling with one *s* is correct in Greek and Latin (*Lag. Mitheil.* 2:357).

² For קרעץ Herz and Che. (*Ps.* ⚡) would read קרעץ, 'are shed.'

³ A longer form is *διωσκουριάδης* (only in plur.), 2 Ch. 17:12 27:4 (compare with *μεγαλιθίμ*, 'towers').

⁴ On their mythological forms see more fully *EB* ⚡²⁷, and *Roscher* s.v. 'Dioskuren.'

speaks of a boat dedicated to the same deities, and for other examples of names of ships see Smith's *Class. Dict.*, s.v. 'Insigne.' It is probable that images of Castor and Pollux were fixed at the bow of Paul's ship, since it was customary for a ship to carry at the bow a representation of the sign which furnished the name (the *insigne*), and at the stern a representation of the tutelary deity (the *tutela*). Herod. (8.37) makes reference to the *Pataikoi* (origin doubtful), figures of hideous muscular dwarfs which the Phoenicians stuck up on the bows of their galleys (cp PHENICIA, and see Perr. Chip. *Phæn.* 217 f., and note the illustration of such a galley, *ib.* 19).

CAT. Cats (EV) or rather WILD CATS (αἰλουροί)—for the context requires us to take αἰλ. in this sense—are mentioned in the 'Epistle of Jeremy' (Bar. 6.22) with bats, swallows, and birds, which alight upon the bodies and heads of idols. Wild cats (קִטָּה) are recognised by the Tg. of Is. 13.22 (for קִטָּה, see JACKAL) 34.14 (for קִטָּה, see JACKAL [4]), but not of Hos. 9.6 (where 'קִטָּה is a faulty reading for קִטָּה, 'thistles'). We must not infer from the lateness of these words that it was only at a late date that the Israelites became acquainted with wild cats. They no doubt knew the *felis maniculata* (the original of our own domestic cat), which to-day is very common on the E. of Jordan (though it is scarce on the W. side), and is found, indeed, throughout Africa, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine (Tristram).

We need not wonder that no reference is made in the OT to the domestic cat. The Egyptians themselves had probably tamed the wild cat only to a certain extent; it accompanies the fowler on his expeditions (see woodcuts in Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1236 f.). The stories of Herodotus (2.66) are absurd. Basti, the goddess of Bubastus, was 'a cat of a *tygris*' (Maspero).

The rendering 'wild cats' in Tg. of Is. (see above) is not adopted by modern translators. All that we can be sure of is that the writers of the descriptions referred to had in view some definite wild animals. Wolves, hyenas, jackals, and wild cats (including 'martens') were in their minds; but it is not easy to distribute them among the various Hebrew terms. Many commentators, after Bochart (*Hieroz.* 862), give 'wild cat' for Heb. קִטָּה (Is. 13.21 34.14 Jer. 50.39 Ps. 74.14 [text doubted]). Certainly EV's 'wild beasts of the desert' (as if from קִטָּה) is inappropriate; the etymology assumed also is very doubtful. The ancient versions are inconsistent, and the Heb. writers would not have condemned them. See JACKAL, WOLF.

T. K. C.

CATECHISE (קָטַח) Prov. 22.6 AV^{mg.}; EV 'train up,' with which cp Lk. 14 mg., 'the things which thou wast taught (κατηχήθης) by word of mouth'; Acts 18.25 mg. 'taught by word of mouth (κατηχήσεν) in the way of the Lord.' That oral instruction is meant by *κατηχέω* is undeniable; cp Jos. *Vit.* 65, 'when thou meetest me, καὶ αὐτὸς σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω, 'I will inform thee of many things.'

The Revisers of the OT seem to have thought that such a peculiar word as קָטַח may have had a technical meaning such as *κατηχέω* at length acquired. In MH a derivative of קָטַח (קָטַח) means the 'gradual introduction of children into religious practice': e.g., 'Wherein consists the child's training (קָטַח), *Yoma* 82a, with reference to the fasting on the Day of Atonement. Certainly the word קָטַח elsewhere always has a technical meaning. It seems to mean religious initiation or dedication, whether of a person (so perhaps קָטַח Gen. 14.14) or of a building (see DEDICATE; cp קָטַח, Enoch). The first part of Prov. 1.6 is very obscure, and probably corrupt (see Che. *Exp.* 7. Sept. 2899). Oral instruction there doubtless was in the post-exilic period to which Proverbs seems to belong (see EDUCATION, § 1); but קָטַח is not one of the technical words of the wise men for communicating instruction.

CATERPILLER (קָטָן), Ps. 105.34, etc., AV, RV CANKERWORM, see LOCUST, § 2 (6), and (קָטָן) 1 K. 8.37, etc. EV, see LOCUST, § 2 (9).

CATHUA (ΚΟΥΑ [B], ΚΑΘΟΥΑ [A], ΓΕΔΗΛΑ? [I.]), a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 9) 1 Esd. 5.30, unmentioned in || Ezra 2.47 Neh. 7.49, unless the name may be identified with GAHAR (גַּחַר for גַּחַר?), or perhaps with GIDDEL [גִּדֵּל?].

CATTLE¹ The nomad origin of the Semites is plain from the fact that numerous words relating to the life of nomads (e.g., ox, sheep, etc.) are common to all the dialects. In the case of the b'ne Israel, not only idioms and figures of speech, but also old traditional names and even direct statements, confirm the view, which is in itself highly probable. Note, for example, the name RACHEL, 'the ewe' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 311), and the description of Abram as a 'nomad Aramaean' (מְרֵא מִדְּמֵי Dt. 26.5). A still earlier ancestor, JABAL (the name is again significant), is called the 'father'—i.e., founder—of nomadic life (Gen. 4.20; cp CAINITES, § 11).

It is important at the outset to bear in mind the difference between nomads ('tent-dwellers,' Gen. 1.2) and those who have settled down as agriculturists. Of the constantly recurring struggle between these two classes a vivid picture is presented in the narrative of Zeeb and Zalmunna (Judg. 8), chiefs of the Midianites, a people which, as depicted in the OT, may serve as a good illustration of the nomad class. The difference between the two classes may not be complete; for traces of nomadic origin will continue to be visible, even after the shepherd's tower, or the cattle kraal, with its nucleus of tents,² has developed by successive stages into the fortified city (עִיר סְבָעָר; see 2 K. 17.9 18.8 and cp Benz. *HA* 125 f.). It is equally important to remember that the state of civilisation of a settled people is not readily assimilated by those on a lower grade. The importance of this in its bearing on the early history of Israel can hardly be exaggerated³; with the b'ne Israel the transition from the nomadic to the settled state was a long process. The compilers and expanders of the patriarchal legends shrink from representing their heroes as pure nomads: they feel that, if so represented, these heroes would be grossly inadequate types of their far-off descendants. We have, however, evidence that the later Israelites had, in the more northern parts of their own land, representatives of the old nomadic life in all its simplicity (see RECHABITES).

The words commonly employed in Hebrew to denote cattle in general are:

1. מִקְנֵה, *mikneh* (cp מִקְנֵה, 'property'), EV usually 'cattle' (so מִקְנֵה, 'nomads,' Gen. 46.32), a term denoting 'possession,' comprising, therefore, the things which are the usual and almost essential property of nomads. It is used, accordingly, in a much wider sense than מִשׁ (EV 'flock'; but AV 'cattle,' Gen. 80.40 etc.), which denotes the small cattle, sheep, and goats, or sheep alone (cp 1 S. 25.2). *Mikneh* does not include, however, servants; nor, as a rule, horses or asses (but see Ex. 9.3 Job 1.2).
2. בְּהֵמָה, *bēhēmā*, *bēhēmā*, includes all the larger domestic animals: in Noh. 2.14 it means a saddle-animal. It is usually contrasted with man, wild beasts (בְּהֵמָה, birds, and crawling things (cp Ps. 148.10). The word is not, however, free from vagueness, as it may be applied to wild animals, and even (in plur. form) to an imaginary animal (see BENEKOTH, §§ 1, 2).
3. בְּיָר, *bē'ir*, *bē'ir*, *bē'ir* ('cattle' Nu. 20.4 Ps. 78.48), 'beast,' used

¹ In the present article will be found what requires to be said about large cattle. Small cattle also are included in treating of pasturing, tending, breeding, etc.; but their species and Hebrew names will be considered under SHEEP and GOAT.

² מִקְנֵה, properly the circular encampment of nomadic tribes: cp Gen. 25.16 Enoch 25.4.

³ Hommel (*AHT* 208) remarks on the resistance to Babylonian civilisation displayed by the nomad Aramaean tribes mentioned in the Ass. inscriptions of the eighth and the seventh centuries. Strong historical evidence would have to be shown to justify the conclusion that the Israelite nomads were essentially different from these.

of beasts of burden (Gen. 45:17; cp 44:3, 13) and of cattle generally. The Ar. *ba'irān* is used of both the camel and the ass.

4. מְלִיכָה, *mēlīkāh* 'property' (cp Ex. 22:7 [6], 10 [5]), used of cattle in Gen. 8:14 and, as including them, in 1 S. 15:9.

5. מִיֵּן, *mīyēn* 'fat cattle', 1 K. 1:9 (RV fattening, cp *μύθος σιτιστός*); generally used with *מִיֵּן* or 'cattle' in Is. 43:23 Ezek. 34:17; is the *nom. unitatis* to *מִיֵּן*, see *SUBJECT*.

6. זֶהָ, *zehā*, rendered 'small cattle' or 'cattle' in Is. 43:23 Ezek. 34:17; is the *nom. unitatis* to *זָרָן*, see *SUBJECT*.

7. אֲלָפִים, *ālāpīm* (pl.), 'oxen'; cp Prov. 14:4 Is. 30:24, etc. To denote the animals of the bovine kind the Hebrews used:

(a) בָּקָר, *bāqār*, a generic word, which frequently occurs in parallelism with *אֵילָן*. It is often used individually (cp *בָּקָר* *וְאֵילָן*, a single ox or calf; see Gen. 18:7), and frequently employed to define a word more closely—e.g., with *עֵל* Lev. 9:2, *פָּר* Ex. 29:1. Its usual *nom. unit.* is *בָּקָר*, *šōr*, used without reference to age or to gender, to denote an ox or cow. It is used of a young calf in Ex. 22:30 [29], Lev. 22:23, and is once collective, Gen. 32:5 [6]. (b) פָּר, *par*, fem. *פָּרָה*, *pārāh*, bull, cow, defined by *בָּקָר* in Ex. 29:1 and used of a seven-year-old, Judg. 6:25. (c) עֵל, *ēl*, fem. *עֵלָה*, *ēlāh*, a calf, used of a three-year-old (Gen. 15:9 cp Is. 15:5), and also of a young cow that already gives milk (Is. 7:21); see *HEIFER*. (d) אֲבִיר, *āvīr* 'mighty'; used poetically of oxen (Is. 34:7), but also of horses (Jer. 8:16, etc.).

With regard to the practices of ancient nomadic pastoral peoples we are but ill-informed. It is probable that formerly (as now in Arabia) the same clan would not breed more than one kind of domestic animal. There is still a broad distinction between the camel-breeding tribes of the upland plains and the shepherd tribes of the mountains (WRS *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 311).

The steppes of E. Palestine have always been more suitable for sheep and goats, and the northern mountains for oxen. E. of the Jordan, however, cattle were turned loose,¹ and, becoming wild, acquired a name for their ferocity and from their habit of gathering in flocks round any object that attracted their attention (Ps. 22:12 [13]f.). At the present day shepherds frequent the cool mountain-heights in the summer, and find late in the autumn an abundant supply of green leaves and twigs for their sheep and goats in the cedars round Lebanon and Baalbek.

The parts of Palestine which were most suitable for the pasturing of herds—the parts which deserve the name of אֲרָץ בָּקָרָה (Nu. 32:14)—were those situated to the E. of Jordan (the modern region of Belkā) and in the S. plains of Judah. The enormous tribute paid annually by Meša, 'the shepherd' (נִבְרָה), attests the richness of the country (cp Nu. *l.c.*). Places specially mentioned in connection with herds and flocks are Carmel (1 S. 25:2), Shechem (Gen. 37:12), Dothan (Gen. 37:17), Sharon (1 Ch. 27:29 Is. 65:10), Tekoa (Am. 1:1), Gedor (1 Ch. 4:39), Bethlehem (1 S. 16:11), Midian (Nu. 31:32 cp *vv.* 8f.), Edom (Is. 34:6), and Kedar (Ezek. 27:21).

In prehistoric times there were several kinds of oxen, all wild: a European bison, *Bison bonasus*, Linn.; still preserved in the forests of SE. Europe; and

4. Species. Urus, *Bos primigenius*, and *Bos longifrons*, now extinct, probably belonging to the same race as our *Bos taurus* or domesticated oxen. Our modern cattle are derived from the last-named. In Palestine at the present day horned cattle are found only where fresh pastures are easily accessible. In the wilderness S. of Judah horned cattle of a rather undersized kind may be seen in great numbers. Farther to the N. there is a larger and better bred race, used for tilling. These, as a rule, belong to the same species as our cattle, the *Bos taurus*. N. of Esdraelon there is a light-coloured and stalwart variety usually known as the Armenian. In the valley of the Jordan, especially towards the N., there is a species of Indian buffalo, *Bos bubalis* (Ar. *gāmūs*), a

¹ Each tribe has its own *naam* (see WRS *Kin.* 212 ff.) or special mark (cp perhaps *מָמ*, Gen. 4:15 Nu. 2:2, and see *CAIN*, § 6; *CUTTINGS*, § 6). With this it was customary to brand the cattle. See, for specimens of such cattle marks, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:125, and cp Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, 1:341 f.

clumsy animal with remarkably long horns (generally flattened and angulated). From its size and general appearance the species has been confounded with the ancient *rē'em* (see UNICORN); but it belongs to comparatively recent times. It has been introduced into several of the Mediterranean countries—e.g., Egypt, Asia Minor, and Italy. E. of the Jordan horned cattle are rare (Tristram, *Moab*, 251), although the best country for them is said to be there (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 60).

Cattle-breeding holds a large place upon the Egyptian monuments; their evidence goes to show that the so-called Zebu was most common, and that several species of it were bred. The long-horned kind generally had their horns bent like a lyre or, less commonly, in the shape of a crescent. Short-horns appear rarely in the Old Empire, but are more frequent in later times. Another kind was hornless; it is never represented as ploughing and threshing, and hence may have been regarded as belonging to a 'fancy' class.

A new kind appears in the New Empire. It has horns somewhat wide apart, and bears a big hump.

We have no means of ascertaining any of the ancient methods of breeding (a certain kind of which is prohibited by the law in Lev. 19:19) or of

5. Cattle-rearing. rendering horned cattle tractable. They were the earliest of domesticated animals. They preceded by a long time the domestication of the sheep. The bones of one species, the *Bos primigenius* or Urus, have been found in the remains of the neolithic Swiss lake-dwellings.

The pastures were probably free to all comers, since in primitive times there was hardly any property in land. A pasture is useless without a watering-place (cp Judg. 1:5, where the importance of the possession of water is clearly shown; see Moore, *ad loc.*), and property in water is doubtless older and of more importance (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 104 f.). The right to a pasture was obtained by digging a well; and, among the Hebrews as among the Arabians, the wayfarer was always allowed to water his beasts so long as he did not hinder the owners of the water.¹ See *SPRINGS*. The district upon which cattle pastured is called *בֵּרְתָהּ*, lit. 'place for feeding.' Cp 1 K. 4:23 [5:3] וְיִרְחֵב; 'a broad pasture' (Is. 30:2) is doubtful (*SBOT*). *מִדְבָּר* (EV 'desert', 'wilderness') denotes properly a pasturing ground where herds are driven, from *דָּרַב* 'to drive (herds)'; cp *BDB Lex.* s.v. *דָּרַב*.²

Other words to denote the pasturing ground are *נִיָּה*, the pastoral abode (gen. rendered 'pasture,' or 'sheep-cote,' once 'stable,' Ezek. 26:5 EV). Similarly *רִבְעֵן* couching-place, Jer. 50:6 (1 Ch. Prov. 24:15 of an abode of men). To denote more narrowly confined areas, we find *מִנְיָה* sheep-folds (1 S. 24:3 Zeph. 2:6, etc.), *עֲבָרָה* an enclosure (Mi. 2:12), *סָבוֹת* (Gen. 33:17) 'booths,' temporary night-shelters (see below).

When required to be specially fattened, cattle were withdrawn from the open pastures and kept in a stable *בֵּרְתָהּ*. See Am. 6:4 1 S. 28:24 Jer. 46:21 Mal. 4:2 (3:20); 'stall,' lit. a place for tying up; cp also *בֵּרְתָהּ* (Hab. 3:17) and *בֵּרְתָהּ* (Hab. 3:17 Ps. 50:9 78:7) 'fold.'

The pens are called *שֵׁפְתָיִם* (Ps. 68:13 [14] RV 'sheepfolds,' AV 'pots'), or *מִיֵּן* (Judg. 5:16 Gen. 49:14), properly perhaps 'double-pens.' Moore (on Judg. *l.c.*) and Che. (on Ps. *l.c.*) prefer the sense 'dung-heaps.'

The manger or crib is *אֹמֶיִם* (Is. 1:3 cp Lk. 27:13:15 *φάτνη*), whence the denominative *אֹמֶיִם* 'fattened,'

¹ A stricter law is alluded to in Dt. 26:28.

² Similarly, *בֵּרְתָהּ*, the common-lands of a city (especially a Levitical one), in Nu. 35:2 'suburbs' (EV), is perhaps originally 'place of driving' (BDB); cp RV *מג*, 'pasture-lands.' Che. doubts the sense of 'driving' and proposes a fresh explanation, making the word practically syn. with *שָׂדֵה* 'field.' Hence the applied sense 'reserved land'—i.e. belonging to the community or to the sanctuary. See *JQR*, July 1898, p. 566.

³ *בֵּרְתָהּ* wall, like the Ar. *ḡadratūn*, denotes the fold. Here may be added *בֵּרְתָהּ* which may originally have meant a 'cattle-yard'; cp *BDB*, s.v.

⁴ *מִיֵּן* (cp *BDB*, s.v.) 'stall' is used generally for horses, but also for other animals; cp 2 Ch. 32:28.

applied to oxen (Prov. 15:17; and also birds 1 K. 4:23 [53]). To eat the 'stalled ox' (which was looked upon as a luxury; cp Prov. 15:17) is termed a reproach by Amos (Am. 6:4)—himself once a herdsmen.

Apart from the ordinary herbage (עֵשֶׂב, Nu. 22:4) cattle had special food (אֵשֶׂבֶת, which was either chopped straw (עֵשֶׂב) or 'mixed fodder' (עֵשֶׂב); cp Job 6:5) made more palatable by the addition of salt, or a salt herb (עֵשֶׂב מֶלַח, Is. 30:34).

From the references in the OT we are able to gain a fairly clear idea as to the duties and customs of those who had charge over cattle.

6. Shepherd, etc. The usual word to denote such an occupation is רֹעֶה (or מְרֹעֵה, less frequently מְרֹעֵה, and מְרֹעֵה) (for the last see SIMON). By far the greater number of references deal, as we should naturally expect, with the tending of sheep and goats, and the specific word for a 'cattle-man' (קָרָן) occurs only once (Amos 7:14).

The shepherd, clad in a simple garment (Jer. 43:12) like the mod. Ar. *burnus*, goes forth at the head of his flock (עֲרֵךְ; cp Jn. 10:4), all of which know his voice and respond to the name he gives them (*ib.* v. 3). He takes with him his shepherd's bag (בֶּרֶךְ הַרְעִים, 1 S. 17:40) or wallet (עֲרֵכָה, *ib.*, EV SCRIP), staff (עֵז, see esp. Gen. 32:10; cf. cp עֵז הַרְעִים, Ps. 23:4), and, as a means of defence, a sling (עֲרֵכָה, 1 S. 17:40). He 'gently leads' his flocks (רָעָה, Is. 40:11 Ps. 23:2) to the best pastures, where he makes them lie down by streams (Ps. 23:2);¹ though it must be admitted that the reading in Ps. 23:2 is uncertain (see *Ch. Ps.* [2]). The dangers from wild beasts² (e.g., lions, Is. 31:4 1 S. 17:34) and nomadic marauders (Job 1:14) were very real. No doubt there was the solace of the pastoral reed³ (see Judg. 5:16, and cp Job 21:12 1 S. 16:18), and later writers speak of the sheep-dog (Job 30:1 Is. 56:10 f., see DOG, § 1), well known to the Assyrians. By night the shepherd had to keep watch in the open air (Lk. 28, cp Nah. 3:18); but sometimes a temporary shelter was made (Ass. *tarbasu* = עֲרֵב and *mašallu* are so explained), whence 'shepherd's tent' (אֶתֶר הָרֹעֶה, Is. 38:12; cp מִשְׁכַּן הַרְעִים, Cant. 1:8) becomes the type of an uncertain dwelling-place.⁴ In other cases towers were built for the shepherds (cp Gen. 35:21, and see 2 Ch. 26:10); traces of them are to be found at the present day. The 'duars' in the Sinaitic peninsula consist of stone towers put together without mortar, and bear a striking resemblance to the 'Talayöt' of the Balearic Isles, and to the beehive-shaped houses of Scotland. They are enclosed by low walls of massive rough stones, and are occupied by cattle (cp Maspero, *Diction of Hist.* 3:2 f.; see also Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:13). The sheepfolds also, as their name implies, were surrounded by walls (cp Jn. 10:1).

When the shepherd returned to his master the sheep were carefully counted by being made to pass under the staff (cp Lev. 27:32 Jer. 33:13 Ezek. 20:37)—a representation of the shepherd 'telling his tale' is not infrequent on Egyptian monuments. As for wages, it may be doubted whether the practice described in Gen. 30:8 ff. was usual; possibly the usual reward was the milk of the flocks (see 1 Cor. 9:7—cp, on the other hand, Zech. 11:13, which speaks of a money payment).

¹ From בָּלַל 'to pour out'; or, 'to pour over' (so Ass. *balālu*); hence 'to mix.' Cp Lat. *farfingo*, and see ANOINTING, § 1. The denominative occurs in Judg. 19:21.

² *Ibid.* *ibid.* makes מְרֹעֵה = מְרֹעֵה, *mašallu* (S. 2) in Ass. being a syn. of *rahitu* 'to lie down.' But see Franz Del.'s note.

³ Similarly in Assyria; cp Maspero, *Diction of Hist.* 3:2 f.

⁴ Cp the illustration from Assyria, Maspero, *loc. cit.* The shepherd seated plays upon a reed to the delight of his dog.

⁵ At the present day a sheep-pen is made of boughs. It is called *hazra* (see HAZOR), and the trail of boughs in the sandy desert is always a sign of the nomad *mansit* (encampment); cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2:200 f.

The status of the shepherd varies according to the society in which he lives. Among primitive pastoral

peoples the sheikh himself, or even his daughters, tend the flocks (cp Gen. 29:9 Ex. 2:16—II. 6:42), as is the case at the present day in various parts of the Sinaitic peninsula (see Kn.-Di. *Ex.*, *ad loc.*). The early kings of Israel owned large flocks, and the post of chief shepherd (cp עֲרֵךְ הַרְעִים, Gen. 47:6, also 1 Ch. 27:29 1 Pet. 5:4, ἀρχιποιῶν, and *magister regii pecoris*, Liv. 1:4) was important and full of dignity. Hence the designation 'shepherd' (רֹעֶה) was a noble one and was used of the kings of Israel (Jer. 23:4, cp רֹעֵה 'to rule' 2 S. 5:2) as well as of those of Assyria, and becomes the origin of the beautiful NT phrase 'the good shepherd.' Perhaps it is inevitable that the adoption of a more settled mode of life should be unfavourable to the repute of the shepherd. To the Egyptians, for more than one reason, shepherds were an 'abomination' (Gen. 46:34; cp ABOMINATION, 4); 'Asiatic' (*i.e.*, barbarian) and 'shepherd' were to them synonymous terms (see EGYPT, § 31). Similarly in Palestine, as the Jews advanced in prosperity, the prestige of the shepherd's calling diminished. In Rabbinical times a shepherd was precluded from bearing witness, because one who must have fed his flocks upon the pastures of others would naturally be dishonest (cp *Sanh.* 25:2, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 107).

Besides the use to which cattle were put in ploughing and threshing (see AGRICULTURE, § 8), they were also

8. Use of used as draught animals (cp 1 S. 67: ff.). Their MILK (*q.v.*) formed one of the main articles of diet, and their skins were used for clothing (see LEATHER, WOOL). Pastoral life probably meant usually a diet of milk and game; and the use of cattle for food was somewhat restricted (see *Rel. Sem.* [2] 296 f.). The young animal was, however, preferred and considered a special dainty. At the present day, it is said, the sheep is eaten only at festivals, and goat-flesh is not used as food save by the very poor. In sacrifices cattle were frequently used, and huge hecatombs are mentioned in connection with the temple services¹ (cp 1 K. 8:63 2 Ch. 5:6 7:5 29:33 etc.).

Cattle, being almost the only property of nomads, become, among primitive people, a medium of exchange. When the first coins were made in Greece, this was commemorated by stamping the head of an ox upon the ingot. Cattle and wealth are, therefore, almost synonymous terms.

Cp מְרֹעֵה 'possession and Ass. *sugullatu* 'herd'; עֲרֵכָה 'cattle,' and עֲרֵכָה and Syr. *عَرِيح*; orig. an animal for riding (Nestle, *ZDMG* 33, 707 [79]; *pecus* and *pecunia*; κτήνος and κτήμα).

The earliest legislation (Ex. 20:23) was intended for a people who, having advanced beyond the pastoral

stage, were occupied chiefly in agriculture. The prominence given to the ox, the sheep, and the ass is as noticeable

as the absence of all reference to the horse and the camel. Remarkable also is the humanity which characterises these regulations. Cattle are not to be muzzled (עֲרֵכָה, cp עֲרֵכָה) while threshing (Dt. 25:4)—a law which holds good to the present day (cp Dr. *ad loc.*), and was in vogue in Egypt, where one sees representations of an ox and an ass threshing unmuzzled (cp Erm. *Eg.* 432, and see AGRICULTURE, § 8). According to another enactment, oxen were not to work upon the sabbath (Ex. 23:12). Notwithstanding the strictness of the sabbath, it was customary to water the cattle on that day (Lk. 13:15). Other laws respecting cattle-stealing and damages caused by oxen are given in Ex. 21:28 ff.; cp *ib.* 22:10 [9] ff. The law dealing with the case in which a beast entrusted to one's care has been maimed or torn (Ex. 22:10 [9] ff.) provides that the pro-

perly 'slaughterer (of cattle),' is applied to a cook and, strangely, to a member of the royal body-guard. See EXECUTIONERS, and cp OTT (2) 22, 111.

duction of the maimed part is to suffice as a guarantee of good faith and that no restitution is to be required (see DEPOSIT). It was, therefore, to the advantage of the shepherd to be able to produce a leg or a piece of an ear as a proof (cp Am. 3.12). Jacob, however, declares to Laban that instead of producing 'that which was torn of beasts' (שָׁרֵף) he has made good the loss himself (Gen. 31.39).

The early Semites, like other pastoral peoples, paid great reverence to cattle, their kinship with whom they long continued to recognise.

10. Reverence for cattle. This gives additional point to Nathan's parable: the ewe lamb was, to a poor man who nourished it, more nearly a daughter¹ than it could be in later times. No doubt the special veneration for cattle was connected with the idea that man owes his food in large measure to them (cp WRS *l.c.*).

A full treatment of this subject would lead us too far. Nor can we consider here the Israelitish form of the legend of the 'Golden Age' (cp Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109 ff.), and the contrast between J's description of the peace between man and the lower animals (cp Is. 11.6 f.) and P's representations of man as their lord and master. The worship of the domestic animals is another subject which invites attention. The most ancient evidence for it is supplied by the Babylonian zodiacal mythology.² In Egypt, too, the worship of sacred animals takes us back to an incalculable antiquity. Witness, for example, the bull-worship of Memphis and other cities (see EGYPT, § 14), which has been connected with Israelitish idolatry. Notice, too, the worship of the cow Ha'thor, the 'lady of heaven,' which reminds us of the cow-headed Ashtoreth of Sidon. See further CALF, GOLDEN; ASHTORETH; AZAZEL; CLEAN, § 17.³

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

CAUDA (καυδα [Ti. WH]), Acts 27.16. See CLAUDA.

CAUL (properly a close-fitting cap or net-work), as applied to an article of dress, occurs as the EV rendering of טְבִיטִים Is. 3.18 (mg. 'networks,' as though = טְבִיטִים; ἑμπλοκία). To complete the parallelism of the verse, we should read, with Schroeder and others, טְבִיטִים, 'little suns'; see NECKLACE, n.

In its anatomical sense, 'caul' in Hos. 13.8 (עֶרֶב טְבִיטִים) apparently refers to the pericardium. It is used similarly in Ex. 29.13 Lev. 3.4 to 15 etc. to render עֶרֶב (lit. 'excess'; ἑλεβός), an uncertain expression which has occasioned difficulty from the earliest times. It denotes probably 'the fatty mass at the opening of the liver which reaches to the kidneys, and becomes visible upon the removal of the "lesser omentum," or membrane extending from the fissures of the liver to the curve of the stomach' (Dr. Lev. SBOT, ET). On the Vss., and various interpretations, cp DI.-Rys. on Lev. 3.3; ⁴ and, on the probable reason of the choice of this particular part of the body for offerings, see LIVER.

CAVES (קְבוּרִים, ma'irih; CITHAION; spelunca). The limestone strata of Syria and Palestine readily lend themselves to the formation of caves and ravines. The springs issuing from limestone rock generally contain carbonate of lime, and most of them yield a large quantity of free carbonic acid upon exposure to the air. To the erosive effect of water charged with this acid, combined with the mechanical action of the sand and stones carried along by the currents, the formation of caves and ravines in such rocks is chiefly to be ascribed.

¹ Cp the Egyptian paintings which represent men talking to cattle, and decking them with fringes.

² On the 'Bull' of the Zodiac, which is the Bab. Gud-an-na (equivalent to our Taurus, or else to Aldebaran), see Jensen, *Levant*, 62 ff.

³ J. L. Hirsch's *Die Rinder u. Bab. Ass. u. Äg.* (Berlin, '90) — a contribution to the history of domestic cattle — appeared after the present article was in type.

⁴ The old view that *yôthereth* was the greater lobe of the lung has nothing in its favour.

What are now ravines have in many cases originally been subterranean watercourses, which have been unroofed by the degradation of the rock. Some of the Syrian caverns are of great size; Strabo, for example (756), speaks of the σπηλαία βαθύστομα of Ituræa, and mentions one capable of holding 4000 men. Books of travel, from William of Tyre and Quaresmius onwards, abound with references to such caves and the local traditions respecting them (Tavernier, Maundrell, Shaw, Robinson). Those of Palestine are frequently mentioned in the Bible as places of refuge and shelter for the terror-stricken (Is. 2.19 Rev. 6.15 cp Zech. 14.5), the outlawed (David), the oppressed and the persecuted (Judg. 6.2 1 S. 13.6 1 K. 18.4-13 19.9-13 Ezek. 33.27 2 Mac. 6.11 Heb. 11.38), and the criminal (Jer. 7.11 Mk. 11.17 and ||), and as places of sepulture (Gen. 23.11 Jn. 11.38). Whether the word Horite¹ means 'cave-dwellers' has been questioned; yet that in many parts of Palestine the earlier inhabitants continued to use caves not only as storehouses but also as dwelling-places cannot be doubted. Of their connection with worship in pre-Christian times there is little or no direct evidence. Still, it appears safe to hold 'that the oldest Phœnician temples were natural or artificial grottoes, and that the sacred as well as the profane monuments of Phœnicia, with their marked preference for monolithic forms, point to the rock-hewn cavern as the original type that dominated the architecture of the region' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 197), and it is probable that the Greek μέγαρον was borrowed from the Phœnician מקרה (*ib.* 200). The association of so many of the Christian sacred sites in Palestine (e.g., Birth of Mary, Annunciation, Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, Birth of the Baptist, Transfiguration and Agony of Christ, Repentance of Peter) with grottoes is the arbitrary invention of legend-mongers. See, further, MAARATH, MEARAH, HEBRON (Machpelah), MAKKEDAH, ETAM, ELEUTHEROPOLIS; also ADULLAM (where it is shown that 'cave' ought to be read 'hold'), and (on the grotto of the Nativity) BETHLEHEM, § 4.

CEDAR (צֵדָר; κέδρος [BAL]), *Cedrus Libani* Loud., bears in Heb. a name which is found also in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and is probably derived from a root signifying 'to be firm' or 'well-rooted,' of which another derivative might be the צֵדָר² of Ezek. 27.24. It appears that Aram. 'arsā and Ar. 'ars, like κέδρος,³ may denote not only the cedar, but also the juniper (*Juniperus Oxycedrus*), and, possibly, pines of various sorts.⁴ It may be, then, that נָר is not to be strictly confined to *Cedrus Libani*,⁵ but it is highly probable that this tree, which has been associated with Lebanon from early times, is the one usually intended,⁶ and in such a passage as Is. 41.19 the cedar is expressly distinguished from other conifers. OT writers employ the cedar as a type of beauty (Nu. 24.6), majesty (2 K. 14.9), strength (Ps. 29.5), and loftiness (2 K. 19.23). The wood, which was much more precious than that of common trees like the sycamore (1 K. 10.27), was largely used in the construction of great buildings like the temple (see also ALTAR, § 8) and Solomon's palace; cedar

¹ Cp צֵדָר in Job 30.6 1 S. 14.11. See HORITE.

² Best translated 'durable'; certainly not (as EV) 'made of cedar-wood.' (But the text is in disorder.)

³ On this see the Index to Schneider's *Theophrastus, s.v. κέδρος*.

⁴ So in modern times we are told of *el-Ars*—'in the mouth of uneducated Syrians it designates one of the pines, *Pinus halepensis*, which grows in great numbers on the mountains' (*Journ. Libn. Soc.* 13.247).

⁵ Löw (57) says, 'נָר seems to have denoted both the cedar and the *Juniperus Oxycedrus*, L.' According to the same authority, Aram. *arsā* denotes first *Pinus cedrus*, then all conifers.

⁶ Hooker, however, regards it as 'an open question whether the *C. Libani* is one of those which supplied most of the timber employed in building Solomon's temple' (*Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1869, p. 14), and there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the wood used for purification (Lev. 14 Num. 19) was the juniper.

beams were most highly esteemed for covering interiors (Cant. 1.17 Jer. 22.14). The use made of this wood in the ceremony of cleansing the leper (Lev. 14.4 ff.) or the person rendered unclean by contact with a dead body (Nu. 19), seems to be due to the esteem in which it was held for durability and incorruptibility (see 19. on Lev. 14. Nowak, *HA* 2.286). See CLEAN, § 16 f.

Of the existing cedars of Lebanon the first accurate account was that given by Sir J. D. Hooker in *Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1862, pp. 11-18. The group which he visited was that in the Kadisha valley, N. of Beirut, near the summit of Lebanon (Dahr el Koḏib). He found there about 400 trees, disposed in nine groups—the trees varying from about 18 inches to upwards of 50 ft. in girth.

Another interesting account is that of Dr. Leo Anderlind, who visited them in 1881.¹ He speaks of three groups—one at Baruk, a second 4 m. ESE. of Bsheer, and the third 18 m. N. of that place. It is the second of these, the same that Hooker visited, which he particularly describes. The greatest height of any of the trees, he says, is about 82 ft.; but the majority are between 45 and 77 ft. The oldest of them were the strongest trees he had ever seen.

According to Tristram (*NHB* 344), 'at least nine distinct localities are now ascertained.'

[According to Dr. Post (Hastings' *DB* 2364), it is uncertain what tree is meant by *arāzīm* in Nu. 246. He remarks that 'the cedar of Lebanon does not grow in moist places,' but 'seeks the dry sloping mountain side, where nothing but the moisture in the clefts of the rocks nourishes it.' He concludes, therefore, that 'unless we suppose that the location of the *arāzīm* is poetic licence, we must suppose some water-loving tree to be intended in this passage.' It was well to bring forward this difficulty, which is overlooked by D., the remedy lies close at hand.

Usage requires that the 'cedars' should be described as the trees which Yahweh planted. We have to read in *שְׁטָרִים* 'like cedars' and in *ב* probably *שְׁטָרִים* 'like poplars' (Che. *Lev. 7*, 10.424-5 [June 1922]).

N. M.—W. T. T. D.

CEDRON (כְּדָרוֹן [ANV]), 1 Macc. 15.39 41. AV. See GIDDERAH, 1.

CEDRON (רֹגַע כְּדָרוֹן [TL], רֹגַע כְּדָרוֹן [WH]) Jn. 184, RV Kidron.

CEILAN. RV KILAN (כִּילָן [BA, om. L]). The sons of Ceilan and Azetas are a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 9, § 8 c) 1 Esd. 5.15, not mentioned in || Ezra (2.16) or Neh. (7.21).

CEILING, in modern house-architecture, means the covering of a room which hides the joists of the floor above, or the rafters of the roof. Down to the seventeenth century, however, the word was applied also to the inner lining of the walls of a room, and in modern shipbuilding it still denotes the inside planking of a ship's bottom (see *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v.). The Hebrew words (see below) rendered 'ceil,' 'ceiling,' in EV are to be taken in this more extended sense. See further, CHAMBER, HOUSE, TEMPLE.

1. *סֵפֶת*, *siphet*, 1 K. 6.15 (סֹפֶת); עַם סֵפֶת, *siphetim*, Job. 1.5 (the 'sides' or 'innermost parts' of the ship). The verb is used in 1 K. 6.9 7.1 7.10 Jer. 22.14 Hag. 1.4.

2. In 2 Ch. 3.5 *סֵפֶת עֲרֹבֵי קַיִס* means 'he covered' (or panned) [the greater house] 'with fir.'

3. *סֵפֶת*, *siphet*, Ezek. 41.16, a word otherwise unknown. Cf. proposals to emend *עַם סֵפֶת* to *עַם סֵפֶת*; see 2 Ch. 3.5 as above, and עַם סֵפֶת of Nu. 17.3 f. [10.38 f.]; a 'covering' of the altar.

CELLS (חֲבוּטֹת), Jer. 37.16 AV^{ms}, RV, AV 'cabins,'² a questionable rendering of a Hebrew word which is probably corrupt. The words 'and into the cells' are quite unnecessary after 'into the dungeon house' (עַלְמֵי בֵּית), and may be a gloss. See PRISON.

AV^{ms} *עַלְמֵי בֵּית* (עַלְמֵי בֵּית) is a guess. In late Heb., Syr., etc. (עֲשֻׁקָא) denotes 'shop' עַלְמֵי בֵּית (עֲשֻׁקָא) [AQ], עַלְמֵי בֵּית (עֲשֻׁקָא) or 'tavern.' Moreover the form is difficult (Bevan, *Dan.* 30. n. 1). עַלְמֵי בֵּית (BAQ, יא. [R], ad. 27.) points to the

¹ Published in the *Adigen. Forest u. Jagd-Zeitung*, at the end of 1885, and also in the *ZDPV* 10.80 ff.

² 'Cabins' in the sense of 'cell' is now quite obsolete.

reading רֹגַע. Cheyne suggests reading חֲבוּטֹת 'the lowest part (of the pit)'; cp Ps. 88.7 Lam. 3.45.

CELOSYRIA (ΚΟΙΛΗ ΚΥΡΙΑ [BAL.]), 1 Esd. 2.17, RV CELESYRIA.

CENCHREAE, or rather, RV, CENCHREÆ (ΚΕΝΧΡΕΑΙ [Ti. WH]). A town and harbour on the Saronic gulf, now marked by the village of *Kichries*. It served as the eastern port of Corinth, which lay about seven miles (Str. 380, says 70 stadia) to the west, just as Lechaum was the port for the Italian trade. Strabo calls Cenchreæ a village (κώμη), which indicates its subordination to Corinth: it was, in fact, merely a landing-place for goods and passengers.

About 4 m. to the north, at Scaënon (modern *Kalamaki*), was the δούκος or τριφυλιον upon which vessels of small tonnage made the passage from the one sea to the other (ὁ σπυριόταρον τῷ ἑσθόσῳ; Str. 335, 369; cp Thuc. 8.7, Pol. 4.70, Dio Cass. 51.5). The idea of substituting for it a canal cut through the Isthmus was very ancient. The scheme was entertained in turn by Periander, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Julius Caesar, Caligula, Nero, and Herodes Atticus. Nero actually began the work in 67 A.D., but the time of Paul's final visit to Corinth. Vespasian sent him six thousand Jewish prisoners from Galilee (Jos. *B.* iii. 10.10). Traces of this cutting were to be seen on the line which has been adopted by the modern engineers who have brought this χρόνον μέγα ἀγώνισμα to completion (1881-1893).

Half a mile to the SW. of the Saronic entrance to the canal are the remains of the Isthmian sanctuaries and Stadium which furnished Paul with the imagery of 1 Cor. 9.24-27.

The pines from which were cut the victors' garlands are mentioned by Strabo (380) and Pausanias (ii. 17). The road to Corinth led through groves of pine and cypress and was bordered with tombs—among them those of the Cynic Diogenes and the courtizan *Lais* (Paus. ii. 24). Coins (of Antoninus Pius) give a representation of the harbour of Cenchreæ flanked on either side by a temple, and containing a standing brazen colossus of Poseidon (Paus. ii. 23) and three ships. Coins of Hadrian show the two harbours, Lechaum and Cenchreæ, as nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder, inscribed ΕΡΧΩ, ΚΕΝΧΡΕ.

It was from Cenchreæ that Paul sailed at the close of his first visit to Achaia (Acts 18.18 cp 20.3). The voyage between Greece and Asia took a fortnight in Cicero's case (*Ep. ad Att.* 5.13 6.9); but he sailed slowly (cp Thuc. 3.3). Phæbe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchreæ, 'carried under the folds of her robe the whole future of Christian theology' (Renan, *Saint Paul*, 219), for to her, on the eve of her departure to Italy on her private affairs, Paul entrusted his letter to the church at Rome (Rom. 16.1).¹ See FRASE, *Leantinnica*, 3-7. Good map of the Isthmus in Baedeker's *Greece*, ET, 229. W. J. W.

CENDEBEUS, RV *Cendebeus* (ΚΕΝΔΕΒΑΙΟΣ [ANV]; but ΚΕΝΔΕΒΕΙΟΣ [A om.], ΔΕΒΑΙΟΣ [N^v once], and ΔΑΙΒΕΟΣ [N once]), the general left by Antiochus VII. in command of the sea-coast, who 'provoked the people of Jamnia,' and also fortified Kidron for the purpose of invading Judæa. He and his army were put to flight, near Modin, by Judas and John, the two sons of Simon the Maccabæe (1 Macc. 15.38-16.10). According to Zöckler, he is the *Cendus* of the Arabian legends, a N. Ar. prince hostile to the Jews (cp Blau, *ZDPV* 25.87). Schürer (*117* 1, § 7, n. 31), however, derives Cendebeus (as also *καθηρέως*) from the Lycian town *κάνδριβα*.

CENSER, the utensil used for offering INCENSE.

In EV it represents 1. *קַדְחָן* the vessel for offering *קַדְחָן* 'incense' with; Ezek. 8.11 2 Ch. 26.14 (שֶׁבֶט חַטָּאתֹת, which is found once in NT—Heb. 9.4 [RV^{ms} 'altar of incense']). From the same root is derived *קַדְחָת*, 2 Ch. 30.14, 'altars [RV^{ms} 'vessels'] for incense.' Cp INCENSE, § 1.

2. *קַדְחָת* (א' 'snatch up'; *קַדְחָת*) Lev. 10.1 16.12 Nu. 16.6 ff. 17.6 ff. EV, but AV alone in Nu. 4.14 (עֲשֻׁקָא); K. 7.50 (AV^{ms} 'ash pan'; *עֲשֻׁקָא*) 2 Ch. 3.22 (עֲשֻׁקָא and עֲשֻׁקָא). In those passages RV gives 'firepans,' and both AV and RV in Ex. 27.3

¹ [Unless it be held that Rom. 16.1-20 is a letter of introduction given to Phæbe by Paul for the Church at Ephesus. So Lüthier, *Bibl. in die* 3.5, 7, 8 (cp. *Christus*, 8.5, 9); M^v Giffert, *Chr. in Ap. Age*, 275. Cp, however, ROMANS, §§ 4, 10.]

Yakin; its usual name in the Assyrian inscriptions was mat Tamim, the Sea Land. If Delitzsch (*Par.* 128, etc.) is correct in his derivation of the name from the Kassite people, the wider application to Babylonia may have been a legacy from the Kassite dynasty there. On the other hand, the Kassites (Del. calls them *Kassiter*) had a language quite distinct from that of the Kaldû, who spoke Semitic. The Kaldû are carefully distinguished by Sennacherib both from the Arabs and from the Aramaeans. Merodach-baladan, the usurper in Babylon during Sargon's reign, and the inveterate foe of Assyria till Sennacherib hunted him from Babylon to Bit-Yakin and thence to exile, was a Kaldû. There is no reason to think he had any right in Babylon; on the other hand, nothing shows him to have been more foreign than were the Assyrians. In fact, the Chaldeans not only furnished an early dynasty of Babylon, but also were incessantly pressing into Babylonia; and, despite their repeated defeats by Assyria, they gradually gained the upper hand there. The founder of the New-Babylonian kingdom, Nabopolassar (circa 626 B.C.), was a Chaldean, and from that time Chaldea meant Babylonia.

The use of the term Chaldee, introduced by Jerome to distinguish the language of certain chapters in

2. 'Chaldee,' etc. Daniel and Ezra (דְּכַלְדַּיִם דְּכַלְדַּיִם; Dan. 14), is incorrect. The only correct expression is Aramaic (see CHALDEA, § 2; DANIEL, § 12; ARAM, § 2; ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 1 ff.). Another peculiar usage must be mentioned. We find 'Chaldeans' used in Dan. as a name for a caste of wise men. As Chaldean meant Babylonian in the wider sense of a member of the dominant race in the times of the New Babylonian Empire, so after the Persian conquest it seems to have connoted the Babylonian literati and become a synonym of soothsayer or astrologer (see DANIEL, § 11). In this sense it passed into classical writers. Whether any association of sound with *kalû*, the specific name for magician in Assyrian, helped the change of meaning is difficult to decide. The modern so-called Chaldees have no racial claim to the name, and it is very questionable whether the traces of alleged Chaldean culture discovered at Tellah are correctly assigned to this people.

See Delattre, *Les Chaldéens*, *W. Carter's Alt. Geogr.*, 47 ff., and the Histories of Assyria and Babylonia; *Mon. Beitr.* zur Assyriol. 3: 134. C. H. W. J.

CHALPHI (χαλφει [VA]), 1 Macc. 11:70 RV, AV CALPHI.

CHAMBER. Of the structure of the chamber of the ancient Hebrew house we know but little; it would naturally depend upon the style of the rest of the building. In modern Syria, floor, wall, and ceiling are commonly made of beaten clay (cp חֶמֶר Ezek. 13:12), which is often coloured with ochre. Wood, nevertheless, is not rare. The CEILING, if of wood and flat, is of curious and complicated joinery; or, if vaulted, is wrought into many curves and enriched with fretwork in stucco; the walls (קִיר) are adorned with arabesques, mosaics, and the like, which, set off by the whiteness of the stucco, present a brilliant effect. Enamelled inscriptions, specimens of the most intricate Arabic calligraphy, originally intended to keep off harmful jinn, surround the walls. On the number and arrangement of chambers, see HOUSE, I.

Of the various Heb. words for 'chamber' חֶמֶר and חֶמֶר (cp ὑπερίου) are used of rooms in private houses; see BED, § 1. חֶמֶר is used particularly of the nuptial chamber; see TENT, § 4. Other terms are used especially of rooms in a temple or palace. חֶמֶר (1 Ch. 9:26 Jer. 85:24, etc.) or חֶמֶר (Neh. 3:30 12:44 18:5), a room in the temple occupied by priests and temple-servants, also a room in the royal palace, Jer. 39:12-20; and חֶמֶר (1 Macc. 1:1) a meal-chamber¹ in a *Bethath* (1 S. 9:22 AV 'parlour'); see HEB-OT.

¹ Or, 'feasting hall.' For another probable instance see 2 K. 10:22 amended text (see VESTRY). WRB *Rel. Sem.* (2) 254 n. suggests that *Acrym*, club-room, is derived from חֶמֶר; but see Lewy, *Die semit. Fremdw. im Griech.*, 94.

PLACE, § 3. חֶמֶר (1 K. 6:5 7; Ezek. 41:5 ff.) and חֶמֶר (1 K. 14:28 2 Ch. 13:11 Ezek. 40:7 ff.) are similarly used of temple-chambers. In the case of two words the suggested rendering, 'chambers,' is certainly incorrect; חֶמֶר (1 K. 9:3 AV) means properly a 'store'; as in RV (see TELLAH), and חֶמֶר (Lev. 16:24 17:10 RV) = 'vaulted-chamber', in parallelism with חֶמֶר, refers evidently to some mound for illicit worship (EV better 'eminent place').

CHAMBERLAIN. In Esth. 1:10 12 etc., EV uses 'chamberlain' (for סָרִיס), perhaps as a more English-sounding title than EUNUCH [q.v.]. On Jer. 51:59 (AV חֶמֶר 'chamberlain') see SERAIAH [4]. HASTUR, in Acts 12:20, is a court officer in charge of the king's bedchamber (cp *ἀρχὴ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς βασιλείας*), but in Esth. 16:22 αὐτοκράτης (AV 'chamberlain') is used as a title of the king's 'treasurer'; cp Lat. *arcarius*, and a gloss of Philox., ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς δημοτικῆς τραπεζῆς. The same title occurs in *παροιστοῦ* (cp *Μακκ. ἱστορ.*, 95, ed. 1700; Νεώτερον αὐτοκράτης Ἀραβ; see W. A. Wright in Smith's *DBB*) s.v.

CHAMBERS OF THE SOUTH (חֶמְרֵי הַיָּמִין) Job 9:9, and probably 37:9 (emended text). SEE STARS, § 3 4. EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF, § 2 170.

CHAMELEON. I. RV LAND-CROCODILE (כַּמֶּלֶאֶן, etym. uncertain), one of the reptiles mentioned as unclean in Lev. 11:16. חַמְלֵאֶן [BA¹]. חַמְלֵאֶן [BA¹]. Vg. (*chameleon*) have the same rendering as AV; the Arabic version has *hardawn*, which means probably a species of land-crocodile. Bochart (*Hieroz.* 4:3) argues from the Hebrew name, which is the same as the word for 'strength,' that what is meant is the Arabic *zealal*, the largest and most powerful sort of lizard. The Talmudic references, on the other hand, seem to point to a smaller animal; but they are too general to convey any definite information (Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 223 f.). N. M.

2. AV MOLE (חַמְלֵאֶן) in the same verse. See LIZARD, 6.

CHAMOIS (כַּמֶּיִם), derivation uncertain, cp *Lexx.*; ΚΑΜΗΛΟΠΑΡΔΑΛΙΣ [BA¹]. DC 11:34 is a 'beast' animal, mentioned along with the fallow-deer (אֵיִל), the roebuck (אַיִל) and the wild goat (אֵז), the addax (רִיטִין) and the antelope (אֵז); see CLEAN, § 8. Many ancient interpreters (S, Vg., Arab., Abulw., Kimhi, etc.) thought that what was meant was the giraffe; but the home of the giraffe lies far away from Palestine. A more probable rendering is the *ruzzu* or 'wild goat' of the Targums, which suits the context better. The chamois (*Rupicapra tragus*) extends from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus, but is not known to have ever inhabited Palestine, whereas of mountain sheep and goats there have been found three kinds. Tristram and Post think that *zemer* may be the wild sheep (*Ovis tragelaphus*); but, though that sheep lives in Northern Arabia, and an allied or identical species occurs in Arabia, it is doubtful whether it has lived in Palestine. See GOAT. N. M.

CHAMPION. For 1 S. 17:4-23 EV חַיִּים הַבְּנִיִּים see GOLIATH, § 2. For 1 S. 17:51 EV (בְּנֵי) see WAR and cp GIANT, 3.

CHANAAN (כַּנְאַן) Acts 7:1; 13:19 Judith 5:3 etc. AV, RV CANAAN; and Chanaanite (כַּנְאַנִּיּוֹת) Judith 5:16 AV, RV CANAANITE.

CHANCELLOR (כַּנְסֵלֵר), Ezra 4:8 ff. See REHUM, 5.

CHANNUNUS, RV Chanunus (כַּחְנוּנָאִיּוֹת [BA¹]). 1 Esd. 8:48 = Ezra 8:16, MERRI. 3.

CHAPEL (כַּפֵּלֵיט), Am. 7:13 AV, RV SANCTUARY (q.v.). CP BETHEL, § 3, n. For 1 Macc. 1:47 2 Macc. 10:2 11:3 AV see SANCTUARY.

CHAPHENATHA (כַּפְּחֵנַתְחָא [ANV]), 1 Macc. 21:37 RV, AV CAPHENATHA.

CHAPTER (i.e., capitellum; 'capital': so Amer. RV).

on an open litter' (Dr. Samuel Birch). The appended illustration (fig. 2), taken from a monument belonging to the fourth Egyptian dynasty, clearly exhibits this earliest mode of conveyance.



FIG. 2.—Ancient Egyptian conveyance (4th dyn.). After Wilkinson.

the War-chariot. The striking fact that the ancient

3. War-chariots introduced late.

Hebrews for centuries refused to employ so valuable a military aid as the chariot, in their encounters with the Canaanites was due to several co-operating causes. First among these was the nomadic origin and character of early Israel. The Canaanites, like the Egyptians, may have borrowed the form of their chariots from their northern neighbours, the Syrians or Hittites. This, however, is by no means certain, for among the Amarna Tablets, we have a despatch to the Egyptian monarch from one of his vassals in Canaan, in which the latter, in anticipation of an invasion by the Hittites, requests the aid of chariots and troops from the king of Egypt.¹ Not improbably, therefore, Egypt may have been the proximate source whence Canaanite civilisation borrowed the chariot. From Josh. 17:16 Judg. 4:3, however, we learn that the Canaanite war-chariot was plated or studded externally with iron, a feature which seems to be more probably Hittite than Egyptian.²

4. Hill country unsuitable.

A second reason why Israel remained destitute of this important adjunct is to be found in the physical configuration of Canaan. During the earlier period of the Hebrew occupation, the district seized by the sons of Jacob was the central or mountainous region, where chariots and cavalry could not easily operate. Interesting illustrations of this difficulty in employing chariots may be derived from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. (circa 1100 B.C.). In Prism Inscr. col. ii. 70-74 we read: 'mighty mountains and difficult country I passed through—so far as it could be traversed, in my chariot; and that which could not be traversed, on foot. By the mountain Aruma, unsuited for the advance of my chariots, I left my chariots behind . . . ' (Winckler in *KB* I; cp also col. iii. 47-49). How difficult the Canaanites found it to make effective use of them against the Israelites, may be inferred from the later experience of the Syrians, who attributed their constant defeats to the fact that the deities of the Hebrews were potent in the mountainous country (1 K. 20:23) whilst their own operations, which were largely carried on with cavalry and chariots (cp v. 21 and Shalmaneser II.'s Obelisk Inscr. 65, Monolith Inscr. col. ii. 90), would be successful only in the plains. It can readily be understood, therefore, how the Hebrew race, by clinging to the central mountainous region and not venturing too far into the Shephelah or low country, as well as by dint of sheer bravery and the skilful use of bow, sling, and spear, were able, down to the time of David, to defy successfully the armies of Canaan and Syria.

A third reason was that religious conservatism—a in its tendency, ever conservative of a nation's past—sanctioned the ancient custom of warfare, and regarded horses and chariots

as a foreign innovation corrupting Israel's allegiance to Yahwé. This view, especially reflected in prophecy (Hos. 17:14 4 [5] Mic. 5:9 [10] Zech. 9:10), became embodied in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt. 17:16), and expressed in song (Ps. 20:7). When, however, under David, Israel became an aggressive state and entered into conflict with Syrian and Hittite cavalry and chariots in the plains, the stress must have been severely felt by the Hebrews, and it is not surprising that chariots and horsemen were gradually introduced into Israel's military service. This is clear from 2 S. 8:4, where, following G, we should restore 'for himself'; omitted in MT from religious scruples; the passage means that David reserved 100 chariots and horsemen for his own use. His successor, Solomon, is said to have provided Israel with 1400 war chariots, which were quartered in special cities (1 K. 9:19 10:26; see BETH-MARCAOTH). In his reign the purchase of horses and chariots became an organised trade; they were imported (though Winckler denies this; see MIZRAIM, § 2 [a]) from Egypt, at the cost of 600 shekels, or about £80 for each chariot¹ (v. 28 f.). From this time onwards we constantly read of chariots and horsemen both in the northern and in the southern kingdom (1 K. 16:9 22:34 2 K. 8:21 13:7 Is. 27 Mic. 5:9 [Heb.]). In col. ii. 91 of Shalmaneser II.'s great monolith inscription we are startled to find that Ahab's contingent of chariots, 2000 in number, largely exceeded that of any other state in the confederacy that encountered the Assyrian army at Karkar in 854 B.C. (cp AHAB, § 7). From Is. 30:16 31:1 36:9 we may infer (with Kamphausen) that the supply of chariots and horses from Egypt was one of the grounds of alliance between that power and Judah.

Since Egypt was the land from which the Hebrews obtained their supply of this arm, we turn to its monuments for illustrative material; and this we obtain in abundance from the eighteenth

6. Egyptian chariots.

dynasty onwards (vol. vi. in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*). Before the eighteenth dynasty (1500 B.C.) chariots and horses were unknown in Egypt, and there is good evidence to show that they were borrowed from the North Palestinian race called Rutenu.² The Egyptian chariot usually contained two persons. Nowack (*HA* 1:367), however, is wrong in his assertion that this was invariably the case. In Lepsius' *Denkmäler* (Abth. iii. Bl. 157 f.) we have numerous illustrations of chariots with three figures. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, however, this was not common, except in triumphal processions, 'when two of the princes or noble youths accompanied the king in their chariot, bearing the royal sceptre, or the flabella, and required a third person to manage the reins.' On the other hand Hittite chariots frequently contained three occupants (see below, § 9). Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 160) exhibits figures of Egyptian chariots in which the right-hand warrior bears the bow while the left carries the shield. Here, as in many other cases, we find the reins tied round the body of one of the combatants while he is engaged in action. On another page (Bl. 165) we have a chariot with the solitary royal

¹ In 1 K. 10:28 (2 Ch. 1:16) the text is very uncertain in the latter part of the verse. In MT of 1 K. 10:28 we found מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם. It seems simplest with Kamphausen (in *Kant. HS*) to cancel the first מִצְרַיִם and to render the whole verse 'And the export of the horses of Solomon was from Egypt; and the royal merchants used to fetch a troop for payment.' This is certainly preferable to the other suggestion, to which Ki. in his note on 2 Ch. 1:16 (*SVG* 7) refers—*wa*, to make a translation and read . . . יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם 'the king's traders getting every time a troop . . . ' The use of the distributive construction is very forced. Ki. himself finds a reference in מִצְרַיִם to Kue—*i.e.*, E. Cilicia. See the note referred to and cp MIZRAIM, § 3 (a).

² Sayce (*Notes of the OT* 102 f. 124) has shown that this Egyptian name included the Hittites. It is significant that the Palestinian peoples chiefly associated chariots with the Hittites and the Egyptians; 2 K. 7:6 (on which, however, see AHAB, § 6).

occupant, Rameses II., drawing the bow, while the reins of his two horses are tied around his middle. Indeed, one of the most striking features in these vivid scenes of combat, is the multiplicity of functions discharged by the chariot rider. The accompanying figure (fig. 3) exhibits an archer in the act of drawing his bow with the right hand. A whip consisting of a stick handle with leather thong attached, is suspended from his wrist, while round his waist are fastened the horses' reins.

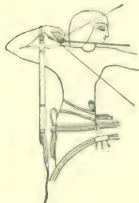


FIG. 3.—Egyptian Archer (Thebes). After Wilkinson.

It is obvious from the representations which portray the manufacture of different portions of the Egyptian chariot, that it was almost entirely constructed of wood. It was light and open from behind, so that it could be easily mounted, and consisted of 'a wooden framework, sometimes strengthened and ornamented with metal and leather binding. The flat bottom was formed of a kind of network, consisting of interlaced thongs or rope, which gave it elasticity and mitigated the jolting' (Wilkinson).

The occupants of a chariot nearly always stood. In rare instances the car was provided with a seat in which the royal personage sat. The furniture consisted of a bow-case, which was placed in a slanting position pointing forwards, and was often ornamented with the figure of a lion. There were also receptacles for arrows and spears, which, as a general rule, slanted backwards (see fig. 4).

The diameter of the wheel was a little over three feet. The felloe was in six pieces and the tire was fastened to it by bands of hide passing through long narrow holes. The yoke, resting upon a small, well-padded saddle, was firmly fitted into a groove of metal; and the saddle, placed upon the horse's withers, and furnished with girths and a breastband, was surmounted by an ornamental knob; and in front of it a small hook secured the bearing rein.

The other reins passed through a thong or ring at the side of the saddle, and thence over the projecting extremity of the yoke, and the same thong secured the girths.¹ Further details may be found in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's exhaustive work, from which the above description has been borrowed.

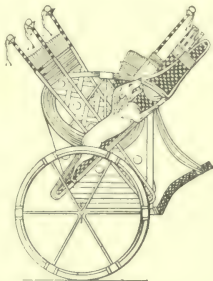


FIG. 4.—Egyptian chariot with bow- and arrow-cases (Thebes). After Wilkinson.

The chariots of the Assyrians were of stouter and more solid construction than those of the Egyptians, since the former were intended to sustain the wear and tear of rough and rugged paths in distant campaigns. Thus we often find that the tires and felloes of the wheels amounted together to as much as eight or ten inches in thickness. In the early part of the ninth century B.C. we find chariots of this description employed by Āšur-nāšir-pal. Upon the obelisk of this monarch we find the archer standing on the right hand and the driver on the left, and these are their respective positions in nearly all the examples depicted on the Assyrian monuments. We observe, moreover, in all the portrayals belonging to the ninth century and the early part of the eighth, that the two receptacles for arrows are placed on the right side, and are disposed crosswise over one another,

and in a slanting position as in the Egyptian examples. We notice, in one case depicted in Āšur-nāšir-pal's obelisk, an attendant on foot bearing a shield, and holding the reins. This meets us again on one of the monuments of Tiglath-pileser III.

Vivid representations of the chariots of this period may be found in the reliefs of the Nimrud gallery in the British Museum. One excellent example, reproduced in the accompanying figure (fig. 5), is borrowed from a



FIG. 5.—Hunting-chariot of Āšur-nāšir-pal. Brit. Mus. Nimrud Gallery.

hunting-scene in which the monarch Āšur-nāšir-pal is engaged. Note that we have here, as in many other instances of this period, three horses—a contrast with Egyptian usage, in which the number never exceeded two. The pole of the chariot is fixed to the base of the 'body,' to the upper part of which is fastened, on the left, a large heavy shaft¹ attached to rings upon the shoulder-pieces of the central as well as the outer horse on the left side. The rein on the right-hand steed passes through a ring on his shoulder, and is attached to the bit. The use of bits with ancient Egyptian, as well as Assyrian, war-horses can admit of no doubt. As in other examples, the two receptacles for arrows cross each other slantwise on the right side of the chariot—for that was obviously the side on which the archer most conveniently stood, thus preserving his right hand and side unencumbered by his companion in the use of the bow. A battle-axe stands among the arrows in one receptacle, whilst an extra bow is inserted among those in the other. We notice in this example, as in all others portrayed on the monuments of this period, that the axle of the wheel, as in the Egyptian chariot, is placed under the hindermost extremity of the body of the vehicle, in order to ensure more steadiness; consequently part of the weight of the chariot and its occupants rested on the horses. In another specimen on the reliefs of this period we again observe three steeds harnessed to the chariot, while in this case the driver holds a whip. Near the front of the chariot, between the two occupants, rises a pole surmounted by a symbolic device, from which hang ornamented tassels. In other examples a spear may be seen in the receptacle that slopes backwards. Often the horses are richly ornamented with crests, sometimes with a necklace² or collar. Leather straps pass beneath and in front of the animal. We find tassels hanging down apparently from a metal boss on its side. Otherwise the animal is unprotected.

Among the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III. we observe a state-chariot with two horses and three occupants. There is no archer. The king stands on the right and the driver on the left. The driver has three reins in each

¹ Weiss (in *Kostümbunde* under the head of Assyrian chariots) describes this as merely 'a broad strip of cloth or leather,' but confesses that it is obscure as to its nature or purpose. The present writer's personal inspection of numerous examples in the Nimrud gallery leads him to regard it as much more solid in structure, and as probably intended to yoke the third steed to the other two horses. When a third horse ceased to be yoked to the chariot, at the close of the eighth cent., this large and heavy shaft no longer encumbered the Assyrian chariot.

² Not improbably this contained amulets or charms, like the crescents on the camels' necks in Judg. 8:21. See Whitehouse, *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, 50, f. and footnote.

hand, a whip in his right. In front stands an attendant holding the reins. The monarch is shaded by an umbrella. We notice two new points. 8. In 8th cent. The receptacle for arrows stands upright. Also the wheels are now much enlarged, being about 4½ feet in diameter, with tire and felloes of

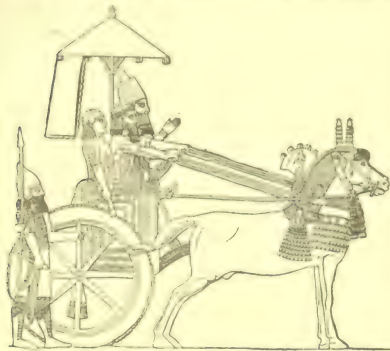


FIG. 6.—State-chariot of Sennacherib. Brit. Mus. Nimrud Gallery.

considerable thickness. Mr. T. G. Pinches is disposed to think that the inner rim of the wheel was of metal, and appearances would seem to justify this conclusion. It is possible, however, that we have here plating, not solid metal.

The state chariot of Sennacherib, which we here reproduce (fig. 6), exhibits wheels at least 4½ feet in diameter, with eight spokes. We notice the thickness of the tire and felloes, and the metal studs or nails on the outer circumference. A large umbrella is fixed in the chariot. Here the driver is on the right hand, the king on the left. We also observe no receptacle for arrows, bow, or battle-axe; from the close of the eighth century onwards the archers become dissociated from the chariots; in the time of Ašur-bāni-pal they usually constitute a separate corps.¹

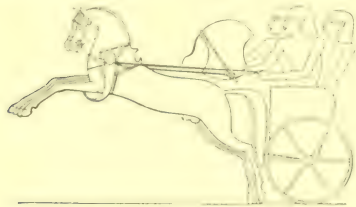


FIG. 7.—Hittite Chariot. After Meyer.

Of the Hittite chariot we obtain the clearest conception from Egyptian portrayals, and a special interest belongs to it because it is probably to be regarded as the prototype from which the Egyptian was derived, and the Israelite vehicle was ultimately, if not proximately, borrowed.

9. Hittite chariots.

In one case, however (12), we have a single-horse chariot carrying two archers with quivers on their backs. Moreover, the large upper shaft to which reference has been made disappears altogether from the time of Sennacherib onwards. Not more than two horses are harnessed to the chariot. Also it becomes simpler in form, while the wheels become larger. In the representation of Ašur-bāni-pal's war against Elam (Nimrud gallery 43, 49) we observe that the wheels have as many as twelve spokes. In some cases there is only a single occupant. In others there are several occupants, and an umbrella is fixed in the chariot when it conveys a royal personage or some nobleman of distinction.

In one respect it differed from the Egyptian, viz. in carrying three, not, as a rule, two occupants. This is important, as it seems to throw light upon Hebrew usage, to which we shall presently refer. The ordinary weapons of the chariot-fighter were bow and arrows. In the annexed figure (fig. 7) it will be observed that the two-horsed chariot has among its three riders a shield-bearer, who apparently occupies the central position. The driver on the left holds only a single rein in each hand, though he is driving two steeds, which are held together by a strong collar and undergirths. Simplicity and strength combined with lightness are the chief characteristics of the Hittite chariot.

Among the ancient Hebrews, as among the Assyrians, Egyptians, Hittites, and Greeks, the horses were always arrayed side by side, never one behind another. Moreover, with the Assyrians and the Egyptians the chariot usually held two persons. This was the case perhaps occasionally in Israel; but various considerations lead to the inference that the chariots as a rule held three, as among the Hittites, the occupants being the driver, the bowman, and the shield-bearer. (In the case of Jehu, he himself handles the bow, 2 K. 9.24.) It is therefore as something peculiar and exceptional that we find Jehu recalling to Bidkar that they were riding in pairs¹ behind Ahab, as his body-guard, when the latter was confronted by Elijah near Naboth's vineyard (2 K. 9.25). This Hebrew-Hittite usage may explain the word שַׁלִּישׁ (*šālīš*; see ARMY, § 4) which, in its origin, signified one of the three occupants of the royal chariots that accompanied the king to battle. The word is used during the regal period in the sense of a distinguished attendant of the king who accompanied him in his chariot. This is evident from 2 K. 9.25 where Bidkar holds this position in relation to Jehu. It is significant that in 1 K. 9.22 the *šālīšim* (שַׁלִּישִׁים) are placed in close connection with captains of chariots (שָׂרֵי רֶכֶב), and formed a body-guard commanded by a special officer, 'chief of the *šālīšim*' (רֹאשׁ הַשַּׁלִּישִׁים); 1 Ch. 11.11 [2 S. 23.8]. Compare the use of *šālīš* in Ex. 14.7. That the *šālīš* held a high position is clearly shown in 2 K. 7.217, where he is described as one 'on whose hand the king leans.' (Probably the term is used here as equivalent to רֹאשׁ הַשַּׁלִּישִׁים.)

In addition to the *šālīš* the king was frequently accompanied by 'runners' (רָצִים), who were prepared to render assistance when the king dismounted from the chariot, or to hold the reins (as in the reliefs of the Assyrian kings to which we have already referred), or to discharge any other duty in the king's service, 2 S. 15.1 1 K. 15.2 K. 10.23 11.4 (see ARMY, § 4). In the time of David there was a special body of fifty men detailed for this special function.

We know that the Persian kings took with them on their expeditions ἀρμαμαζας—four-wheeled carriages covered with curtains, specially employed

11. Persian chariots.

for the conveyance of women and children, as may be inferred from Herod. 7.41 Xenoph. Cyrop. vi.4.11. Probably these closely resembled, or were identical with, the ὄχηματα ἐνθρόνια ἐκείνοια—adapted for sitting or lying down. According to 2 Ch. 35.23 f. Josiah, when mortally wounded, was removed from his war-chariot into a reserve chariot (רֶכֶב כִּשְׁוֹן) which was probably regarded by the Charioteer as partaking of this character.

In later times chariots were provided with scythes (ἀρματα ὀπρωσφόρα, Xenoph. Anab. i.7.1 Diod. Sic. 17.53). This device does not meet us among the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians,² but we know that scythe-bearing chariots were employed by the Persians and

¹ So רֶכֶב רִכְבִּים should be interpreted (Thenius and others). ² Against the view that scythes are referred to in Nah. 2.3 [4] see IRON, § 2.

later still by the Syrians (2 Macc. 13a). It was probably the Persians who introduced this formidable addition to the war-chariot. (Cp Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vi. 13c.)

The different portions of the chariot receive special names in the Heb. of the OT. 'Wheels,' עֲרֹכָיִם, are mentioned in Nah.

12. Parts of chariot. 82 (cp Is. 28:27 Prov. 20:26). Another name, more descriptive, was 'rollers,' עֲרֹכָיִם (Is. 6:28 Ezek. 10:2-6 23:24 26:10). The 'spokes' of the wheel were called עֲרֹכָיִם, while the 'felloes' had the name עֲרֹכָיִם.

20:2. The wheel revolves by a nave (עֲרֹכָיִם), round an axle (עֲרֹכָיִם). See WHEEL. All these terms are to be found in the *locus classicus*, 1 K. 7:23 f.

The pole of the chariot, עֲרֹכָיִם, was (according to Mish. *Kelim* 14:24) fastened below the middle of the axle, passed under the base of the 'body' of the chariot, and then, curving upwards, ascended to the neck of the horses. To this, draught-animals were fastened by means of the yoke, assisted by cords or wide leather straps. Beyond these broad features it is doubtful how far we are justified in following the details contained in a treatise of the Mishna composed centuries after the latest OT literature.

That the chariot, which was so closely associated with the public functions of Oriental monarchs, both in war and in peace, entered into the religious

13. Religious conceptions. conceptions as an indispensable portion of the paraphernalia of divine monarchy, cannot awaken surprise. The chariot, therefore, has its place in ancient Semitic religion. Just as the Hellenic religious imagination endowed *Helios* with horses and chariot (as the Homeric Hymn clearly testifies), so Canaanite religion endowed the Sun-god *Šemeš* with the same royal accessories (cp HORSE, § 4). This feature in the cultus of the Sun the Hebrews blended with the worship of Yahwè in the precincts of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, in the days that preceded the Reformation of Josiah (2 K. 23:11). The combination of Yahwè, the God of Israel's armies and of the sky, with the Sun was not unnatural to the Hebrew mind, as their literature testifies both early and late. Cp 1 K. 8:2 f. (an old fragment of the Book of Jashar restored by We. from 6 in 1 K. 8:53); Ps. 19:1-7 84:11 [12].¹ Yahwè, as Lord of hosts, has chariots among his retinue. These were the 'chariots and horses of deliverance' whereon Yahwè rode forth to conquer and terrify Israel's foes in the days of the Exodus (Hab. 3:8 f.). With this graphic touch in the Prayer of Habakkuk we may compare the fiery chariots of 2 K. 2:11 6:17 13:14² as well as a phrase occurring in the magnificent triumphal ode, Ps. 68:18. O. C. W.

CHADIZ, FEASTS OF (חַדִּיז אֶתְּמַרְתָּ [Ti. WH]), JUDITH AV. See EUCCHARIST.

CHARME (ΧΑΡΜΗ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:25 RV = Ezra 2:39 = Neh. 7:42, HARIM, I.

CHARMER (חַרְמֵר חֶרֶם, Deut. 18:11, etc.; חַרְמֵר חֶרֶם, Is. 3:3 RV^{mg}). See MAGIC, § 3.

CHARMIS, one of the three rulers of Bethulia: Judith 6:15 8:10 10:6 (ΧΑΡΜΙΣ [BN], χαλμ. [A]); in 8:10 10:6 ΧΑΡΜΙ[Ε]ΙΝ [BNA]).

CHARAN (ΧΑΡΑΝ [Ti. WH]), Acts 7:24, RV HARAN, I.

CHASEBA (ΧΑΣΕΒΑ [BA], om. L), an unknown family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii., § 9), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5:31, between the Nekoda and Gazzam of || Ezra 2:48 Neh. 7:50 f.

CHAVAH (חַוָּה), Gen. 3:20 AV^{mg}, EV EVE. See ADAM AND EVE, § 3.

CHEBAR (כְּבַר, ΧΟΒΑΡ [BAQ]), the name of a Babylonian stream, near which Ezekiel had prophetic visions

¹ But cp BATTLEMENT.

² The Rakub-el, 'chariot of El' (line 22), of the Zenjirli Panamtu inscription furnishes an interesting parallel. It is possible, however, that Rakub (cp the *Ar. rakūbun*, 'a camel for riding') may mean the divine steed (cp the Heb. Kerūb, Ps. 18:11; but see СИНУВУВ, § 1, begin.). It is mentioned frequently along with the deities Hadad, El, Šemesh, and Reshef. See D. H. Müller's art. in *Contemp. Rev.*, April 1894.

(Ez. 1:1 [adnot. Q^{mg} ΒΑΡΥΓΜΟΣ] 3:23 10:15:20:22 43:3 on 3:15, which is a gloss, see TEL-ABIB). In spite of the apparent resemblance of the names (but note the different initial letters), the Chebar cannot be the same as the HABOR (חֶבֶר)—Babylonia never included the region watered by this river—but must be one of the Babylonian canals (Bab. *nārāti*; חֶבֶר נָרַיִם, Ps. 137:1). This was first pointed out by Nöldeke (Schenkel, *BL*, 1:508 [169]). The final proof has been given by Hilprecht, who has found mention twice of the (*nāru*) *kābaru*, a large navigable canal a little to the E. of Nippur 'in the land of the Chaldeans.'¹

CHEDOR-LAOMER (כְּדֻרְלֹמֶיֶר, so eastern reading, but כְּדֻרְלֹמֶיֶר western reading [Ginsb. *Intr.* to *Mass.* crit. ed. 203 f.; conversely Strack, *Kohut*

1. Story. *Semitic Studies*, 566); ΧΘΔΟΛΑΟΜΟΡ [AFL.] ΔΑΔ, [Δ], ΑΑΓ, [D]), according to Gen. 14:4 was a king of Elam, whose dominion extended as far as the SE. of Canaan, where five kings, of whom those of Sodom and Gomorrah were the chief, served him twelve years. In the thirteenth year, however, they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year they were defeated by the Elamite and his allies. In the sequel of the story (*vv.* 12-24) we are told how Abram with his own servants and some allies pursued the victorious army and rescued not only the captured kings but also his nephew Lot (see ABRAHAM, § 2). The question whether this narrative is trustworthy, and whether the Chedor-laomer of the story and his allies are historical personages, is ruled by the other, as to the date of the chapter containing it.

2. Its date. That the chapter is quite an isolated piece, and formed no part of the writings from which the Hexateuch was composed, may be considered as certain. Some scholars, however, (*e.g.*, Kittel) assign it to the eighth century B.C., and are of opinion that the author had an older writing before him; according to others, it is not older than the fourth century B.C.² The former hold that the antiquity and the authenticity of the story are attested by the following facts:—(1) that at least the name of the chief king is purely Elamitic; (2) that the Rephāim, the Zamzumim (= Zuzim), and the Emim really occupied in ancient times what afterwards became the dwelling places of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, whilst the Horites (Gen. 36:20), according to Dt. 2:10 ff. and 20 ff., were the oldest inhabitants of Seir; (3) that AMORITES (*q.v.*), the name of the people established, according to v. 7, in Hazazon-tamar (= Engedi, 2 Ch. 20:2), is the ancient name of the people of Canaan (Gen. 15:16 48:22 Am. 2:9), and that several names (En-mishpat, Hobab, Shaveh), words, and expressions not occurring anywhere else, as well as the exact description of the campaign (*vv.* 5-7), bear the impress of antiquity and trustworthiness.

The arguments of those who ascribe the narrative to a post-exilic Jew, whose aim was to encourage his contemporaries by the description of Abram's victory over the great powers of the East, his unselfishness, piety, and proud magnanimity towards heathen men, mostly take their starting-point in the second part of the chapter.

It is pointed out that the names of Abram's allies, Mamre and Eshcol, occur elsewhere (Gen. 13:18 23:17 19:25:9 35:27 50:13 Nu. 13:23) as place names; that Melchizedek (Melchisedek) and Abram are represented as monotheists; and that the patriarch pays tithes to the priest-king, a duty not prescribed at all in Dt. (see 14:22-29 26:12 ff.), but characteristic of the post-exilic sacerdotal law (Nu. 18:21-28).

The criticism extends also, however, to the first part,

¹ A tablet published by Dr. Clay in vol. ix. of Hilprecht's *Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (pl. 50, No. 84, l. 2). It should be added that *Chebar*=great, so that *nāru kākūb* Paru=Grand Canal.

² See, *e.g.*, E. Meyer, *Gd* 1:165 f. (84); *Kue. Hex.* 324 (82); St. *ZAW* 6:223 (86); We. *CU* 3:10 f. (83); Che. *OPB*, 22, 105, 270 (91), cp *Founders*, 237 f.; Holzinger, *Eint. in d. Hex.* 425 (93).

with which we are here chiefly concerned. It is remarked that there is no evidence of the historicity of the campaign in question, which is, in fact, as closely as possible connected with a view of Abraham which we know to have been post-exilic (cp ELIEZER, 1). Moreover, it is difficult to resist the impression that the names of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah—viz., Bera' and Birsha' (compounds conveying the idea of 'evil', 'badness')—and the name given in the narrative to the town of Zoar—viz., Bela' = 'perdition' (see BELA)—perhaps also that of the king of Zeb'aim, which the Samaritan text gives as Shem-ebed = 'slave-name'—are, some of them at least, purely symbolical and therefore fictitious. (See, however, in each case, the special article.)

What is certain is this: Chedor-laomer, = Kudur-lagamar, is a purely Elamite name, which is not, indeed, found as a royal name on the monuments, but is of the same type as

3. Name Chedor-laomer.

Kudur-nahhundi (Kutir-nahhunte in Old Suisian), the name of a king who in the beginning of the twenty-third century B.C. conquered the whole; and Kudur-mabuk, the name of another king, who, probably later, was master of a part of Babylonia. Lagamar(u) (Lakamar) occurs as the name of an Elamite deity, not only in 5 R (p. vi., coll. 6, 33), but also in the Inscriptions of Anzan-fūsinak, and seems to be the same as Lagamar, the queen of the town of Kisurre (2 R pl. lx. 15a = 14b). Hence the name cannot be the invention of a Hebrew writer. It can hardly be doubted, either, that Arioch, king of Ellasar, is really no other than Eri-aku (i.e., servant of the Moon-god), the well-known king of Larsa, son of Kudur-mabuk.²

These discoveries have opened a wide field for ingenious combinations. It has been observed that Kudur-mabuk is called in one of the inscriptions of his son by the name Adda-martu, 'Father of the West.' Now, the word Martu being commonly used, at least in later times, to designate Western Asia, especially Canaan (*mat Akkari*, or perhaps better *mat Amurri*, the land of the Amorites), Adda = Father has been interpreted to mean conqueror, and this has been taken as evidence that, in a very remote period, Canaan fell under Elamite dominion. It is a pity that we must call attention to a weak point in this theorising. Kudur-mabuk is not the same as Kudur-lagamar, and *Adda-martu* seems to be only a synonym of *adda-šar-šar-šar-šar*, a title which the same king, as ruler of a western province of Elam, bears in other inscriptions (see Tiele, *B.A.S.* 123, f.).

The attempts to make out the two other Eastern kings to be historical personages must be considered failures. According to Jos. Halévy,

4. Amraphel. Amraphel is the famous Babylonian king Hammu-rābi himself, whose name is explained in Semitic as *Kimta-rapaštu* ('am = kimta, raphel = rapaltu = rapaštu); whilst, according to Hommel (*GBA* 364 ff.), he is Hammu-rābi's father Sin-muballit, because Sin is, sometimes named Amar and *muballit* may conceivably have been condensed into *pal* (*phel*). (See also AMRAPHEL.) With more confidence Shin'ar is stated to be a Hebraised form of Sumer (see Schr. *KAT*). Unfortunately, this is by no means certain. Though Hammurabi was king of Babylon, and therefore of Akkad, he was not king of Sumer so long as Eri-aku was king of Larsa. Not till he had put an end to the Elamite dominion in Babylonia could he be called king of Sumer, and then neither Eri-aku nor an Elamite king could join with him in the conquest of Canaan. As to Tid'al, king of Goyim, we may read his name Thargal, following ³11; we may identify the Goyim with the people of Gutium; we may even go so far as prudence permits in theorising on the latest discoveries: but all this does not make TIDAL (q.v.) historical. All that we can say is that the writer of

5. Conclusion. Gen. 14 no more invented the names of Amraphel and Tid'al (or Thargal)

¹ F. H. Weissbach, 'Anzanische Inschriften,' in *Abh. d. Phil.-hist. Classe der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* xii., Leipzig, 1871, p. 102 (of separate copy).
² This, rather than Kim-sin, has been proved by Schr. to be the correct reading of the name (*Sitz.-ber. k. Preuss. Ak. Phil.-hist. Classe*, 24 Oct. 1895, xli.).

than those of Chedor-laomer and Arioch; the former are very possibly corruptions of the names of historical personages whom we are as yet unable to identify. Nor do we assert that the whole story is the product of the inventive faculty of the author. That in very remote times, Babylonian kings extended their sway as far as the Mediterranean, is not only told in ancient traditions (e.g., of Sargon I.), but has also been proved by the Amarna tablets. From these we learn that as late as the fifteenth century B.C., when the kings of Babylon and Assyria had no authority beyond their own borders and Egypt gave the law to Western Asia, Babylonian was the official and diplomatic language of the Western Asiatic nations. Hence it is not impossible, it is even probable, that a similar suzerainty was exercised over these nations by the Elamites, who were more than once masters of Babylonia. Our author, whether he wrote in the eighth century B.C., or, which is more probable, in the fourth, may have found this fact in some ancient record, and utilised it both for the glorification of the Father of the Faithful and for encouraging his contemporaries.

So much appears to be all that can be safely stated in the present state of research. Scheil, however, is of

6. Further theories.

opinion ('96) that the Ku-dur-la-g-ga-mar (?) whom he finds in a cuneiform epistle was the Elamite king of Larsa who was conquered by Hammu-rābi and Sin-idinnam, and, therefore, cannot have been any other than the son of Kudur-mabuk, who, as king of Larsa (Ur), had adopted the name of Rim-sin (Eri-aku)? Pinches has discovered a cuneiform tablet in the Brit. Mus. collection which has naturally excited great hopes among conservative critics. It is sadly mutilated; but it is at least clear that names which may be the prototypes of Arioch, Tid'al, and possibly Chedor-laomer, were known in Babylonia when the tablet was inscribed. The tablet dates, probably, from the time of the Arsacidæ; but it is tempting to assume that the inscription was copied from one which was made in the primitive Babylonian period. It should be noticed, however, that the form of the first name is not Eri-aku but Eri-(DP)[E]-a-ku, and that the third name is not read with full certainty, the second part being *-mal*, which is only conjecturally made into *lah-mal*. There is also a second tablet on which two of the names are mentioned again. Pinches reads the one Eri-ē-ku (possibly Eri-ē-ku-a), and the other Ku-dur-lah(?) -gu-mal. In a third inscription the name Ku-dur-lah(?) -gu-[mal] appears. The second of the three names is mentioned only in the first tablet as Tu-ud-hul-a, where, since the Babylonian η answers to the Hebrew η in η eta, Pinches and Schrader agree in recognising the Tid'al of Gen. 14. But not by a single word do these inscriptions confirm the historicity of the invasion 'in the days of Amraphel.'

[The doubts here expressed are fully justified by L. W. King's more recent investigations. Both Scheil's and Pinches' readings of the respective inscriptions are incorrect, and 'though Ku-dur-ku-mal (Kudur-KU-mal) is styled (in Pinches' inscriptions) a king of Elam, there is no reason to suppose that he was a contemporary of Hammu-rābi. He might have occupied the throne at any period before the fourth century B.C.]

To the references already given may be added: 1. Reuinson, *Five Monarchies*, 169 ff., where older works are cited; Tiele, *B.A.S.* 93 ff.; Hommel, *op. cit.* 302 ff.; Schr. *op. cit.* 240 ff.; *CT* 1. 100 ff.; Oppert, *op. cit.* 100 ff.; *Revue biblique*, 1887, 93 ff.; Pinches, *Acts of the Tenth International Congress*, also his paper read before the Victoria Institute, Jan. 20, 1895; Schr. 'Ueber einen altoriental. Herrschernamen' in *SBAW*, 1895, no. xli.; Fr. v. Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux* (Maspero) 194 ff., 'correspondance de Hammurabi, roi de Babylone, avec Sinidinnam, roi de Larsa, où il est question de Chedorlahomer'; cp Hommel, *A.H.T.*, 173-182; L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. 1, 1895. C. P. T.—W. H. K.

CHEESE חֶמְשָׁה הַיָּמִים וְיָמֵי הַחֹדֶשׁ, 2 S. 17:29; חֶמְשָׁה יָמִים, Job 10:10. See MILK.

CHELAL (חֶלַל), one of the b'ne Pahath-moab in the list of persons with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10₃₀ (ח has joined Chelal with the preceding name Adna (אֲדָנָה) and reads אֲדָנָה חַלְלָה [B; with Ἐδναὶ Ἡβῆν] Ἐδναὶ Ἡβῆν Ἡλ [N], Ἐδναε καὶ Χαλῆλ [A], Αἰανασση Χαλαμῶν [L]). The 11 i Esd. 9₃₁ has quite different names—'and of the sons of Addi; Naathus, and Moossias, Lacunus, etc. (ח), however, reads Ἐδνα καὶ Σῖδῶν καὶ Χαλαμῶναι). See LACUNUS.

CHELCIAS, RV HELKIAS, i.e., HILKIAH, q.v. (χελκ[ε]λιᾶς [BAQ cod. 87 Theod.]).

1. The father of Susanna (Hist. of Sus., 77^v, 2, 29, and [om. cod. 87] 63).

2. An ancestor of Baruch (Bar. 1.1).

3. A priest (Bar. 1.7).

CHELLIANS (Χελλδαίων [P], χελκίων [NA], Syr. ܟܠܝܢܐ). In Judith 2₂₃ mention is made of 'the children of Ishmael, which were over against the wilderness to the S. of the land of the Chellians.' The comparatively easier reading Chaldeans, which is attested by ח, Syr. and Vet. Lat., is no doubt rightly considered by Grimm to be a deliberate rectification of the text. See CHELLUS.

CHELLUH, RV CHELUHI, mg. CHELUHU (כְּלִיחַ, Kt.; כְּלִיחַ, Kṛe; χελιαουβ [L; probably through the influence of ελιαυ. v. 35]), mentioned in the list of persons with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10₁₅ (χελκεια [BN], χελια [A]) = 1 Esd. 9₃₄. EV ENASTIBUS (εναστ[ε]βος [BA]).

CHELLUS (χελουγ [BA]; χεελ. [N], ܟܠܘܫ [Syr.]),

one of the places to which Nebuchadrezzar sent his summons, according to Judith 19. The Hailuh of Josh. 15₅₈ may be meant; but the reading χελοους suggests rather CHESULLOTH or CHISLOTH-TABOR, which is given by Jerome and Eusebius as *Chasalus* or *χασελους* (OS²), 91.4, etc., 30264). See CHELLIANS. Another identification should be mentioned. Chellus is perhaps the same as the place which in Jos. Ant. xiv. 1.4 is called αουσα, by Jerome and Eusebius *allus*, αλλουδ (OS²), 856 2118), viz. חלוה (Targ. Jer. Gen. 16₁₄; cp Gen. 20₁ in Ar., and see BERED), or Elusa. Cp We. Heid.² 48, n. 1; WRS, *Kin.* 293f.

CHELOD (χελουγλ [B], χελαιογλα [N*], χελαιογλ [N^a], χελουγλ [A]). 'Very many nations of the sons of Chelod' (Judith 16) assembled themselves to battle in the plain of Arioch in the days of Nebuchadrezzar and Arphaxad (!). What we ought to understand by Chelod is quite uncertain.

Vet. Lat. has *Chelleuth*, and Syr. has 'against the Chaldeans.' One very improbable conjecture is that *χελου* (CALNEH) is intended; another, hardly less unlikely, is that the word is the Hebrew חֶלֶב ('weasel'), and that by the opprobrious designation of 'children of the weasel' are meant the Syrians (Ew. *GVF* 3^a 54).

CHELUH (כְּלִיחַ, § 67, probably a variation of Caleb, cp below).

(1) A Judahite, doubtless to be identified with CALEB (§ 4); similarly We. (*Gen.* 20), who reads 'Caleb b. Hezron' (1 Ch. 4₁₁ χαλεβ [BAL], *Caleb* [Vg.], ܟܠܒ [Pesh]). His designation 'brother of Shuhah' (חֶלֶב וְשׁוּחָה) is not clear; חבא read 'father of Achsah,' possibly a correction (Ki. *SROT*). Cp the still further corrupt Pesh. 'brother of Ahiah' (ܟܠܒ ܘܫܘܚܐ).

(2) Father of Ezri, 1 Ch. 27₂₆ (χελουδ [B], χελουβ [A], χελ. [L]).

CHELUBAI (כְּלִיבַי, § 67, a gentilic [= כְּלִיבַי; see 1 S. 25₃ Kṛe] used instead of the proper name CALEB), b. Hezron, 1 Ch. 29 (0 χαλεβ [A], 0 χαβελ [B], 0 χαλαβω [L], ܟܠܒܝ [Pesh., a corruption]); see CALEB, § 3, CARMi, 1.

CHELUHI (χελια [A]), Ezra 10₃₅ RV, RVmg. **CHELUHA**, AV CHELUHU.

CHEMARIM (חֶמְרִים), Zeph. 1.4 RV 2 K. 23₅ mg. Hos. 10₅ mg.; AV *Chemarims*, Zeph. 1.4. Rather *Kēmārim*.

The original Heb. word appears also in 2 K. 23₅, where EV gives 'idolotrous priests,' and in Hos. 10₅, where EV has 'priests.' It is also highly probable that in Hos. 4.4 we should read, with Beck 'for my people is like its Chemarim' (i.e. however, *ὡς ἀπειλαγομένους ἱερεῖς*, perhaps an error for *οἱ ἱερεῖσιν*) (Schleuser!) ח is transliterated *Chamarim* ([BM] 2 K. *Ac.*; but *ἱερεῖς* is also supported, see Field, *Hex. ad loc.*); it apparently omits in Zeph. 1; (in Hos. it had a different Heb.). Vg. varies between *amaripis* (2 K.) and *aditui* (Zeph. Hos.); Targ. between חֶמְרִים (2 K. Zeph.) and פְּלוּרִי 'the ministers thereof'; Pesh. adheres to ܟܠܒܝ.

As to the meaning, if we appeal to the versions, we find only the dim light which an unassisted study of the context can supply. Evidently the term was applied to the priests of Baal, who served at the high places under royal authority, but were put down by Josiah. But what special idea did the word convey? In itself it meant simply 'priests'; in Zeph. 1.4 *Kēmārim* and *Kōhānīm* are put side by side to express the idea of a priesthood of many members; and in Hos. 3.4 (if the view proposed above be adopted) we have *kēmārim* used of the priests of N. Israel, when these are spoken of objectively, and then *kōhēn*, when the priests are addressed as an organic unity. But the word *Kēmārim* probably also conveyed the idea of a worship which had Syrian affinities. Certainly it cannot be explained from Hebrew; כְּמִר does not mean 'to be black' (cp ECLIPSE), and even if it did, the 'black-robed ones' is a most improbable designation for ancient priests.² The word is no doubt of Syrian origin (see the Aram. inscriptions in *CIS* 2 nos. 113 130). The primitive form is *kumr*, whence Aram. *kumrā* (never used in an unfavourable sense) and Heb. *kēmārim* are normally formed. Lagarde (*Armen. Stud.* 2386) compared Arm. *chourm*; but it is more obviously reasonable to compare the Assyrian *kummaru*, which is given as a synonym of *lubaru zakū*—i.e., 'a clean vesture' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 337 b., cp 254 b.). The term *kēmārim* probably described the Syrian and Israelitish priests in their clean vestments (cp 2 K. 10₂₂, the Baal festival) when ministering to their God. To derive it from an Aram. root meaning 'to be sad' is much less natural.

Delitzsch compares Ass. *kanāru*, 'to throw down'; the term, he thinks, describes the priests as those who prostrate themselves in worship (*Ass. and Heb.*, 41, 42; so Che. *Hos.*, 103, 111). Finally, Robertson Smith,³ noting that the word belongs to a race in which the mass of the people were probably not circumcised (Herod. 2₁₀₄, cp Jos. Ant. viii 103, c. *Ap.* 1. 22) while the priests were (Dio Cassius, 79₁₁; Ep. Barnab. 96; cp Chwolson, *Stabier*, 2114), conjectures that *kumrā* means 'the circumcised' (Ar. *kumara*, 'glans penis'). T. K. C.

CHEMOSH (כְּמוֹשׁ, in *MI* כְּמוֹשׁ; on name see § 4, end; χαμωσ [BabNFQL], αμωσ [B*] Judg. 11₂₄),

1. Moab's national deity. *Chamos*, the national god of the Moabites (1 K. 11₇, Jtr. 48₇ 13). Moab is the people of Chemosh; the Moabites are his sons and daughters (Nu. 21₂₉; cp the relation of Yahwē to Israel, Judg. 5₁₁ Nu. 11₂₉ Judg. 11₂₄ Is. 45₁₁, etc.). A king of Moab in the time of Sennacherib was named Chemoshnadab (*Kamushu-nadab*; 4 cp Jehonadab); the father of Mesha was Chemoshmelech; a gem found near Beirūt is inscribed לְכִמְשִׁי⁶ (cp Heb. חֶמְשִׁי, תימל; Phoen. חֶמְשִׁי, חֶמְשִׁי). The stele of Mesha king of Moab, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram of Israel (2 K. 1.3), in the middle of the ninth century B.C. (see MESHU), was erected to commemorate the deliverance which Chemosh had wrought for his people.

1 Continue, וְשִׁמְשִׁי תִהְיֶה יָמֶיךָ, 'and thou shalt stumblе, O priest, in the daytime'; at the close of the verse read, with Ruben, חֶמְשִׁי, 'thy Thummim' (addressed to the priest).

2 Cp Mishna, *Middot* 54. A priest who had become unfit for service put on black garments and departed. One who was approved by the Sanhedrin clothed himself in white, and went in, and ministered.

3 *EB* 9^v 2. n. 'Priest.'

4 *KH* 2 99 f. (*CVV* 1 281).

5 Others read Chemoshgad.

6 Kennan, *Mss. de Phœn.* 352.

CHEQUER WORK (כִּשְׁמֵרָה), Ex. 28:439 RV. See EMBROIDERY, WEAVING; also TUNIC.

CHERAN (כִּרְאָן; χερραν [ADEL], a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36:26). See DISHON.

CHEREAS, RV CHAREAS (χαίρας and χερ. [A], χεραιας [V]); brother of TIMOTHES (12.2), and commander of the fortress at Gaza (2 Macc. 10:37).

CHERETHITES (כִּרְתִּים, הַכִּרְתִּים, 𐤇 in Sam. and K. ο χερεθαι, or [by assimilation to Pelethites] ο χελεθθαι; Vg. *Cherethi*; 𐤇 in Prophets κρητες, a people in the south of Palestine. In the days of Saul and David a region in the Negeb adjoining Judah and Suleb bore their name (1 S. 30:14, 30:26 [B] χερητες [A] χερρι [L]). From v. 16 it appears that the inhabitants of this region were reckoned to the Philistines; in Zeph. 2:5 and Ez. 25:16 (AV **Cherethims**), also, Philistines and Cherethites are coupled in such a way as to show that they were regarded as one people. Finally, in the names mentioned in the prophecy against Egypt in Ez. 30:5, where AV gives, 'the men of the land that is in league,' we should restore 'the Cherethites' (כִּרְתִּים, בני כִּרְתִּים, so Cornill, Toy). It is to be inferred that the Cherethites were a branch of the Philistines; or, perhaps, that they were one of the tribes which took part with the Philistines in the invasion of Palestine, and that, like the latter, they remained behind when the wave receded (see PHILISTINES, § 2, CAPHTOR, § 2). The 𐤇 translators of Zeph. and Ez. interpreted the name by *Cretans*; and in this, although they may have been guided only by the sound, they perhaps hit upon the truth.² An early connection between Gaza and Crete seems to be indicated by other evidence (see GAZA).

Except in the three passages already cited, the name occurs only in the phrase, 'the Cherethites and Pelethites' (כִּרְתִּים וְכִרְתִּים 𐤇 gen. φελεθθαι) as the designation of a corps of troops in the service of David—his body-guard (2 S. 8:15 [17] 20:2; Kr., 1 K. 1:24 [1 Ch. 18:17; σματοφύλακες Jos. Ant. viii. 54, etc.]).³ They were commanded by BENIAIAH, 1, and remained faithful to their master in all the crises of his reign (2 S. 15:20 1 K. 1).

Only the strongest reasons could warrant our separating the Cherethites of David's guard from the people of the same name spoken of in the same source (1 S. 30:14). There are no such reasons: כִּרְתִּים has the regular form of a gentile noun; and, although much ingenuity has been expended on the problem, all attempts to explain the word as an appellative have failed. The name Pelethite, which is found only coupled with Cherethite in the phrase above cited, also is a gentile noun; the etymological explanations are even more far-fetched than in the case of the Cherethites. The presumption is that the Pelethites also were Philistines; and this is confirmed by the passages cited from Zeph. and Ez.; כִּרְתִּים is perhaps only a lisping pronunciation of כִּרְתִּים, to make it rhyme with כִּרְתִּים.

It need not surprise us that David's guard was composed of foreign mercenaries. The Egyptian kings of the nineteenth dynasty recruited their *corps d'élite* from the bold sea-rovers who periodically descended on their coasts; Rameses II. displays great pride in his Sardinian

guards, and Sardinians and Libyans are the flower of the army of Rameses III.¹ The Philistines were more skilled in arms than the Israelites, and doubtless liked fighting better: cp ITTAI the Gittite, and see ARMY, § 4. It is the opinion of some recent scholars that where David's *gibborim* (EV 'mighty men') seem to be spoken of as a body, the Cherethites and Pelethites are meant; see especially 1 K. 18:10 compared with v. 38. This is, however, not a necessary inference from the verses cited; and conflicts with 2 S. 20:7 (cp 15:18 𐤇). More probably the *gibborim* were the comrades of David in the days of his outlawry and the struggle with the Philistines for independence. See DAVID, § II. In 2 S. 20:23 for 'Cherethites' the Heb. text (Kt.) has Carites (כַּרִּיתִים).² In 2 K. 11:4, where this name again occurs, it probably means 'Carians.' The Carians were a famous mercenary folk, and it would not surprise us to find them at Jerusalem in the days of Athaliah (see CARITES). That the soldiers of the guard in even later times were usually foreigners has been inferred from Zeph. 18 f. and from Ez. 44:6 f.; see WRS *OT/CT*² 260 ff., but also THRESHOLD. For mercenary troops in post-exilic times see ARMY, § 7.

Literature.—Dissertations by Joh. Benedict Carpov (1661), and Hen. Opitz (1672), in *Ugol. Poes.* 27, 423 ff., 451 ff.; J. G. Lakemacher, *Observationes Philologicae*, P. II. (1727), pp. 11-44; Conrad Iken, *Dissertationes Philologicae-Theologicae* (1740), pp. 112-120; B. Behnsen, *Die Kreten und Pleten: eine philologische Untersuchung zum Anschlusse an die* extract from *MGW* (37), pp. 117-153; Kretschki, *FRG* 8:20 ff.

CHERITH (כִּרְתִּים, χερραθ [BAI]; χερρα [Onom.]). ELIJAH (12.2) has just informed Ahab of the impending drought, when we are abruptly told that 'Yahwe's word came unto him, saying, Get thee hence' (i.e., presumably from Samaria), 'and turn to the east (כִּרְתִּים) and hide thyself in the torrent-valley of Cherith which is before (בְּעֵינֵי) Jordan' (1 K. 17:3). This occurs in the first scene of the highly dramatic story of Elijah. In the second he appears in the far north of Palestine—at Zarephath, which hardy suits Robinson's identification (*BR* 1:58) of Cherith with the Wady el-Kelt (which is rather the Valley of ZERBOIM [*q.v.*, i.]). at least if these two scenes stood in juxtaposition from the first. Besides this, the two names *Kelt* and Cherith begin with different palatals and since the expression 'before Jordan' is most naturally explained 'to the E. of the Jordan,'³ it is plausible to hold with Prof. G. A. Smith that the scene of Elijah's retreat must be sought in Gilead (*HC* 580).

Let us, then, look across the Jordan eastward from Samaria (where Elijah may have had his interview with Ahab). The Wady 'Ajlun and the Wady Rājib have been proposed by Thenius; the Wady el-Yābis by Miuhau. But, as C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1:291) points out, Elijah would certainly go to some famous holy place. Of the burial-place of Moses (Niebuhr) we know nothing; but 1 K. 19:9 suggests that the sanctuary was in the far south. It is true, Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 302:6 113:28) already place Cherith (*Xoppa*, *Chorath*) beyond Jordan. Josephus, however, makes Elijah depart 'into the southern parts' (*Ant.* viii. 13:2). What we have to do is to find a name which could, in accordance with analogies, be worn down and

1 Many other examples in ancient and modern times will occur to the reader.
2 In 2 S. 20:23 Kt. כַּרִּיתִים is perhaps not a purely graphic accident; cp also 1 S. 30:14 *L* χερρα, etc.
3 [צֵנְיָא] in geographical and topographical expressions means commonly 'before'; cp 1 K. 11:7 2 K. 20:13 *Di.* 32:24 *Gen.* 28:19 35:15, etc. Besides the vaguer meaning of 'before' (e.g., Gen. 16:9) it is sometimes made definite by the addition of a word or of an expression in order to denote a particular direction—e.g., Josh. 15:8, the mountain *before* the Valley of Hinnom *eastward* (*Zech.* 14, 4), and the Mount of Olives, which is *before* Jerusalem *to the west* (כִּרְתִּים); cp Nu. 21:11 Josh. 18:14. Lastly, it is used in the sense of overlooking; cp Gen. 18:16 19:8 Nu. 23:28 (cp Dr. on 1 Sam. 15:7, *Di.* on Josh. 17, 7, and especially Moore, *Judges*, 16:3). 'to K. 17:3, כִּרְתִּים, 'eastward,' should be corrected to כִּרְתִּים, 'towards the desert' (as 19:4).

1 [כְּרִיתִים in 𐤇 is obviously misplaced; this version has been corrected to the Hebrew; hence the insertion of *τομαριαν* της διαβηρος μου. Davidson's view (כְּרִיתִים = Put) will hardly stand. In three places 𐤇 has *Αιβως* for Put. See CHUB, *Genesiorum*, § 20.]
2 Lakemacher, Ewald, Hitzig, Stade, and others. For another view see CAPHTOR.
3 [The readings vary: thus χερραθ [A] in 2 S. 18:18, χερραθ [L] 𐤇, [A] m. doublet χερεθθαι [A] in 2 S. 20:7; L omits and in 20:2; 𐤇; 𐤇; 𐤇 [B], and χερραθ [A] in 2 Ch. 18:17, χερραθ [L] in 1 K. 1:24 21:1. Variants for Pelethites are φελεθθαι [B] in 2 S. 8:18; φελεθθαι [A] 𐤇; 𐤇 in doublet 2 S. 15:18; and φελεθθαι [B] 𐤇 [8] φελεθθαι [A] in 1 Ch. 18:17. L has uniform φεθθαι, but φεθθαι in 2 S. 15:18, φερεθθαι in 1 Ch. 18:17, and ελυθθαι in 2 S. 20:23; see BENIAIAH, 1.]
4 Abulwalid, Lakemacher, Ewald, etc.

corrupted into *רִבְבוֹת*. Such a name is *Rehoboth*. The valley of Rehoboth (the Wady Rehoboth) would be fitly described as *עֲלֵי־מִיָּם* 'flowing Mirim' (see *MIRIAM*); cp Gen 26.8. The alteration of *מִיָּם* into *רִבְבוֹת* was made in order to suit the next story, in which *ZEPHATH* (*q.v.*) had been already corrupted into *ZAREPHATH*. T. K. C.

CHERUB, plural form **Cherubim** (כְּרֻבִים, כְּרֻבִים; *κερυβες, κερυβιμ*) [*חַוַּיִּם* (*HWY*)]; etymology disputed; Ps 104.4 may allude to a popular [post-exilic] identification of כְּרֻבִים and כְּרֻבִים, but *כְּרֻבִים* being, like *קַרְנָיִם*, a loan-word, a Hebrew etymology is inadmissible). In the composite system of Jewish angelology the cherubim form one of the ten highest classes of angels, while another class is distinguished by the synonymous term 'living creatures' (*חַיִּוֹת*). These two classes, together with the 'ophannim' or 'wheels,' are specially attached to the throne of the divine glory, and it is the function of the cherubim to be bearers of the throne on its progresses through the worlds. The Jewish liturgy, like the 'Te Deum,' delights to associate the 'praises of Israel' (Ps. 22.3[4]) with those offered to God by the different classes of angels, and singles out for special mention in a portion of the daily morning service the 'ophannim, the *חַיִּוֹת*, and the *שֵׁרָפִיִּים*. We find an approach to this conception in the Apocalypse, where the four *ζῶα* (Rev. 4.6-8), though—like the twenty-four *πνευματώδεις*—they are always mentioned apart from the angels, and discharge some altogether peculiar functions, are yet associated with the angels in the utterance of doxologies¹ (Rev. 4.8.5.11-14.19.1-7).

A similar view is suggested in the 'Similitudes' in *Enoch*, in one passage of which (61.10f.) 'the cherubim, seraphim, and 'ophannim, and all the angels of power' are combined under the phrase 'the host of God,' and unite in the ascription of blessedness to the 'Lord of Spirits,' while in another (chap. xl.) the 'four faces on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits' (a reminiscence of Ezek. 16) are identified or confounded with the archangels. Elsewhere, however, a somewhat different view is presented of the cherubim. They are the sleepless guardians of the 'throne of His glory' (71.7); they are the 'fiery cherubim' (14.11), and together with the seraphim (exceptionally called 'serpents,' *ὄφιακότες*) are closely connected with Paradise, and placed under the archangel Gabriel (20.7). From these facts we gather that in the last two centuries B.C. there were different ways of conceiving the cherubim. Some writers had a stronger sense of the peculiarity of the cherubim than the nature of the cherubim than others, and laid stress on such points as their connection with the divine fire, and with Paradise and its serpent-guardians. Whence did they derive a notion so suggestive of mythological comparisons?

The most reasonable answer is, From the earlier religious writings, supplemented and interpreted by a not yet extinct oral tradition. A tale of the serpents by the sacred tree (once probably serpent-demons) may have been orally handed down, but the conception of the fiery cherubim in God's heavenly palace is to be traced to the vision in Ezek. 1, and to the account of the 'mountain of God' in Eden, with its 'stones of fire' and its cherub-guardian, in Ezek. 28.13f. 16. These two passages of Ezekiel form the next stage in our journey. The latter must be treated first, as being evidently a faithful report of a popular tradition. Unfortunately the received Hebrew text is faulty, and an intelligible exegesis of the passage is rarely given. Keil, for instance, admits some reference to Paradise, but feels

1 The differences between the *ζῶα* of Revelation and those of Ezekiel, both as to their appearance and as to their functions, are obvious. But without the latter how could the former have been imagined? The traditional Christian view that the apocalyptic *ζῶα* symbolise the four Gospels can hardly be seriously defended.

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obliged to infer from the epithet 'that covereth' (אֲכַפֵּי) that 'the place of the cherub in the sanctuary (Ex. 25.20) was also present to the prophet's mind.' Nor is the difficulty confined to this epithet and to the equally strange word (מִשְׁכָּתָם) which Vg. renders 'extensus,' and EV 'anointed' (so Theodot.); the opening phrase אֲכַפֵּי, whether rendered 'thou wast the cherub' or (pointing *אֲכַפֵּי* differently) 'with the cherub,'¹ baffles comprehension. It is necessary, therefore, to correct the text of *rev.* 13.7. 16δ; we shall then arrive at the following sense:—

'Thou wast in Eden, the divine garden; of all precious stones was thy covering—cornelian, etc.; and of gold were thy . . . worked; in the day when thou wast made were they prepared. To be . . . had I appointed thee; thou wast upon the holy, divine mountain; amidst the stones of fire didst thou walk and to and fro.'² Then wast thou dishonoured (being cast) out of the divine mountain, and the cherub destroyed thee (hurling thee) out of the midst of the stones of fire.'

The sense now becomes fairly clear. We have here a tradition of Paradise distinct from that in Gen. 2 and 3. Favoured men, it appears, could be admitted to the divine garden, which glittered with precious stones (or, as they are also called, 'stones of fire') like the mythic tree which the hero Gilgames' saw in the Babylonian epic,³ or like the interior of the temples of Babylon or Tyre,⁴ or like the walls and gates and streets of the new Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. But these privileged persons were still liable to the sin of pride, and such a sin would be their ruin. This Ezekiel applies to the case of the king of Tyre, who reckoned himself the favourite of his god, and secure of admission to Paradise.

The idea of the passage is closely akin to that expressed in Is. 14.13-15. The king of Babylon believes that by his unique position and passionate devotion to the gods he is assured of entering that glorious cosmic temple of which his splendid terrace-temples are to him the symbols. Towards Marduk he is humility itself, but to the unnamed prophet of Yahwe he seems proud even to madness. From that heaven of which in his thoughts he is already the inhabitant, the prophet sees him hurled as a lifeless corpse to an ignoble grave. This is just what Ezekiel holds out in prospect to the king of Tyre, and the destroying agent is the cherub. How different this idea of the cherub from that of the apocalyptic *ζῶα*!

We have again a different conception of the cherubim in Ezekiel's vision (Ez. 1).⁵ The prophet has not the old unquestioning belief in tradition, and modifies the traditional data so as to produce effective

3. Ezek. 1. ff. symbols of religious ideas. Out of the elaborate description it is enough to select a few salient points. Observe then that the one cherub of the tradition in ch. 28 has now become four cherubim (cp Rev. 4.6-8), each of which has four faces, one looking each way, viz. that of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, and human hands on his four sides. They are not, however, called cherubim, but *חַיִּוֹת*

¹ So Co., following *ΘΒΑQ*, Sym., but in other respects reading *ἔκαστος*.

² According to the ordinary view which makes the Tyrian prince a cherub, the plumage of the cherub of Ezekiel's tradition was resplendent as if with gold and precious stones. But surely it was not merely as a *χρυσῆς*, but as a *πνεῦμα* it follows, that the Tyrian prince was placed (as the prophet dramatically states) in Paradise, but as one of the 'sons of Elohim'; and the covering spoken of is a state-dress besprinkled with precious stones. 'Stones of fire' means 'flashing stones,' like the Assyrian *šānu šānu*, 'stone of fire,' one of the names of a certain precious stone (Friedr. Del. Par. 118).

³ Tablet IX. See Jeremias, *Jedubar-Nimrod*, 30.

⁴ For Babylonian see Neubauer's *Assyrian inscriptions*, p. 109 ff., where he describes the beautification of the temple *E-sagila* at great length. Gold and precious stones are specially mentioned. For the temple of Tyre see Herod., 2.41 (the two brilliant pillars). Gold was also lavishly used in the temple of Solomon.

⁵ There is a second description in 10.8-17, but it is the attempt of a later writer to improve upon Ezekiel's account, and to prepare the way for *rev.* 20. *V.* 14 should be omitted as a very careless gloss. See Cornill, and on *v.* 14 cp Davidson.

('living creatures'), until we come to 93, and Ezekiel tells us (10₂₀) that he did not 'know that they were cherubim' till he heard them called so by God (10₂). By this he implies that his own description of them differed so widely from that received by tradition that without the divine assurance he could not have ventured to call them cherubim. Sometimes, however, he speaks of them in the singular ('the living creature,' 1₂₀₋₂₂; 'the cherub,' 9₃ 10₂₄, if MT is correct), apparently to indicate that, being animated by one 'spirit,' the four beings formed but one complex phenomenon. The fourfold character of the cherub is caused by the new function (relatively to the account in ch. 28) which is assigned to it; in fact, it has now become the bearer of the throne of God (more strictly of the 'firmament' under the throne 1₂₂₋₂₆). But the whole appearance was at the moment bathed in luminous splendour, so that the seer needed reflection to realise it. We will therefore not dwell too much on what must be to a large extent peculiar to Ezekiel and artificially symbolic, and in so far belongs rather to the student of biblical theology. All that it is important to add is that the divine manifestation takes place within a storm-cloud, and that a fire which gives out flashes of lightning burns brightly between the cherubim; also that there are revolving wheels beside the cherubim, animated by the same 'spirit' as the living creatures, and as brilliant as the chrysolith or topaz; and that in his vision of the temple Ezekiel again modifies his picture of the cherubim, each cherub having there but two faces, that of a man and that of a lion (41_{18 f.}).

Another group of passages on the cherubim is found in the Psalter, viz. Ps. 18_{11 f.} [11 f.] 89_{1 [2]} 99₁, and to the latter we may join not only Ps. 22_{3 [4]}, but phrases in 1 S. 4₄ 2 S. 6₂ 1 Ch. 13₆ 2 K. 19₁₅ 1 S. 37₁₀.

4. Some post-exilic passages. All these passages are post-exilic.¹ In the first we read, 'He bowed the heavens and came down, and thick clouds were under his feet; he mounted the cherub and flew, he came swooping upon the wings of the wind.' That there is a mythical conception here is obvious, but it has grown very pale, and does not express much more than Ps. 104_{3b}. The conception agrees with that of Ezekiel; the cherub (only one is mentioned, but this does not exclude the existence of more) is in some sense the divine chariot, and has some relation to the storm-wind and the storm-clouds. The other psalm-passages appear at first sight to give a new conception of the cherubim, who are neither the guards of the 'mountain of God,' nor the chariot of the moving Deity, but the throne on which he is seated. It may be questioned, however, whether the phrase 'enthroned upon the cherubim' is not simply a condensed expression for 'seated on the throne which is guarded by the cherubim.' Both in the Psalter and in the narrative-books it is the heavenly throne of Yahwé which is meant, the throne from which (as is implied in Ps. 80 [2] 99₁ and 2 K. 19₁₅) he rules the universe and guides the destiny of the nations. That is the only change which has taken place in the conception of the cherubim; they have been definitely transferred to heaven, and, strictly speaking, their occupation as bearers of the Deity should have gone, for the 'angels' are sufficient links between God and the world of men. Or rather there is yet another point in which the cherub idea has been modified; it is indicated in Ps. 22_{3 (4)} where, if the text is correct, ²Yahwé is addressed as 'enthroned,' not upon the cherubim, but 'upon the praises of Israel.' The idea is that the cherubim in heaven have now the great new function of praising God, and that in the praiseful services of the temple, where God is certainly in some degree present, the

congregation takes the place of the cherubim. This at any rate agrees with later beliefs, and may be illustrated by the direction in Ex. 25₂₀ (P) that the faces of the cherubim on the ark shall be 'towards the mercy-seat' (*kapporeth*). The meaning of the priestly theorist (for the description is imaginary, the ark having long ago disappeared) is, that the cherubim are a kind of higher angels who surround the earthly throne of Yahwé and contemplate and praise his glory. It is also stated that their faces are to be 'one to another,' and, if we add to this that they have to guard, not Yahwé, but the sacramental sign of his favour, we get three points in which the cherubim of the priestly writer are closely analogous to the seraphim of the vision of Isaiah (Is. 6).

We now come to the cherubim in the temple of Solomon. Carved figures of cherubim were prominent in the decoration of the walls and the doors, and two colossal cherubim stood in the *dtbir* or 'adytum,' where they 'formed a kind of *dnis*, one wing being horizontally stretched towards the lateral wall, whilst the other overshadowed the ark, a felicitous arrangement resulting in charming effects'¹ (see 1 K. 6₂₃₋₃₅). Obviously they are the guards of the sacred ark and its still more sacred contents. (P TEMPLE.)

There is no record of any myth which directly accounts for the temple-cherubim. But an old tradition said that after the first human pair had been driven out of the divine garden,

6. Paradise story. Yahwé 'stationed at the east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim and the blade of the whirling sword,'² and the function of these two allied but independent powers was 'to guard the way to the tree of life' (Gen. 3₂₄). Neither in this case, nor in the preceding one, is any account given of the physiognomy of the cherubim. In the height of the mythological period no such account was needed.

We see therefore that the most primitive Hebrew myth described the cherubim as beings of superhuman power and devoid of human sympathies,

7. Development. whose office was to drive away intruders from the abode of God, or of the gods. Originally this abode was conceived of as a mountain, or as a garden on the lower slopes of a mountain, and as glittering with a many-coloured brightness. But when the range of the supreme god's power became wider, when from an earth-god he became also a heaven-god, the cherub too passed into a new phase; he became the divine chariot. We have no early authority for this view, but the age which produced the story of Elijah's ascent to heaven in a fiery chariot (2 K. 2₁₁) may be supposed to have known of fiery cherubs on which Yahwé rode. At a still later time, the cherubim, though still spoken of by certain writers, were no longer indispensable.³ The forces of nature were alike Yahwé's guards and his ministers. Mythology became a subject of special learning, and its details acquired new meanings, and the cherub-myth passed into an entirely new phase.

There is much that is obscure about the form of the primitive Israelitish cherub. It was in the main a land-animal, but it had wings. That is all that we know, though a probable conjecture (see below) may lead us further. As to the meaning of the cherubim, they have been thought to represent the storm-clouds which sometimes hang around the mountain peaks, sometimes rush 'on the wings of the wind,' sending forth arrow-

¹ In the three passages from S. and 1 Ch. the phrase *כְּרֻבִים* has been interpolated (cp. Ahs, § 1).

² See Chas. P. 2: and *loc.*, where the text of the deeply corrupt verse is restored with some confidence.

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Judaea*, 1245.
² The sword is not the sword of the cherubim but that of Yahwé; it is the same with which he 'slew the dragon' (Is. 27₁). Marduk, too, has such a sword (see Smith, *Chald. Gen.* 86 [80]), and the illustration, opp. 114).
³ In Hab. 8₈ a very late poet speaks of Yahwé as riding, not upon a cherub, but upon horses. This is a return to a very old myth (see table 4 of the Babylonian Creation epic, p. 52, Zimmern's restoration in Gunkel's *Schöpfung*, 411).

like flashes of lightning. This theory is consistent with the language of Ps 187 f. Ez. 14 f. 34, and the passages in *Luzsch.* but hardly explains the symbolism of the

8. Origin. cherub in its earliest historically known forms. At any rate, we can affirm positively that the myth is of foreign origin. Lenormant thought that he had traced it to Babilylona,¹ on the ground that *kirabu* occurs on a talisman as a synonym for *Sidu*, a common term for the divine bull-guardian of temples and palaces. This theory however is not confirmed as regards the derivation of כְּרֻב (see *Z.A.* 166 f. [86]). We may indeed admit that Ezekiel probably mingled the old Palestinian view of the cherub with the *amalogous* Babylonian conception of the divine winged bulls. But, so far as can be seen at present, the early Hebrew cherub came nearer to the griffin, which was not divine, but the servant of the Deity, and the origin of which is now assigned to the Hittites of Syria.² The idea of this mythic form is the combination of parts of the two strongest animals of air and land—the lion and the eagle, and a reminiscence of this may perhaps be traced in the reference to these animals in Ez. 10. It was adopted by various nations, but to understand its true significance we must go, not to Egypt nor to Greece, but to the Hittites, whose originality in the use of animal-forms is well known. The Hittite griffin appears almost always, in contrast to many Babylonian representations, not as a fierce beast of prey, but seated in calm dignity like an irresistible guardian of holy things. It is only on later Syrian monuments that the Sun-god is represented in a chariot³ drawn by griffins, which agrees with a statement respecting the Indian sun-god in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* (348). The Egyptians imported this form, probably from Syria or Canaan at the beginning of the New Empire, but the griffin never acquired among them the religious significance of the Sphinx.⁴ The Phœnicians, and probably the Canaanites, and through them the Israelites, evidently attached greater importance to the griffin or cherub, and it is said that among the discoveries at Zorah in N. Syria see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2) is a genuine representation of this mythic form as described in Ez. 41 18 f.⁵ Whether the sculptured quadruped with a bearded human head, Assyrian in type, discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the subterranean quarries in the north of Jerusalem,⁶ is rightly called a cherub seems very doubtful.

For a general sketch of the different conceptions of winged creatures, see E. Tchern, *Revue des études asiatiques* (1911), 205 ff. cp Furtwängler's art. in Roscher, *Lex.*, cited already; also, for OT criticism, Vatke, *Die Rel. des AT*, 329-334 [35]. T. K. C.

CHERUB (כְּרֻבִים; χερουβִים [H⁹⁷]). A town or district in Babylonian, unless Cherub-Addan-Immer should be taken as one name, Ezra 250 (χερουβ [B], χερουβ [A]) = Neh. 766 (χερουβ [A⁹⁷], A], אַרְיָ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5:25 (χαλαθαλααν [B], χερουβιδαν [L]), χάρα δαθαρά [A]), where the former two of these names are run together (CHARAATHALAR, RV CHARAATHALAN) and the names are regarded as personal rather than as local.

CHESALON (כְּסַלֹן; χαλαθων [B], καλ [A]), on the N. side of Mount Jearim, one of the places

¹ See Lenormant, *Les origines*, 112 ff.; Schrader, *Mon. 129*; *Verh. Berl. Ges.* 1854; *Chet.* 256-257 f. Dehlerich, however, still holds to a connection between כְּרֻב and Ass. *kirabu* (כ) = *kiru-wa* 'mighty' (*Ass. Heb.*, 122). Sayce compares the quasi-human winged figures represented on Assyrian walls as fertilising the 'tree of life,' the date-palm (*Proc. Mon.* 1882; cp Taylor, *P. 56*, 1, 12-22 ff. [1889-90]).

² Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lex.* Bd. II, art. 'Gryps.'

³ Kuhnemann (D. H. Müller) or perhaps Reichel, after Kalkbald (G. Hoffmann) is one of the gods of the Syrian district of Yadi (Zenjiri inscriptions). G. Hoffmann explains Rekabel 'chariot' of El (*Z.A.* 11 [96], 282).

⁴ Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lex.* Bd. II, (*ut sup.*); cp Ohnefalsch-Richter, *B. 139*, 434 f.

⁵ See *Z.A.* 9 429 f. [34].

⁶ *Rev. crit.*, 10 Mai, 1879.

which in Joshua (15:10) mark the northern frontier of the tribe of Judah. It is the modern *Kesla*, 2087 ft. above sea-level, on a high ridge immediately to the S. of the Wady Ghurab, and about half-way between Karyat el 'Enab (Robinson's Kiriath-jearim) and Eshri' (Eshatol). (See Rob. *BR* 230 3154.) In the time of Eusebius and Jerome, who place it on the border, the one in Benjamin and the other in Judah, it was a very large village in the confines of Jerusalem' (*OS*, Χαλαθων, *Chasalon*). Stanley (*SP* 496) fitly compares the name and situation with that of Chesulloth or CHISLOTH-TABOR (2:7).

CHESED (כֶּסֶד; χάλαδ [P], χαλαδ [L], χασαδ [L]), son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen. 22:27), the eponym of a branch of the Chabtanim. See ARAM, § 3. ARPHAXAD.

CHESEL (כַּסִּיל; Josh. 15:9.—194. BETHUL.

CHESNUT (שַׁרְכִּינִי; Gen. 30:37, RV PLANE.

CHEST. 1. כֶּסֶת, in 2 K. 12:9 f. [2:9], = 2:10. 248 ff., used of a box with lid (כֶּסֶת, see DOOR) and hole (תָּחָה) in which money might be dropped (τρωλι-κοκομαχ [BAL], θησαυρος [OS. *Ant.* ix. 82]). The same word is used of a coffin (Gen. 50:26, see DEAD, § 1), and of the Ark of the Covenant (see ARK, and cp COVER).

2. כֶּסֶת רֵיחַ, Ezek. 27:24, EV 'chests of rich apparel,' but though כֶּסֶת (see TREASURE HOUSE, see above) (Mt. 2:11), might conceivably mean a repository for costly objects, yet the parallel expression 'mantles (not 'wrappings,' as RV) of blue and broiaded work' shows that כֶּסֶת must mean 'garments,' or the like. 7 and 1 are so easily conjoined that we need not hesitate to read כֶּסֶת (Che.), rendering 'robes of variegated stuff.'¹ See EMBROIDERY, and cp DEEP, § 4.

CHESULLOTH (כַּסְּלוֹת; Josh. 19:1). See CHISLOTH-TABOR.

CHETTIAM (חֶטְיָמ [ANV], 1 Mac. 1: AV; RV CHETTIIM. See KETTIIM.

CHEZIB (כֶּזִּיב; Gen. 38:5 f. See ACHZIB, 1.

CHIDON (כִּידֹן; 1 Ch. 13:9. See NACHON.

CHIEF, CHIEFTAIN. The former, like 'captain,' is often used in AV as a substantive with a convenient vagueness to render various Heb. words (such as שָׂרֵי, מְלָכִים, מְדַבְּרֵי, מְשֻׁבְּרֵי) which appear to denote a man of less general sense.

For 'chief ruler' or 'chief minister' (1 S. 8:2; 2 S. 2:2), cp PRIEST and PRINCE; for 'chief man, governor, captain, and MELITA; and for 'chief of staff,' (ANV) cp 10:10. See above.

CHIEFTAIN occurs only in Zech. 3:7 12 13 RV for 7:8, for which see DUKE.

CHILDREN, SONG OF THE THREE. See DANIEL, §§ 10, 22.

CHILEAB (כִּילֵאב; § 4), son of David (2 S. 33). In 1 Ch. 3:1 he is called DANIEL (2:4).

CHILIARCH (χιλιαρχος [Ti. WII]). Rev. 19:18 RV⁹⁸: See ARMY, § 10.

CHILION (כִּלְיֹן; § 74, χαλαθων [L], and MAHEON (כִּרְלִיֹן, μαλαθων [BAI], § 74: 'sterility' and 'wasting,' the names given to the sons of Naomi in the narrative of Ruth (Ruth 1:2 ΚΕΛΑΙΩΝ [B], χαλαθων [A]; 2:7 χαλαθων [B], χελαιων [A]; 4:9 χαλαθων [B], χαλαθων [M]).

CHILMAD (כִּלְמַד; χαρμαν [BAQ]). Ez. 27:23, MT, usually supposed to be a place or land not far from Assyria. If this be correct, it must at any rate be some fairly well-known place or land. But no name resembling Chilmad occurs anywhere else, and, as two

¹ Cp Ass. *harruma*, 'variegated cloth' (Muss-Arnolt).

and nearly 3 m. W. from the base of Mount Tabor. The name has been suggested as an emendation for *Mazra'ath* or *Mazra'ath* in i Macc. 9:2 and of Chollus in Judith 19 (see CHILLISH). The position of the place on the main road N., in the pass between Tabor and the hills of Nazareth, explains its strategical value, as witnessed in its various appearances in history.

CHITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ), Josh. 15:49 RV, AV KITHLISH.

CHITTIM (כִּתִּים), 18. 23: AV, etc.; Gen. 10:4 KITHIM (קִּיִּם).

CHIUN (כִּיּוּן) and **SICUTH** (סִכּוּת), Am. 5:26 RV, 'Yea, ye [O house of Israel] have borne Sicuth your

king, and Chiun your images, the star of your god.' AV, RV¹⁹⁰⁸ differ in rendering

1. Identifi-
cation. כִּיּוּן, 'the tabernacles (of)'. These words

have long been a puzzle to scholars. The primary question is, whether they should be considered appellatives or proper nouns. The problem is ancient, as appears from the phenomena of the versions (see below, § 2). Into the syntactical and exegetical difficulties of v. 26, taken with its context, we cannot here enter; our object is to consider the explanation of the above-mentioned words offered by Schrader (*St. Kr.* 324 ff. [74], and *COT* 2:141 f.), which, though widely accepted, fails to satisfy some good critics. According to Schrader's theory כִּיּוּן is to be pointed כִּיּוּת and כִּיּוּן, the former representing the divine name Sakkut, the latter Kaiwän.

Oppert had already recognised in Chiun the Babylonian Kaiwän, and this identification may be regarded as almost certain. The word is of frequent occurrence in Babylonian mythological and religious texts as the name of the planet Saturn. It is of uncertain meaning and etymology.

Other Semitic peoples have preserved the same name, probably as loan words. In Satten is called by the Mandæans כִּיּוּן, by the Syrians כִּיּוּן, and by the Persians Kaiwän (for references to the occurrence of the word in Babylonian texts, see *Journ. Ind. Studies*, 1:137 f.).

The name Sicuth presents much greater difficulties. Schrader has shown that the name Sak-kut, which is probably the same as the Sicuth of the text, is used in a Babylonian list as a name, or an ideographic writing, for the god Ninib (2 R. 57:40). Ninib, however, appears to be the god of the planet Kaiwanu or Saturn (see *Jensen, Kanaan. 1:30 ff.*; *Latta, Kanaan. de Hist. Sakkut*, 27 ff.). We seem, therefore, to be brought to the conclusion that Sakkut and Kaiwän are the same (which would be still more clear if it could be shown with certainty that SAG-UŠ, 2 R. 32 no. 3 l. 25, might be read Sak-kut, as Oppert and Schrader believe). Not all the steps in the argument made to connect Sak-kut and Kaiwan are perfectly clear. Still, indirect confirmation of the correctness of the result has lately come to hand, the two words having been found together in a mythological text. In the Surpu texts Sak-kut and Kaiwän are invoked together (4 R. 52 col. 4 l. 9; cp Zimmern, *Beit. zur Kenntnis der Hoch. Rel.* 1:109, p. 10 l. 170).

In this text at least the two words Sak-kut and Kaiwan appear together as they do in Amos.

[Not improbably, according to Che., there is a reference to Sakkut-Kaiwan in 2 R. 17:5 (see *Sacr. 1:10*). P¹⁹⁰⁸ 17:5 and another to Kaiwan in a passage of Ezekiel. The name of 'judah' in Ezek. 8:35 is not a possible title; כִּיּוּן seems to be a corruption of כִּיּוּן. The word for 'image' is כִּיּוּן; it was probably a statue of Kaiwan which Esau had cast (in ecstasy) 'inward of the altar gate, in the outer court of the temple, unless indeed כִּיּוּן, § 113) should rather be כִּיּוּן, i. e., *idol*, one of the names for the colossal winged bulls which guarded the entrances of Assyrian and Babylonian palaces and temples (cp Ezek. 8:35 where, however, read כִּיּוּן, 'at the entrance,' with Grk. for כִּיּוּן). At any rate, we now seem to know the period to which the interpolation of Am. 5:26 refers (see further Che., *Exp. Times*, 10:142, Dec. '98).

The connection of Sicuth and Chiun with the Babylonian name and the ideographic value for the planet Saturn agree well with their juxtaposition in Am. 5:26, and if כִּיּוּן and כִּיּוּן are transposed, the verse

becomes at least intelligible (see Schr. *ib.*, and cp Orelli, *ad loc.*). The phenomena of C's text, however, and also those of the MT, suggest the inference

2. Text. that there may be a more deeply-seated corruption (see AMOS, § 13).

[The Hebrew of Ezek. 8:35 וְהָיָה שִׁמְיָם, give the *אֱלֹהִים*—*etc.*, 722 (cp *Ant. 7:4*), P¹⁹⁰⁸, *صحناء*, *Av. 20:20:20:20*, These are *אֱלֹהִים*, Vg. *tabernacles*, T¹⁹⁰⁸ [104] 20:20:20:20 which confirms MT. For 112 (Heb. text and T¹⁹⁰⁸), *Av. 20:1* וְהָיָה שִׁמְיָם, have *אֱלֹהִים*, These *אֱלֹהִים*, Vg. *tabernacles*, for C in 112:20:20:20. The pointing of MT seems to be supported by that of *קִיּוּן*, 'abomination' = 'idol'; cp 112:1. For references to recent critics see AMOS, § 13, and cp Che., *Exp. Jan.* 1897, pp. 42-44.]

CHLOE (χλόη [Ti. WH]), a woman of whom nothing is known, save that 'they of Chloe' (οἱ χλόη) were the first to let Paul know at Ephesus of the division which had arisen in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1:11).

Whether she belonged to Ephesus or to Corinth, the members of her household were, whether even she was a Christian or not, are questions on all of which only conjectures can be offered. It is possible, but hardly probable, that Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor. 15:7 f.) may have been members of her household.

CHOBAI (חֹבַי [B¹⁹⁰⁸], חֹבַי [S¹⁹⁰⁸], חֹבַי [L¹⁹⁰⁸]),

חֹבַי [W¹⁹⁰⁸], called in Judith 13:11 **Chobai**

(חֹבַי [B¹⁹⁰⁸], חֹבַי [S¹⁹⁰⁸], in 13:1 חֹבַי [B¹⁹⁰⁸], חֹבַי [L¹⁹⁰⁸]), is mentioned in connection with the

defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes (Judith 4). Reland (p. 721) proposed the *Coabis* of the Tab. Peut. near Jericho, a site that would agree with both the Greek and the Syriac of Judith 4; and in connection with it Conder (*PEF. Mem.* 2:231) points to the ruin *el-Mekhabby* and the cave 'Arāk *el Khubby* on the Roman road 3 m. from *Tābās* (see *THEBEZ*) and 11 from *Bessan*.

CHOENIX (χοινίξ; in Ezek. 45:10 f. **CHOIK** for **CHOIX**, a measure of capacity Rev. 6:5 **CHOIK** [AV 'measure']. See **WEIGHTS AND MEASURES**.)

CHOIR. The subject of the hereditary choirs, or better, guilds of singers is considered elsewhere (see

1. Members. PSALMS). We content ourselves here with the Talmudic statements relative to the Temple choir in the narrower sense of the word, postponing, however, the question of choral psalms. The Talmud affirms that the choir in the Second Temple consisted of not less than twelve adult Levites, nine of whom played on the instrument called the Kinnor (lyre?), two on the Nebel (lute?), while the remaining one beat the selselim (cymbals). This number might, however, be exceeded on the occasion of festivals (*Mish. Erach.* 2:3-5). No statement is made as to the number of the singers whom these musicians accompanied, from which Grätz infers that the instrumental and the vocal music were performed by the same persons. This seems to illustrate Ps. 92:1[2] 3[4] (Che.)—

Good is it to give thanks to Yahvé.
To make melody to the name of the Most High,
To the sound of the horn and the lute,
To the sweetly sounding notes of the lyre.

Certainly the most important duty of the choir of Levites was the service of song. The Talmud also states that boys' voices were called in to modify the deep bass of the men's voices. The choir-boys did not stand on the platform with the Levites, but lower down, so that their heads were on a level with the feet of the Levites. They were sons of persons of rank in Jerusalem (שׁוֹמְרֵי הַיְיָ, *Talm. Jerus.* 1:13). See **GRÄTZ**, *Psalms*, 65 f.; *Del.*, *Ps.* 26 f., 372; and cp **MUSIC**, § 13 f.

The duty of the choir is briefly summed up in Neh. 12:4 2 Ch. 5:13. It is וְהָיָה לְהַלֵּל יְהוָה, i. e., to raise the

2. Duty. strain of praise (Hallēlū=praise ye) and thanksgiving (Hōdū=give ye thanks). See **HALLEL, CONFESSION**, § 3. The formula of 'thanks-

giving which served as a refrain in the later eucharistic songs was, 'For he is good, for his loving-kindness is for ever' (2 Ch. 5:13 7:3 6 Ezra 3:11 Jer. 33:11—the last passage has been expanded by a late writer—and cp the psalms beginning 'Give thanks unto Yahweh'). Were there any female singers in the temple choirs? From Neh. 7:67 Peritz infers that there were 'Women in the Ancient Hebrew Cult.' *JBL* 17:48 [198].

Suggestion to say, the word 'choirs' occurs—but once, and only in RVmg. Mattaniah (if this mg. is right) was 'over the choirs' (MT חַיִּים), Neh. 12:8. Del. (*Zsalmen* 26), Ry., and Kau. (*HS*), however, give 'choir' as the rendering of חַיִּים in Neh. 12:31, where RV has 'companies that gave thanks.' This may be accepted, but the mg. 'choirs' in 12:8 is but a confession of the great improbability of MT. Neither חַיִּים nor חַיִּים (which Ry. and Kôn. prefer) can be naturally defended. Read חַיִּים, 'over the thanksgiving' (Böttch., Ol., Guthe). EV in Neh. 12:8, therefore, virtually corrects the text. **חַיִּים** *עַל* תּוֹמָתֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לְהַלְלוֹתָם: **חַיִּים** *עַל* תּוֹמָתֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (עַל תּוֹמָתֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ). Cp Neh. 11:17, and see **MATTANIAH**, 2. T. K. C.

CHOLA (חולא [B]), Judith 15:4 RV. AV **CHOLA** (7.7.).

CHOR-ASHAN. RV **COR-ASHAN** (כּוֹרֶשׁ אֲשָׁן), *ES*, 30:3. See **ASHAN** and **BOR-ASHAN**.

CHORAZIN (חוראזין [Ti. WH]) Mt. 11:21 Lk. 10:13 *Eus.* *OS*² 303:77 *χωρ.*). In these two passages Jesus calls woe upon Chorazin and Bethsaida (and immediately after on Capernaum) as towns in which his wonderful works have produced no effect. From his direct address to all three, they appear to have lain together within his sight. Jerome (*OS*² 1147 Chorozain) places Chorazin 2 R.m. from Capernaum (Euseb. 12 R.m., but this seems a copyist's error). In his commentary on Is. 9:1 Jerome describes the town as on the shore of the lake—like Capernaum, Tiberias, and Bethsaida. From this Robinson (*BR* 3:359 *f.*) argues for the site at Tell Hüm. But about 1 m. N. of Tell Hüm, in a shallow wady running from the Lake into the hills, there are black basalt ruins, including those of a large synagogue, with Corinthian columns, which bear the name *Kerazeh* (*PEF. Mem.* 1:400-2). Now, Willibald (722) says that he went from Capernaum to Bethsaida, thence to Chorazin, and thence to the sources of the Jordan—a course which, in spite of what Robinson asserts, suits *Kerazeh* as it does not suit either Tell Hüm, or any other site on the Lake. Accordingly, most moderns, since Thomson discovered the site in 1857, agree that *Kerazeh* is Chorazin, and take Jerome's statement as either vague or inaccurate. (Robinson thinks the name may have drifted from Tell Hüm to *Kerazeh*.) Jesus calls Chorazin a city and treats it as comparable with Tyre and Sidon. The ruins are extensive, and there are traces of a paved road connecting the site with the great trunk road from Capernaum to Damascus.

The *Hab. Tabern.* (*Hebraeorum Tab.*) praises the wheat of Chorazin (חוראזין) as *Noschaver*, *G. 2^a Tab.*, 100. In the days of Eusebius and Jerome (330 and 400 A.D.) the place was in ruins. Willibald found a Christian Church there. G. A. S.

CHORBE (חורבע [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:12 RV = Ezra 29 *ZACCM*.

CHOSAMEUS (χουσαμειος [B], **חֹשָׁמַיִוִּס** [A], **חֹשָׁמַיִוִּס** *חֹשָׁמַיִוִּס*) [Syr.], 1 Esd. 9:32. The name follows Simon (= Shimeon in || Ezra 10:31), and hence may represent one of the three names in Ezra 10:32 otherwise omitted in 1 Esd. Possibly in a poor MS only the final *γ* of Malluch and the third name Shemariah were legible, and out of these the scribe made Choshamiah (Ball, *Var. Apoc.*). Otherwise the name has arisen from Hashum (חשום), *v.* 33; but the Syr. **חֹשָׁמַיִוִּס** still remains a difficulty.

CHOZEBA, RV **COZEBA** (כּוֹזֵבָה), 1 Ch. 4:22^f. See **ACHZIB**, 1.

CHRIST (ο χριστος [Ti. WH]), Mt. 24. See **MESSIAH**, § 2, end.

CHRISTIAN, NAME OF. We can readily understand that the followers of Jesus confessed to the name of their Master whenever occasion arose. On the other hand, the time, the place, and the circumstances of the origin of the name *Χριστιανός* as a specific designation are obscure. According to Acts 11:26 the matter seems a simple one; but, with this passage before us, it is

1. **Infrequency.** remarkable how seldom the name occurs elsewhere in the records of early Christianity. In the NT the only other places where it is found are Acts 26:28 and 1 Pet. 4:16. It is certainly not alluded to in Acts 5:41; for 'the name' on account of which the apostles here suffer dishonour was, as we are expressly told in *v.* 40, the name of Jesus. This passage, accordingly, belongs to the same category as Mk. 9:37:41—where, besides, the words 'because ye are Christ's' after *εἶπὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου* (so Ti.) may be merely the explanatory marginal gloss of some early reader—and Mk. 13:13. In Ja. 2:7 also, the 'honourable name' by which the readers are called is not the name 'Christian,' but the name of Christ himself as their Lord; for the expression is to be explained in the same sense as Am. 9:12 ('the heathen, which are called by my name')—*viz.*, by reference to 2 S. 12:28 ('lest . . . it be called after my name'). All passages of this class must here be left out of account, inasmuch as they do not presuppose the specific name 'Christian.' The name is presupposed, as far as the NT is concerned, only in Lk. 6:22 (τὸ ὄνομα ἕμμου).

Outside of the NT, according to the exhaustive researches of Lipsius,¹ the name does not occur in either of the epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome; it is absent from Barnabas, Hermas, Polycarp, the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, Tatian, and the *Cohortatio ad Græcos*. The Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions, as also the Catholic Acts of Peter and Paul, have it only in a few passages of later insertion; so also with the Gnostic writings. As a word in regular use it makes its earliest appearances in the Apologists—Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Minucius Felix—and in the 'Epistle to Diognetus,' in Ignatius, who uses also the word *Χριστιανισμός*, in the 'Martyrdom of Polycarp,' in the Catholic *κρήρυγμα Πέτρου*, in the letter of the churches of Lugdunum and Vienna (*Eus.* *HE* 5:1 *f.*), in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. To this list must be added the passage in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (124), discovered after the publication of Lipsius's essay.

Lipsius, it is true, points out allusions to the existence of the name 'Christian' in older writings. As far as Hermas, however, is concerned, the only valid passage is *Sim.* ix. 17:4.

The phrase is *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖσθαι*. Such expressions as τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁμοῦν (*v.* 132 *f.* 145 *f.* 163) or λαμβάνειν (*v.* 137) ἢ φέρειν (*Polycarp.* 6) ἢ ἀποδέχεσθαι necessarily presuppose the word *Χριστιανός*, and the simple phrase τὸ ὄνομα φέρειν (*Sim.* ix. 132 *f.*), ἢ πορεύεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα, or εἶναι τὸ ὄνοματος (*v.* 283 *f.*; *1st*, iii. 11 12) in several places is clearly in juxtaposition to the words τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ or τοῦ κυρίου (*Sim.* ix. 133 *f.* 282-4; *1st*, iii. 5).

Even 1 Clem. 143 *f.* cannot with certainty be taken in the sense which is so abundantly plain in Justin (*Apol.* 1:4); *Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι κατηγοροῦμεθα: τὸ δὲ Χριστιανῶν μυστήρια οὐ δεικνύμεν*. This play upon words seems, besides, to be sufficiently explained by the consideration that *χριστός* had at that time the same pronunciation as *χριστός*. Tertullian (*Ap. 3*; *Ad Nat.* 1:3), however, expressly says that the Gentiles *perperam* or *corrupte* pronounced it *Christiani*. *Χριστιανοὶ* is the reading in all three NT passages of the uncorrected **N**; it preponderates in the inscriptions; and Justin, according to *Blass* (*Hermes*, 1895, pp. 465-470), associates this word with *χριστός* in his *Apology* (i. 4:46-49; ii. 6, where, as he says, *κεχρήσθαι* ought to be read), just as in his *Dialogue with Trypho* he associates it with *χρῆσιν*. *Blass* con-

¹ 'Ueber den Ursprung u. d. ältesten Gebrauch des Christen-namens;' Gratulationsprogramm der theologischen Facultät Jena für Hase, 1873, pp. 6-40.

justices from this that the Pagans to whom the *Apology* is addressed had derived the words 'anointed, followers of the anointed,' which were mysterious to them, by a popular etymology from *Χριστός*; and Justin, for simplicity's sake, accepted the derivation without seeking to correct it.

We thus see that the name was left unused by a series of Christian writers at a time when it was already

2. Possible familiar to the younger Pliny (*Epist.* 10 early origin. 96 [97] in 112 A.D., to Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44) in 116-117 A.D., and to Suetonius (*Nero*, 16) in 120 A.D. The plain fact is that they did not need it. For designating their community there lay at their command an ample variety of expressions,¹ such as 'brethren,' 'saints,' 'elect,' 'called,' 'that believed,' 'faithful,' 'disciples,' 'they that are in Christ,' 'they that are in the Lord,' 'they that are Christ's,' and 'any . . . of the way'?). It follows that, notwithstanding its absence from their writings, the name of Christian may very well have originated at a comparatively early time.

It can hardly, however, have been current at so early a date as that indicated in Acts 11.26.

The famine predicted at that time, according to Acts 11.27, occurred in Palestine between the years 44 and 46. (The belief that it extended over the whole of the habitable world is a mistake.) The prediction itself must, of course, have been earlier. Indeed, the expression, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius,' may be held to imply that it was made before the accession of that emperor—that is to say, before 41 A.D. With this it agrees that the death of Herod Agrippa I. (44 A.D.) is mentioned in the following chapters (12).

Some fifteen years later, or more, the claim to be 'of Christ' was made by a single party in Corinth (1 Cor. 1.12).

Presumably certain personal disciples of Jesus had first applied this designation to themselves, whilst denying to Paul the right to be so called, as also his right to the apostleship (2 Cor. 10.7). Paul, on the other hand, takes great pains to establish the right of all believers in Christ to the designation (1 Cor. 1.13 23; also 7.22-23; Rom. 8.9; Gal. 3.27 28).

Thus it can hardly have been already a current name.

As for Jesus himself, it is permissible to doubt whether he used in their present forms such expressions as we now find in Mk 2.27 47 13.13—that is to say, with the emphasis upon his own name. The theory that he presupposes the currency of the name 'Christians' in Lk. 6.22 is absolutely excluded by the consideration that, according to the same gospel, he does not himself lay claim to the name of Christ till later (9.20), and even then wishes it to be kept secret, and further that, according to the same author (Acts 11.26), the name 'Christians' did not arise till a considerable time after his death.

All this makes it more than doubtful whether the writer had even here any trustworthy authority for assigning the occurrence to so early a date. His reason for doing so may have been simply that the founding of the first Gentile Christian church seemed to be the most likely occasion for its coming into use.

The suddenness with which the name 'Christian' becomes one of frequent occurrence in the writings of

3. Used by and the apologists shows that the word first became necessary for Christians in their dealings with Pagans. In speaking to the latter, such periphrases as 'those of Christ' were found to be inadequate: a definite name was wanted. In fact, it is probable enough that the name came from the heathen themselves in the first instance. With such a view of its origin Acts 11.26 fits in very well. At all events, the name did not come from the Jews. These were still looking for their Messiah. By using a name which signified 'those of the Messiah,' they would by implication have justified the sect that regarded Jesus as such, and so have stultified themselves. Even Herod Agrippa II., notwithstanding his Greek training and the indifference towards his ancestral religion which this carried with it, could not have gone so far; moreover, he still held by Judaism to the extent at least that he

insisted upon King Azizus of Emesa and King Polemo of Cilicia being circumcised before being allowed to marry his sisters Drusilla and Berenice (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7.13 §§§ 139, 145 f.). If, accordingly, the saying attributed to him in Acts 26.28¹ is authentic, the name 'Christian' must by that time have become so thoroughly established that its etymological meaning was no longer thought of.

The whole scene, however, is in full accord with the tendency of Acts (see ACTS, § 51) to set forth Paul's innocence, and at the same time the truth of Christianity, as accepted by the Roman authorities; and this of course is more effectively done by the mouth of a Jew. An obvious parallel is the statement of Herod Antipas in the gospel by the same author (Lk. 23.6-15); but its history is open to grave suspicion, both in view of what we know of Herod's relations to John the Baptist and in view of the fact that the story is absent from the other gospels. Even if Paul's meeting with Herod Agrippa II. is historical, the word *Χριστιανός* may very easily have come into the narrative out of the author's own vocabulary. We are informed by the same writer (Acts 21.5) with much greater precision that 'sect of the Nazarenes' (*αἵρεσις τῶν Ναζωραίων*) was the name given by the Jews to the Christians, as we learn also from Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 48) and Jerome (in *Jes. ch. 5.15. f.* 497 525). It was not till afterwards that the expression was restricted to a particular sect of Christians—a fact by which Epiphanius allowed himself to be misled. He tells us (*Her.* 29.9) that the Jews, in their public prayers, which were offered three times daily in their synagogues, pronounced a *ᾠδή* (ᾠδή) upon their *ἡγεμόνα* (ἡγεμόνα) which, as we learn from Justin (*Dial.* 16 and elsewhere), and indeed as we see from the nature of the case, applied rather to all Christians.² Its Hebrew name, Birkat-ha-Minim, shows that the Jews had still another name for the Christians—and this name could also be Grecised into *Μετανοία*.

As for the place where the name Christian arose, the apparent Latin termination used to be thought to point to

4. Place of a western, indeed (Tac. *Ann.* 15.44) to a Roman, origin; but that it was there that the name first came into use is by no means said by Tacitus, whilst in such a word as Herodian, Ἡροδιανός (Mk. 36 and elsewhere), we have evidence that in the Greek-speaking domain this colloquial Latin formation of personal names (e.g., Cæsariani), in incorrect imitation of forms like Pompeiani (where the *i* is part of the root), was not unknown. The ancient Greek grammarians recognise the termination *-ανός* for derivatives from town and country names, and even designate it specially as the *ῥήματος Ἀσωνός*, as being met with, not in Greece itself, but in Asia (Bartmann, *Lehrb. d. Gr. Sprachlehre*, § 119.4; 1200) examples in Lipsius, 13-16). In this matter, therefore, Acts 11.26 is not open to criticism (yet see above, § 2).

The time at which the name arose could not with assurance be placed earlier than 79 A.D., even if a certain

5. Pompeii inscription (which disappeared soon after its discovery) at Pompeii, on the wall of a building, at first supposed to have been a Christian meeting-house, had actually contained the letters *CHRISTIANI*.

This reading might very well have been a derivative from the tolerably frequent proper name Christus (see above, § 1); but, in point of fact, the reading is only a conjecture, and, according to Kiessling's original transcription (which is still extant), the word really was *christina*—whatever that may mean.

The architecture of the house shows it to have been an *atrium* (ἄντρον), provided with a *cella* (κελίη) *triclia*, where, accordingly, it is hardly likely that Christian

¹ The best-attested reading, in accord with the *ἡγεμόνα* *Χριστιανός* (unless we are to read, with TR, *ἡγεσθαι* or, with A, *ἡγεῖν*, or, to conjecture with Hort, *ἡγεσθίας* (instead of *ἡγεμόνα*), is perhaps most easily explained as a Latinism: 'I was persuading me somewhat to act the part of a Christian' (*ὡς ἑσθαι ἡγεῖν εἰς τὸν Πρωτῶν, ἢ τὸν Χριστιανῶν*).
² This solemn curse is said to have first taken shape at Jabneh in the time of Gamaliel II. (80-177 A.D.).

¹ ἀδελφοί, ἄγιοι, δικαστικοί, κληρικοί, πατριάρχες, παστοί, μαθηταί, οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ, οἱ ὄντες ἐν κυρίῳ, οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἱ θεοοὐνοῦντες.

meetings would have been held; in fact, the inscription, which begins with the words, 'Vina Nervii,' was probably an advertisement of wines.¹

An answer to our question can, therefore, be hoped for only from examination of the history of the Christian persecutions. The character of these

6. Early persecutions.

has been placed in an entirely new light by the proposition of Mommsen in 1885 (*Röm. Gesch.* 5520, n.), which has since then been more fully and elaborately developed by him in Sybel's *Hist. Ztschr.* 64 389-429 [90], and accepted by C. J. Neumann (*Über röm. Staat u. d. Antiqu. Kirche*, 116 [90]) and by Ramsay (chap. 10, § 5)—that 'the persecution of the Christians was always similar to that of robbers.' On this view, every provincial governor had, without special instructions, the duty of seeking out and bringing to justice *latrones, adulescentes, parricidae, delinquentes*, and *invidiosi* (*ibid.*, i. 18 13 xviii. 134), and for this end was invested, over and above his ordinary judicial attributes, with a very full power of magisterial coercion, which was not limited to definite offences, or to a regular form of process, or to any fixed scale of punishments. Only, as far as Roman citizens were concerned, banishment was forbidden, and the capital penalty was reserved for the judgment of the emperor.

i. *Legal Status of Christians.*—While actually throwing into still further obscurity the date of the origin of the Christian name, this discovery of Mommsen's (above, § 6) sheds much light upon the question of legal position. The points on which the scholars named, as well as others, are agreed are, briefly, these. Among the duties of a Roman citizen a fundamental place was held by that of worshipping the ancestral gods. By these in the earliest period were meant only those of the city of Rome; but subsequently those of Latium were included, and finally all those of Italy and Greece, as soon as they had been formally recognised by decree of the senate. Non-citizens were forbidden to proselytise to strange gods, but not to worship them, so far as this did not appear to be of danger to the state. The Christian religion, however, was held to be dangerous in this way, as denying the existence of the gods of the state. The Jewish religion was, strictly, under the same ban; and, therefore, circumcision was laid under severe penalties by Hadrian, and, as far as non-Jews were concerned, by Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus also.

For themselves, however, the Jews, apart from the prohibition by Hadrian just mentioned, possessed religious freedom on the ground of special privileges conceded to them, particularly by Julius Caesar and Augustus, in accordance with the favoured position which they had enjoyed, long before the Roman rule, in Egypt and elsewhere in the East. These privileges included exemption from military service, which would have interfered with their strict observance of the sabbath, and exemption from the obligation to appear before the courts on that day. When Caesar, on account of suspected political activity, suppressed *sanctis collegiis, propter antiquitatem consuetudinis* (*Suet.*, *Caes.* 42), the Jews were expressly exempted. New corporations in the older (*i.e.*, senatorial) provinces required the sanction of the senate; in the imperial provinces still under military government that of the emperor himself was doubtless sufficient. It is probable that burial societies had a general sanction from the senate. Apart from these, however, there were many societies which had never obtained any special concession. They were left alone if they did not appear to be dangerous; but at any moment they could be suppressed by the police. In the cases of those which had been sanctioned by the senate, suppression was made lawful

¹ See Victor Schultze, *Z. f. Vergleichende Gesch.* 1881, pp. 129-130, and also, as regards the text, *GLG* 3079 (71). The inscription ought not, therefore, to be relied on, as it is still relied on by Ramsay (*Churches*) chap. 12, § 5, p. 268, and *St. Paul*, chap. 16, § 1, ed. 1896, p. 346.

only by a new senatorial decree. Now, the Christians could never have obtained such a concession, for their religion did not belong to the class of permitted religions. In their case, accordingly, the well-known rule (*Dig.* xlviii. 221) did not apply: ('permitted tenioribus stipem menstruum conferre, dum tamen semel in mense coeant . . . sed) religionis causa coire non prohibentur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo illicita collegia arcentur.' They had, therefore, to hold their meetings simply on sufferance, and were never for a moment free from the risk of police interference. Still, they did not expose themselves to persecution or to death merely by holding unauthorised meetings. For such an offence these penalties were much too severe. When a *sodalitas* of this sort was broken up, unless its object had been in itself criminal, the members were subjected only to a mild punishment. In fact, they were allowed to divide among themselves the funds of the society, which were confiscated in the case of all capital offences.

Persecution and capital punishment fell to the lot of the Christians, therefore, only because their religion was regarded as criminal. In the case of Roman citizens it implied a violation of the duty to worship the gods of the state; in the case of provincials who were not citizens, *ἀθεΐως* as against the local gods of the place was in like manner implied. In a (legally) very lax sense they were accused of *sacrilegium*, which originally meant only theft of sacred objects. Over and above this, all Christian subjects were chargeable with the offence of refusing to worship the Emperor, an offence legally construed as *maiestas*, or *crimen lese majestatis*—more precisely, as *maiestatis imperatorum*—the *maiestas populi Romani* not being touched by this class of offences. Thus, either as sacrilege or as *maiestas*, Christianity could at all times be prosecuted, and—certainly in the case of non-citizens, probably also in that of citizens—by the mere exercise of arbitrary coercive power. The penalties under either charge were, approximately, the same.

ii. *Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan.*—Thus we gain a new light on the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan (see above, § 2). Let it be premised that by the *flagitia* (2), as may be gathered from the allusion in the words *cibum promiscuum et innovium* (7), were certainly intended the *epule Thyestee* and the *concubitus Oedipodei*, which, as we learn from Justin (*Apol.* 126 212) and other writers of the second century, were laid to the charge of the Christians. Acts 208 already appears to be intended to meet the familiar accusation. The story ran that before the beginning of these orgies all lights were put out. Pliny's question, then, whether the mere fact of being Christian (*nomen ipsum*), or whether only the crimes associated therewith ought to be punished, is, from what we have seen, already answered in the first sense, and is so decided by Trajan also. On the other hand, Trajan's injunction, *conquirendi non sunt*, with which also is to be associated his order to disregard anonymous letters of accusation, is an important mitigation of the law, as is his other direction that a Christian who formally renounces his Christianity by sacrificing to the images of the gods shall be exempt from punishment. Such a degree of favour could, from the nature of the case, never be shown to the robber or to the thief, with whom, nevertheless, the Christian is classed. Let it be noted, also, that Pliny had no difficulty in deciding on his own responsibility the earlier cases that came before him (2-4). His reference of the matter to the emperor was first occasioned by the largeness of the number of those who ultimately came to be denounced, and by certain leanings, on grounds of policy, towards clemency (49*f.*), to which Trajan gives his sanction by both of his decisions.

We must, therefore, no longer hold to the view that in this script (which, although originally intended

whom he elsewhere always follows, we should still be a long way from having proved the account of Severus to be historical. It is in the highest degree improbable that Titus had such erroneous ideas as to the dependence of the Christians on the temple, while attributing to them such dangerous qualities and so great a degree of independence as apart from the Jews. Even Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* 3.43; *ET Prolegomena*, 220f.), on whose authority Ramsay relies, detects here traces at least of a Christian editor. Ramsay, however (chap. 121f.), regarding the speech as a programme for treatment of Christians, holds it to be 'a historical document of the utmost importance,' and further assumes that the programme was actually carried out by Vespasian. For this he has not a word of proof to allege apart from the statement of Suetonius (*1.10.150*)—*negue unquam unquam latatus est et*—by the three last words he conjecturally fills a hiatus) *justis suppliciis illacrimavit etiam et ingemuit*—which, he considers, we are entitled to interpret as referring to processes against Christians. Were this the case, it would be natural at least to expect that these should have begun immediately after the destruction of the temple; but, according to Ramsay, they did not begin till towards the end of the reign of Vespasian. As far as the documents are concerned, this last hypothesis finds still less support than that of Vespasian's Christian persecution as a whole. All that can be said for the hypothesis is that it is requisite in order that, by the shortness of the persecution under Vespasian, the silence of Christian writers respecting them may be explained (see below, § 16).

vii. *Domitian*.—With regard to Domitian, Suetonius (*Dom.* 15) tells us that eight months before his death *Flavianus Clementem persecutionem suam contempserunt. Imperator . . . reprehendit, et in exilium eorum, quibus non solum ipso eius consulatu interimit*. Cassius Dio (*lxviii.14.1f.*), according to the excerpt of the monk Xiphilinus, adds that at the same time his wife, Flavia Domitilla, was banished to the island of Pandataria: *ἐπιχρήθη δὲ ἀμφὸν τῆς ἑλπίδος ἀποστρέψας ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἄλλου ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄρῳ ἔταξε ἄνοκτος πόντου καταδικασθῆναι*. Now, Christian legend, and in particular the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies*, speak of Flavius Clement as Bishop of Rome, and of his father as, like the consular in Suetonius, related to the imperial family; the daughter of his sister (also called Flavia Domitilla) became involved in a Christian persecution, and was banished to Pontia (the island adjacent to Pandataria). This last statement is all the more important because Eusebius (*Chron.* ann. 2110, 2112 Abrah.: *HE* iii. 184) takes it from a heathen chronographer, Brutius or Brettius, who wrote before 221 A.D. For further details see Lipsius, *Chronol. d. röm. Bischöfe*, 152-161. It is alike natural and difficult to assume that Clement and Domitilla represent each only one person, and that person a Christian. The charges in Cassius Dio, taken by themselves alone, show either that the question was one not of Christians but of Jews, or that Christians at that time still remained undistinguished from Jews. The view that they were Jews can hardly be maintained.

In the heathen writer Brutius, Domitilla figures expressly as a Christian, and in all later Christian writings Domitian is represented as a violent persecutor of the faith (see, e.g., Melito *ap. Euseb.* *HE* vi. 260). He is called by Tertullian (*Apol.* 1) *persecutor Christianitatis*, and, though in the heathen account (*137f.*), it is true, says something to the same effect, the Christian bases his accusation expressly upon the persecution of his brethren in the faith.

We are, then, left with the second interpretation of the words of Cassius Dio, that they relate to Christians. Ramsay's method of evading this (chap. 12, § 4) is surely forced—that in Dio's time (211-222 A.D.) it was 'a fashion and an affectation among a certain class of Greek men of letters to ignore the existence of the Christians and to pretend to confuse them with the Jews.' Further, in the collection of temple money

(now a state tax) from the Jews, according to Suetonius (*Dom.* 12), those also were taken account of *qui vel impropositi Judaeorum tuerentur vitam sive Judaeorum fidem similem viverent vitam vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pendissent*. As at that time the *Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est*, it would be very remarkable if here we were not intended to understand both the Jewish Christians regarded as circumcised persons and the Gentile Christians regarded as proselytes. The Roman officers, we know from Suetonius, in cases where it was necessary, satisfied themselves as to the fact of circumcision by inspection. Even though greed may well have been a motive for conniving at the profession of the Christian religion, it is plain that the danger to the state presented by the Christians cannot have been taken very seriously.

We are led to the same conclusion by the story (as far as it can be believed) of Hegesippus (in *Eus. HE* 319f.) that Domitian released the grandchildren of Jude, the brother of Jesus, as not being dangerous persons, although they confessed themselves to be not only descendants of David, but also Christians. It was not till the end of his reign that the persecution began.

viii. *Nerva*.—As far as the accusations under Domitian had reference to Christians they are covered by the regulations of Nerva (Cassius Dio, *lxviii.12*, after Xiphilinus).

Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) and Hegesippus (*Eus. HE* iii. 20.5) erroneously attribute the regulations to Domitian himself. The text of Cassius Dio is: *τοὺς τε κρισμένους ἐπὶ ἀσπίδι ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς ἀνοκτους καταγράψαι . . . τοὺς δὲ ἐπιπάσιους οὐκ ἀπέδειξε οὐτὶ Ἰουδαίους ἢ καὶ κατεστρατίους τοὺς συναχθῆναι*.

The preceding discussion of the Christian persecutions makes it evident that the grounds upon which these were conducted were by no means clearly set forth, and that (partly on this account, but mainly from want of information) we

7. Result of discussion

can hardly venture to suppose the persecutions to have been of so great frequency as we should have expected on the principles laid down by Mommsen and Ramsay. In particular, had they been so frequent, the hesitation of Pliny—or, at all events, that of Trajan—would be quite inexplicable. Ramsay's answer (chap. 10, § 6), that Trajan's words—*neque enim in incertum atque quod quasi certum formam habeat constitui potest*—refer to Pliny's doubt whether or not the question of age should be allowed to make a difference in the punishment, is quite inadmissible. *Neque enim* does not refer to the decision upon a matter which was still in question. It refers, in commendation, to a judgment which Pliny had already taken: *actum quem debuisti . . . secutus es*. Thus Ramsay's conjectures of some archive which Trajan caused to be searched for the decisions of his predecessors upon previous references by other procurators must also be rejected. Whatever the principles of the government, and however strongly they may have led, if rigidly interpreted, to unremitting search for and punishment of Christians once these had been definitely distinguished from Jews, they can have been carried into practice only in an intermittent way. In the conditions of privacy in which, as we know, the Christians carried out the exercises of their religion, no direct danger to the state can have manifested itself. In Pergamum Antipas was the only martyr (*Rev.* 2:13).

Therefore, Trajan's *conquirendi non sunt* was a mitigation in principle, indeed, but not necessarily in practice. If only parties could be found to denounce, persecutions could be instituted, after Trajan's time, on a much greater scale than before under the influence of the stricter—but seldom used—principle of *conquirere*. Such, according to all documents, was in reality the case.

For the period before Trajan we know of persecutions only under Nero and Domitian. Tertullian, for example, was not aware of any others (*Apol.* 5), and Melito in his Apology to Antoninus Pius (*ap. Eus. HE* iv. 206) expressly says that only Nero and Domitian (*κατὰ μίσην Νερού καὶ Δομετιανού*) had given up the Christians to the slanders of denouncers. To the

CHRISTIAN, NAME OF

same purpose we have the statement of Origen (c. *de lib. 20*) that *ἀγαθὸν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀγαθὸν κατασκευαστὸν* (i. e. *γεννητικὸν καὶ ἐκτὸς*) against which the *μὴν ἁγία*, *ἐκτετακτοῦ* speaks of in Clement's Romanensis (1: 64) in the origin of Nero; and the *ἀγαθὸν κατὰ φύσιν* of Tacitus, name, of course, not as occasional.

In view of such definite statements as these, it is not possible to explain the silence of our authors—especially that of Christian authors—on the persecutions which Ramsay infers to have been instituted under Vespasian and Titus, as being due only to the shortness of those reigns—or rather the shortness of the portions of them in which persecutions occurred (above, § 6, vi. end)—or to the fact that the Christians had no eyes for anything except the imminent end of the world (Ramsay, *chaps. 12, § 2*).

Ramsay, it is true, finds support by assigning 1 Pet. to about the year 80 A.D.—that is to say, the reign of Titus (chap. 13: 11)—or to 75-79 A.D., in the reign of Vespasian (*J. H. M. O. C. T.*, 1863, p. 286). He does so, however, on grounds

the validity of which depends on that of his hypothesis. He shows with truth that the epistle presupposes acquaintance with the terms *ἁγία* & *γεννητικὸν* (1: 13, 14), and that it was composed for the reading of a congregation (1: 19 & 17: 23-24).

It has also been rightly urged that there is no reason for assigning it to the year 112 on the mere ground that then for the first time a persecution of Christians over the whole *οικουμένη* (5) became possible. On the other hand, before that date there had been no persecution which had touched or threatened the provinces named in 1 and gave cause to anticipate its extension over the whole habitable world.

When the contents of this letter are considered, no one who can be reached by critical considerations will unreservedly maintain its genuineness, containing as it does so little that is characteristic of Peter and so much that is reminiscent of Paul.

The passage in 1: 17 of the words *ἀγαθὸν κατὰ φύσιν* and *ἐκτετακτοῦ*, which have an superfluous and unmeaning, and have their appropriate place only in 1: 13 & 14, shows its dependence on that epistle, which in its turn depends not only on the Epistles of Paul but also on that to the Hebrews (11: 31, cp. Ja. 2: 24). The passage in 1: 17 shows also that 1 Pet. 5: 12, which is borrowed from Ja. 1: 5. In the latter passage the *ὄρα* is *ἁγία* (Rom. 14: 17, 18), and in the former, therefore, in the passage, the *ἀγαθὸν κατὰ φύσιν* should have been followed by some such expression as 'submit yourselves one to another,' if the writer had been following a natural and not a borrowed text of thought.

As for the word *ἀλλοτριωσις*, the only satisfactory explanation of its use in 1 Pet. 4: 15, to denote a criminal of the same class as *φόνει* and *κλέπτης*, is that of Hilgenfeld, according to whom what is intended is the class of *delatores*, who made a trade of denunciation, which was first made criminal by Trajan (Plin. *Epist.* 10: 17). By *ἀλλοτριωσις* Ramsay understands people who stir up strife between members of the same family, or between servants and masters. This accusation could be very easily brought against Christians, as soon as they began to attempt conversions. Ramsay's assertion, however, that Nero gave power to the courts of justice thenceforward to regard such persons as magicians and to punish them as criminals (chap. 15: 1), rests upon no documentary evidence; it proceeds solely upon his own interpretation of the *malefice* of Suetonius (above, § 6, v.). Nor has Ramsay made out (chap. 8, §§ 1 & 2, pp. 280f.; 290) that 1 Pet. presupposes search for Christians to have been made by the state.

Were this so, the epistle could, of course, have been written only either before Trajan's decision, *conquirendi non sunt*, or after the re-issuance of *conquirere* by Marcus Aurelius; but here again it has to be remarked that, if only there were denunciations enough—and Ramsay himself (chap. 10, § 2) is aware how readily these could at any time appear among the class of sellers of sacrificial animals (Pliny to Trajan, 10), or among people in the position of Demetrius (Acts 19: 24-34), or of the masters of the damsel with the spirit of divination (10: 16-19)—1 Pet. 3: 15-18 become intelligible enough, even after the publication of Trajan's *conquirendi non sunt*.

We may still hold, therefore, that 1 Pet. was written in 112 A.D.

The one new thing we have learned is that, when 1 Pet. touches upon the subject of punishment for the mere name of Christian (4: 16), it is describing not a

new attitude of the authorities but one that they have been taking for some time. This very fact makes it impossible to use this passage as Ramsay does as fixing the date of the epistle for the transition period during which punishment of Christians only for *flagitia* was giving place to a system of persecution for the mere name. Ramsay's theory (1: 13 & 14) that the name of persecution must have been new to the author, because at the same time his language constantly presupposes the continuance of the old state of things; but the exhortation in 4: 15 that none should suffer as a flagitious person is not in any case out of place, even if *flagitia* had not hitherto been the only ground on which the punishment of Christians proceeded; against such *flagitia* Paul also constantly warns his readers (Gal. 5: 19-21; 1 Cor. 6: 9 f.; 2 Cor. 12: 20 f.; Rom. 13: 1-3), and that at a time when there was no thought of Christian persecution. Further, the hope of being able by 'seemly behaviour' and 'good works' to convince the secular power of the injustice of persecution (1 Pet. 2: 12 & 13 etc.) is one that Christians can never have wholly abandoned, and it found a reasonable justification in the plea of Pliny (2: 7-10) for mild treatment of those who had been denounced. We can understand its persistence most easily on the assumption, as made above, that persecution was only then beginning.

The very positions argued for by Mommsen (and accepted by Ramsay) make it clear that there never had been a period during which

9. Conclusion. Christians, although recognised as a distinct religious society, were punished for *flagitia* (not *nomina*, unless in exceptional cases). The grounds of Mommsen's view lies precisely in this: that the name, as soon as it was known, also became punishable. According to Mommsen, we must also conclude, conversely, that where *flagitia* alone are punished the *nomina* is not yet known. Even for the time of Nero this argumentation would be conclusive, had he not wanted incendiaries. But if, as Ramsay says, Christians under Nero were already recognised as distinct from Jews, then *flagitia* other than fire-raising—as, for example, witchcraft—cannot, even in the second stage of the Neronian persecution (on the assumption of their having been such a stage at all), have been the sole ground on which condemnation proceeded. On the question as to the date at which Christianity first began to be recognised as a distinct religion we must confess ourselves completely at a loss. Only this much is certain: that it had come about before the time of Pliny's governorship. From what has been said above, the view of Neumann (and Lipsius) appears the most plausible: the view, namely, that the distinction first received recognition under Domitian, and, more precisely, in the last year of his reign. To this Weizsäcker and others¹ object, with good reason, that it is highly improbable that Christians should have passed for Jews so long. The simple facts that they did not accept circumcision, and frequented, not the synagogues but meeting-places of their own, and moreover often came into conflict with the Jews, made the recognition of a distinction inevitable—especially as the Roman authorities, most notably in matters affecting societies, were wont to take careful cognisance of even the minutest trifles, and of course, in a formal investigation, had means readily at their disposal for eliciting every detail. If we had nothing but Suetonius's account of Nero to go upon, these considerations would certainly be held to be conclusive even for the time of Nero; but we have Tacitus, who makes us hesitate; and what is said about Domitian goes against Weizsäcker's conclusion. Christian sources give no hope of a decision. Ramsay's citation of 1 Pet. does not hold good; that of the Apocalypse

¹ E.g., Keim, the only one besides Lipsius (and Carr, *Epist.*, June 28, pp. 407-411) who does not give up the question of the origin of the name of Christians (*Ant. dem. & vobissem. them.*, 378, 1: 17: 121).

is worthless as long as the unity and the date of the book continue to be as questionable as they are; and the Pastoral Epistles are too doubtful. Moreover, it is not at all certain that they speak of *flagitia* as the ground of persecution, so as to necessitate their being assigned to the period of Nero, even if Ramsay's view is adopted as correct; for 2 Tim. 2,9 does not necessarily mean that Paul suffers because he is regarded as a *κακοῦργος*—it can just as well mean that he suffers the same penalties as those to which a *κακοῦργος* is liable, but that the cause of them is in his case his preaching of the gospel (ἐν ᾧ)—in other words, his Christianity. In like manner, it is quite as conceivable in 2 Tim. 3,12 that the *nomen* is the cause of the sufferings of all Christians as that *flagitia* are. As for the Third Gospel and Acts, according to what has been said above (§ 2), they show only that their author, about 100-130 A.D., was acquainted with the name, and knew nothing of its origin that rendered it impossible for him to place its date about the year 40. All that the present discussion can be regarded as contributing towards the solution of the question is the conjecture that the Pagans, in as far as they knew the true character of Christianity at a time before that which we have definitely ascertained, hardly took any cognisance of it—on account of the infrequency with which it came under public notice.

P. W. S.

CHRONICLER (כְּתוּבֵי הַיְמִינִים). 2 S. 8, 16-20, 24. 1s. 36, 37. RV¹⁸⁸⁵. EV RV¹⁸⁸¹ ORDER 1, 7, 1.

CHRONICLES (הַיְמִינִים). I K. 14, 19. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 13 f.

CHRONICLES, BOOKS OF. In the Hebrew canon *Chronicles* is a single book, entitled הַיְמִינִים הַשְּׂמֵרָה, *Events of the Times*.

The full title would be כְּתוּבֵי יְמֵי הַיְמִינִים, *Book of Events of the Times*; and this again appears to have been a designation commonly applied to special histories in the more

1. Name. definite sense *Events of the Times of King David*, or of the like (1 Ch. 27, 21; Esdr. 10, 2, etc.).

The Greek translators divided the long book into two, and adopted the title Παράλειπόμενα, *Things (often) omitted [scil. in the official list of events]*—see *A. V. and the Text of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. by B. H. H. (1891), p. 95. Jerome, following the sense of the Hebrew title, suggested the name of *Chronicon secundum Esdras promissionem et secundum*. Hence the English *Chronicles*.

The book of *Chronicles* begins with Adam and ends abruptly in the middle of Cyrus's decree of restoration.

2. Connexion with Ezra-Nehemiah. The continuation of the narrative is found in the Book of Ezra, which begins by repeating 2 Ch. 36, 22 f., and filling up the fragment of the decree of

Cyrus. A closer examination of those parts of Ezra and Nehemiah which are not extracted word for word from earlier documents or original memoirs, leads to the conclusion that *Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah* was originally one work, displaying throughout the peculiarities of language and thought of a single editor (see § 3). Thus the fragmentary close of 2 *Chronicles* marks the disruption of a previously-existing continuity. In the gradual compilation of the canon the necessity for incorporating in the Holy Writings an account of the establishment of the post-exilic theocracy was felt, before it was thought desirable to supplement Samuel and Kings by adding a second history of the pre-exilic period. Hence *Chronicles* is the last book of the Hebrew Bible, following the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, which properly is nothing else than its sequel.

Whilst the original unity of this series of histories can hardly be questioned, it will be more convenient in the present article to deal with *Chronicles* alone, reserving the relation of the several books for the article HISTORICAL LITERATURE (q.v., § 14 f.). The author used a different class of sources for the history of the pre-exilic and the post-exilic periods respectively; and thus the critical questions affecting *Chronicles* are for the most part quite distinct from those which meet us in the book of Ezra-

Nehemiah. Besides, the identity or authorship cannot be conclusively demonstrated except by a comparison of results drawn from a separate consideration of each book.

Of the authorship of *Chronicles* we know only what can be determined by internal evidence. The colour

3. Date. of the language stamps the book as one of the latest in the OT (see § 11); but it leads to no exact determination of date. In 1 Ch. 29, 7, which refers to the time of David, a sum of money is reckoned by *daries* (but see DRAM), which certainly implies that the author wrote after that Persian coin had long been current in Judea. The chief passage appealed to by critics to fix the date, however, is 1 Ch. 3, 19 ff., where the descendants of Zerubbabel seem to be reckoned to six generations (so Ewald, Bertheau, etc.).

The passage is confused, and it reads it so as to give as many as eleven generations (so Zunz, Nöldl., Kuen., § 29; cf. Kuen., § 34, 35); whilst on the other hand those who plead for an early date are disposed to assume an interpolation or a corruption of the text, or to separate all that follows the name of Jeshiah in 1 Ch. 3 from what precedes (Moyses, Kell.). It seems impossible, however, by any fair treatment of the text to obtain fewer than six generations, and this result agrees with the probability that Hattush (v. 22), who, on the interpretation which we prefer, belongs to the fourth generation from Zerubbabel, was a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 8, 2).

Thus the Chronicler lived at least two generations after Ezra. With this it accords very well that in Nehemiah five generations of high priests are enumerated from Jeshua (12, 10 f.), and that the last name is that of Jaddua, who, as we know from Josephus, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. That the Chronicler wrote after the period of the Persian supremacy was past has been argued by Ewald (*Hist.* 1, 173) and others, from the use of the title King or Persia (2 Ch. 36, 23).

The official title of the Achemenidae was not 'King of Persia,' but 'the King,' 'the Great King,' or 'King of Kings,' the 'King of the Universe,' etc. (see Kell., § 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

What seems to be certain and important for a right estimate of the book is that the author lived a considerable time after Ezra, probably indeed (Nöldl. Kuen.) after 300 B.C., and was entirely under the influence of the religious institutions of the new theocracy. This standpoint determined the nature of his interest in the early history of his people.

The true importance of Hebrew history had always centred in the fact that this petty nation was the people of

4. Character: Yahwé, the spiritual God. The tragic interest which distinguishes the annals of Israel from the forgotten history

of Moab or Damascus, lies wholly in that long contest which finally vindicated the reality of spiritual things and the supremacy of Yahwé's purpose, in the political ruin of the nation which was the faithless depository of these sacred truths. After the fall of Jerusalem it was impossible to write the history of Israel's fortunes otherwise than in a spirit of religious pragmatism. Within the limits of the religious conception of the plan and purpose of the Hebrew history, however, more than one point of view might be taken up. The book of Kings looks upon the history in the spirit of the prophets—in that spirit which is still echoed by Zechariah (15, 7): 'Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, could they live for ever? but my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your fathers? so that they turned and said, Like as Yahwé of Hosts thought to do unto us. . . so hath he dealt with us.' Long before the Chronicler wrote, however, there had been a great change. The new Jerusalem of Ezra was organised as a municipality and a church, not as a nation. The centre of religious life was no longer the living prophetic word, but the ordinances of the Pentateuch and the liturgical service of the sanctuary. The religious vocation of Israel was no longer national,

sources, or must we judge that the standpoint of the author has not only governed the selection of facts, but also coloured the statement of them? Are all his novelties new data, or are some of them inferences of his own from the same data as lie before us in other books of the OT?

To answer these questions we must first inquire what were the materials at his command. The Chronicler makes frequent reference to earlier histories which he cites by a great variety of names.

1. *The Book of the Kings*.—That the names 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' 'Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel,' 'Book of the Kings of Israel,' and 'Affairs of the Kings of Israel' (2 Ch. 33:18, *Heb.*) refer to a single work is not disputed. Under one or other title this book is cited some ten times (1 Ch. 9:1, 2 Ch. 16:11, 25:27; 28:20, 33:10, 35:27, 36:5, also 29:4, 32:22, noted below).

That it is not the canonical Kings is manifest from what is said of its contents.

It must have been quite an extensive work, for among other things it contained a genealogy of statistics (1 Ch. 9), as well as other particulars, not mentioned in the existing Book of Kings (see 2 Ch. 27:33, 18:36); and it incorporated certain older writings of (or about) prophets—in particular the *Dēbārīm* (*Words*, or rather *Matters*, i.e., *History*) of Jehu ben Hanani (2 Ch. 20:34, where read with RV, 'which is inserted in') and the *Visions of Isaiah* (2 Ch. 32:12).

Now it is noticeable that, where the Chronicler does not cite this comprehensive work at the close of a king's reign, he generally refers to some special authority which bears the name of a *prophet* (1 Ch. 29:29, Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; 2 Ch. 9:29, Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo; 12:15, Shemaiah and Iddo; 13:22, Iddo; 26:22, Isaiah). Never, however, are both the *Book of the Kings* and a special prophetic writing cited for the same reign. It is therefore highly probable that, in other cases as well as in those of Jehu and Isaiah (see above), the writings cited under the names of various prophets were known to the author only as parts of the great *Book of the Kings*.

Even 2 Ch. 33:19 (cp. v. 13), where AV departs from the received Hebrew text, but properly expresses the correct reading,¹ seems rather to confirm than to oppose this conclusion (which is now disputed by very few scholars) except in the case of Isaiah's history of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:22), where the form of the reference is different.

The references to these *Dēbārīm* will thus not imply the existence of historical monographs written by the prophets with whose names they are connected; they will merely point to sections of the *Book of the Kings*, which embraced the history of particular prophets, and were hence familiarly cited under their names.

2. *The Midrash of the Book of the Kings*.—Whether the Book of the Kings is identical with the *Midrash* (RV, badly, *Commentary*) of the *Book of the Kings* (2 Ch. 24:27) is not certain. On the one hand, the peculiar title would suggest a distinct work; on the other hand, it is not apparent why, if (as its title shows) it was a comprehensive work, dealing with the kings generally, it should be cited for only one reign. The term *Midrash*,² moreover, from מִשְׁרָה *to search out, investigate*,—as applied to Scripture, to discover or develop a thought not apparent on the surface,—denotes a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story (such, for instance, as that of Tobit or Susannah); the *Midrash* here referred to will thus have been a work intended to develop the religious lessons deducible from the history of the kings. This, however, is just the guiding motive in many of the narratives, peculiar to Chronicles, for which the author cites as his authority the *Book of the Kings*; the last-named work, therefore, even if not identical with the *Midrash of the Book of*

the Kings (as Ew. We. Kue. with much probability suppose), will nevertheless have been similar in character and tendency (cp below, § 9, end).

The *Midrash of the prophet Iddo* (2 Ch. 13:22) will have been either a particular section of the *Midrash of the Book of the Kings*, or, more probably, perhaps, a separate work of the same character, which was attributed to Iddo as its author, or in which the prophet Iddo played a prominent part. For allusions to other authorities, see 1 Ch. 5:17, 23:27, 27:21, 28:35, 36:5.

3. *Conclusion*.—All these writings must have been post-exilic works; nor is it probable that, except for some of his statistical information, the Chronicler had access to any sources of early date other than the canonical histories of the OT. The style (see below, § 11) is conclusive evidence that no part of the additional matter¹ peculiar to Chronicles is an *excerpt* from any pre-exilic writing.

The general conclusion is that it is very doubtful whether the Chronicler used any historical work not accessible to us, with the exception of this lost *Book of the Kings*. Even his genealogical lists may have been derived from that work (1 Ch. 9:1), though for these he may also have had other materials at command.

4. *Sources of the Canonical Kings*.—Now we know that the two chief sources of the canonical book of Kings were entitled *Annals* ['events of the times'] of the *Kings of Israel and Judah* respectively. That the lost source of the Chronicles was not independent of these works appears probable both from the nature of the case and from the close and often verbal parallelism between many sections of the two biblical narratives. Whilst the canonical Book of Kings, however, had separate sources for the N. and the S. kingdoms, the source of Chronicles was a history of the two kingdoms combined, and so, no doubt, was a more recent work, in great measure extracted from the older annals. Still it contained also matter not derived from these works, for it is pretty clear from 2 K. 21:17 that the *Annals of the Kings of Judah* gave no account of Manasseh's repentance, which, according to 2 Ch. 33:18 f., was narrated in the great *Book of the Kings of Israel*.

5. *Dependence of Chronicles on Kings*.—It was formerly the opinion of Bertheau, and other scholars (e.g., Keil), that the parallelsisms of Chronicles with *Samuel and Kings* are sufficiently explained by the ultimate common source from which both narratives drew. Most critics hold, however, that the Chronicler also drew directly from the canonical *Samuel and Kings*, as he unquestionably did from the Pentateuch. This opinion is probable in itself, as the earlier books of the OT cannot have been unknown to the author; and the critical analysis of the canonical Book of Kings shows that in some of the parallel passages the Chronicler uses words which were not taken from the annals but written by the author of Kings himself. In particular, Chronicles agrees with Kings in those short notes of the moral character of individual monarchs which can hardly be ascribed to a hand earlier than that of the final author of the latter book (cp e.g., 2 Ch. 20:32 f. [Asa] with 1 K. 22:43; 24 [Joash]; with 2 K. 12:3 [2] [Jehoshaphat]; 25:1-4 [Amaziah], with 2 K. 14:2 f. 5 f., etc.). It is of course possible, as Bertheau (xiv. f.) and Kuenen (§ 32:15) suppose, that the author of the chief source of Chronicles had already incorporated extracts from our canonical book of Kings; and in general the connections of the successive historical books which preceded the present canonical histories are sufficiently complex to make it unwise to indulge in positive assertions on a matter in which so many possibilities may be suggested.

¹ 'The Seers': so B, RVm^s, Bertheau, Kuenen, Ball, Ostzki, Kamtsch. Budde and Kittel read מִשְׁרָה *the seers* (cp p. 12). Those who follow MT (as Ew. *Hist.* 1:154, Keil) find in ז' to an unknown prophet Hozai (cp AVm^s RV).

² Though common in Rabbinical literature, it occurs otherwise in the OT only in 2 Ch. 13:22.

¹ Including the genealogies and statistical matter, which (in so far as they are not colourless lists of names) show unmistakable marks of the Chronicler's hand, and must therefore be regarded as his compilations: see, e.g., the late expressions in 1 Ch. 2:30, 4:21, 22, 33:3, 39:42, 51:2, etc.

In¹ studying Chronicles a sharp distinction ought always to be drawn between the parts excerpted (without substantial alteration) from the earlier canonical historical books and the parts peculiar to the Chronicler. The recently published edition of Chronicles by Kittel (*SBOT*), in which such excerpts are coloured light red, will materially assist the reader in doing this.

7. Treatment of sources. The parts peculiar to the Chronicler. The recently published edition of Chronicles by Kittel (*SBOT*), in which such excerpts are coloured light red, will materially assist the reader in doing this.

The question arises, What is the historical value of the passages peculiar to Chronicles? After what has been said, it can hardly be doubtful that, except for some of his statistical information, his one genuine ancient source was the series of the 'Former Prophets,' Samuel and (more largely) Kings. The MSS of these books which he employed preserved occasionally a better reading than is found in the existing MT; but where he adds to the earlier narrative or departs from it, his variations are seldom such as to inspire confidence. In large measure these variations are due to his assumption, the validity of which he never questions, that the religious institutions of his own time must have existed in the same form in old Israel.

1. *High Places.*—Living in a time when high places were universally regarded as idolatrous, the Chronicler could not imagine that a good king had tolerated them.

Thus, whereas 1 K. 10.14, 22.42 state that Asa and Jehoshaphat did not abolish the high places, the Chronicler (2 Ch. 34.8, 17.5) says that they *did* abolish them.

2. *Levitical Choirs.*—Again, he assumes that the Levitical organisation of his own time, and especially the three choirs of singers, were established by David.

Had this really been the case, the silence of the older history would be inexplicable; indeed the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah shows that, even at the time of the return from Babylon, the system with which the Chronicler was familiar had not been elaborated, for the 'singers' there still form a separate class not yet incorporated with the Levites.

(a) The narrative in 2 S. 6. of the removal of the ark to Zion does not say a word respecting the presence of Levites upon the occasion. In 1 Ch. 13.15^{f.} this omission is made good: the Levites, including the singers, take a prominent part in the ceremony; the mishap of Uzzah is represented (15.13) as due to the fact that the ark had not at first been properly carried by the Levites, and a psalm composed of parts of three *post-exilic* psalms (100.1-15, 30.1-3, 106.147.7) is placed in David's mouth (168-30).

(b) In 1 K. 8.3 the ark is borne by priests (in accordance with Dt. 31.9, and all pre-exilic allusions); but in 2 Ch. 5.4 'Levites' is substituted for 'priests,' to bring the passage into conformity with the later Levitical law.

(c) In 2 K. 11 Jehoiada's assistants in the revolution which cost Athaliah her life, are the foreign body-guard, which we know to have been employed in the temple down to the time of Ezekiel (44.7); but in 2 Ch. 23 the Carians (see CHERETHITES) and the foot-guards give place to the Levites, in accordance with the rule of the second temple, which did not allow aliens to approach so near to the holy things.¹ Deliberate alterations (Be.) are in consequence introduced throughout the narrative; and a new colouring is imparted to the whole occurrence.

(d) There are other incidental allusions, also, which show that the author is really describing institutions of a date later than the age to which he refers them. Thus (i) not only do the gates mentioned in 1 Ch. 26 (under David) presuppose the existence of a temple, but also the Persian name *PARBAR* (q.v.), given to one of them (v. 18), shows that the writer is thinking of the post-exilic temple. (ii) The allusions in 2 Ch. 13.11 (in the speech put into Abijah's mouth) to the golden candlestick and the evening burnt-offering, point also to the usage of the same age: in the pre-exilic temple the number of golden candlesticks was not one but ten (1 K. 7.49; see, however, CANDLES-²); and the evening sacrifice of the pre-exilic temple was not a holocaust but a cereal offering (7.22; 1 K. 18.6; 2 K. 16.15; Ezra 3.4).²

In his descriptions of pre-exilic solemnities, as in the speeches which he places in the mouth of pre-exilic characters, the Chronicler is unconsciously an un-

peachable witness to the religious usages and beliefs of his own time; it is inconsistent with sound historical principles to treat his testimony with regard to antiquity as of equal value with that of the older and more nearly contemporary historical writings, where the two, whether directly or by legitimate inference, are at variance.

Another principle traceable in the Chronicler's additions is the tendency not merely to lay stress upon the doctrine of divine retribution, but also to

8. The Chronicler's theories. represent it as acting immediately (see especially below § 1). To the earlier prophets the retributive justice of God is manifest in the general course of the history—the fall of the Hebrew nation is the fruit of sin and rebellion against Yahwe's moral commands—but God's justice is mingled with long-suffering, and the prophets do not suppose that every sin is punished promptly, and that temporary good fortune is always the reward of righteousness.

The aim of very many of the additions made in Chronicles to the old history, is to show that in Israel retribution followed immediately on good or bad conduct, especially on obedience or disobedience to prophetic warnings.

(a) In 1 K. 22.48 we read that Jehoshaphat built Tarshish-ships (*i.e.*, great merchant vessels) at Ezion-geber for the S. Arabian trade; but the Chronicler, who lived before the time for this the Chronicler seeks a religious reason. As 1 K. proceeds to relate that, after the disaster, Ahaziah of Israel offered to join Jehoshaphat in a fresh enterprise, and the latter declined, the narrative of 1 K. 22.48 is so altered in 2 Ch. 20.35^{f.} 37b as to represent the king of Israel as having been partner in the ships that were wrecked; whilst in 2 Ch. 37a there is an addition stating that Jehoshaphat was warned by a portent of the certain failure of an undertaking in which he was associated with the wicked Ahaziah.

(b) In 2 K. 3 we read of a war with Moab in which Jehoshaphat was associated with the wicked house of Ahab, and came off scathless. In Chronicles this war is entirely omitted, and in its place we have (2 Ch. 20) an expedition of Jehoshaphat against Moab, Ammon, and Edom, in which the king, having opened the campaign—with the assistance of the Levites—with suitable prayer and praise, has no further task than to spoil the dead of the enemy who have fallen by one another's hands.

(c) Kings states simply as a fact that Shi-shak invaded Judah and carried off the treasures of the temple and palace: the Chronicler inserts between 1 K. 14.25 and 26 a notice explaining that this was because Rehoboam had forsaken Yahwe, but that, as he and his princes had humbled themselves, they should not be entirely destroyed (2 Ch. 12.26-8; cp. v. 12).

(d) In Kings, Asa, who according to 1 K. 15.14 was a good king all his days, had in his old age (v. 23) a disease in his feet. With the object, apparently, of accounting for this, the Chronicler explains (2 Ch. 16.7-10; cp. the addition in v. 12^b) that three years previously he had shown distrustful spirit by contracting an alliance with Benhadad (which is mentioned in 1 K. 15.17-22, without any mark of disapproval on the part of the narrator). The singular dates in 2 Ch. 16.10 16¹ which place Baasha's invasion at a period which, according to 1 K. 15.33 16.8, was ten years after his own death) are most naturally explained as an attempt to bring the fault sufficiently near the punishment.

(e) Similarly the misfortunes of Jehoshaphat, Amaziah, and Azariah are explained by sins of which the older history knows nothing (2 Ch. 24.24, 25.4-6, 26.20-21, 32.20-21; and Phasaon Nodbi himself is made a prophet, that the defeat and death of Josiah may be due to his rejection of a divine warning (2 Ch. 35.21-4), whilst on the other hand, Manasseh, whose character as depicted in 2 K. 21.18-23 26 (cp. 24.3^{f.} Jer. 15.4) is without a redeeming feature, is presented as a penitent (2 Ch. 33.12^{f.} 15.7) in order, it would seem, to justify his long reign.³

All this is entirely in the style of the Jewish 'Midrash'; it is not history, but 'Haggadā,' moralising romance attaching to historical names and events. The Chronicler himself, it will be remembered (see above, § 6 [2], gives the name of 'Midrash' to two of the sources from which

¹ Where the 'yet' of RV should be 'and also' (*viz.*, as well as in the alliance with Benhadad).

² 2 K. 15.5 mentions only the fact that Uzziah became a leper. ³ Cp 1 Ch. 10.13^{f.} (the cause assigned for Saul's death), 2 Ch. 12.26 (cause of Shishak's invasion), 21.10 (cause of Libnah's revolt), 22.7 (cause of Amaziah's troubles, attributed to his idolatry), 36.28.

In 2 Ch. 24.4-14, 25.2-6, 26.20-21 the older narrative of Kings have been not less curiously transformed than in a Ch. 23 (see above, § 7 e); Be., *ad loc.*; Kuep.²⁸, § 30.21, § 31.2; We. *Prod.* 49, 193, 198^{f.} [E. 194, 198^{f.}]. The correspondence between Hiram and Solomon (2 Ch. 2.16-6; cp. 1 K. 5.2-9) has been rewritten by the Chronicler (with reminiscences from other parts of Kings) in his own style.

his materials were derived. There need be no uncertainty, therefore, as to the nature of his work when it departs from the older narratives of S. and K.

Another peculiarity of the Chronicler is to be found in the incredibly high figures with which he deals.

David (1 Ch. 22 14) amasses 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver for the temple (contrast the much more modest estimate of even Solomon's revenue in 1 K. 10 14-7); the army of Abijah numbers 400,000 men, that of Jeroboam 800,000, of whom 500,000 perish in one day (2 Ch. 13 3 17); Asa musters 580,000 soldiers, Zerah 1,000,000 (14 8 9), Jehoshaphat 1,160,000 (17 14-19)—although in 20 12 he complains that he has 'no might,—Uzziah 307,500 (26 13); of the army of Ahaz 120,000 are slain in one day, while 200,000 women and children are taken captive (28 6 8).

Manifestly such figures cannot be historical. The past was magnified, as it was also idealised. The empire of David and his successors was imagined on a scale of unsurpassed power and magnificence; pre-exilic Judah was pictured as already in possession of the institutions, and governed—at least in its greater and better men—by the ideas and principles which were in force at a later day. The past was read in the light of the present, and the history, where necessary, re-written accordingly. No doubt in many instances a traditional element lies at the basis of the Chronicler's representation; but this element has been developed by him, and embellished with fresh details, for the purpose of giving expression to the ideas which he had at heart, and of inculcating the lessons which he conceived the history to teach. It is probable that the new conception of Israel's past history, and the characteristic didactic treatment of it, did not originate with the Chronicler himself, but had already appeared in the *Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah* or the *Midrash of the Book of Kings*, which he so frequently cites as his authorities (cp Be. xxxvii.).

A usage, not peculiar to the Chronicler among OT writers, which must be carefully taken into account by the historical critic, is that of giving

10. The genealogies. information that is really statistical in the form of a narrative. This is the principle which underlies many of the OT statements of genealogical relationships, and which alone explains the variations between different accounts of the genealogy proceeding from a single ancestor: information as to the subdivisions of clans, the intermingling of populations, and the like, is thrown into a genealogical form (see GENEALOGIES, § 1). The most striking example of the application of this principle is the ethnographical table of Gen. 10 (cp also 22 20-24 25 1-4 13-16, and parts of 36); but these instances by no means stand alone; there are many in 1 Ch. 1-9.

This it is avowedly the intention of 2 24 44-45 49-55 4 2-5 11-14 17-23 to indicate the origin of local populations: in 2 43 Hebron, the town, has 'sons.' Several of the names in 2 4 are also those of Edomite clans (Wellh. *De Genibus* etc. 38 f.); these came gradually to be treated as belonging to Judah, and the connection was afterwards exhibited artificially in a genealogical scheme. Caleb and Jerahmeel were not originally Israelite; Caleb belonged to the Edomite clan (Gen. 30 11) of the Kenizites (Jos. 14 6-14); and clans bearing the name of Caleb and Jerahmeel are in David's time (1 S. 27 10, cp 30 29; note also the terms of Jos. 14 15 21) still distinguished from Judah: in course of time, however, they were regarded as an integral part of the tribe, and a genealogy was formed (1 Ch. 2 18 25) to give expression to the fact.¹

A different application of the same principle seems

¹ So in 7 22 Ephraim is not an individual, but the tribe; and in 7 21 Ezer and Elead are, no doubt, Ephraimite clans. Cp Bennett in *Expos. Bib.* chap. iv. esp. p. 87 ff.

to lie in the account of the institutions of Levitical service which is introduced in connection with the transference of the ark to Jerusalem by David. The author is not concerned to distinguish the gradual steps by which the Levitical organisation attained its full development. He wishes to describe the system in its complete form, especially as regards the service of the singers, and he does this under the reign of David, who was the father of Hebrew psalmody [cp *OTJC* (2) 223 f.] and the restorer of the sanctuary of the ark.

The style of the Chronicler has remarkable peculiarities. It is not merely that it presents characteristically

11. Style. late linguistic novelties (which are not confined to the vocabulary, but, as König's *Syntax der hebr. Sprache* fully shows, extend to the Syntax), but it has also a number of special mannerisms. Even the reader of a translation can see that this must be the case. Modern words, often with Aramaic affinities, inelegant syntax, cumbrous and uncouth sentences, in strongest contrast to the ease and grace of the earlier Hebrew historical books,—these are the predominant marks of the Chronicler's style; and so constant are they that there is hardly a sentence, not excerpted from Samuel or Kings, in which they are not observable.¹ For details we must refer to the Introductions and Commentaries (see e.g., Be. xiv. xviii.; Dr. *Intrad.* 535-540; F. Brown, *Hastings' DB* 1 389-391). It might be thought, by those unacquainted with the Chronicler's manner, that the *speeches* in Chronicles might form as a whole an exception to what is here stated, and that they might conceivably be based on some special sources of older date. But this would be a great mistake. The tone and literary style of the speeches which have parallels in Samuel and Kings are both very different from those which have been added by the Chronicler. The latter not only reflect, almost uniformly, the ideas and point of view of the Chronicler himself, but also exhibit frequently the same literary peculiarities. There can be no reasonable doubt that they are, one and all, his own composition.²

² Be.'s work in the *Kurzeff. Hdb.* (ed. 2, 1873) is still a most helpful commentary; see also Keil (70); Zöckler in Lange's

12. Bibliography. *Bibelwerk* (74); Oettli, *Kgf. Komm.* (89); Rawlinson, *Speaker's Comm.* (73); Hall (learned), *Ellicott's Comm.* (83); Bennett (suggestive), *Expos. Bib.* (94). On isagogic questions (structure, sources, credibility of narrative, etc.), the principal works are De Wette, *Krit. Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit d. Chron.* 1805 (*Beiträge*, vol. 1); Keil, *Apolog. Versuch.* (33), and *Eint.* (73), §§ 138-144; Movers, *Krit. Unters. über die Bibl. Chron.* (34); Graf, 'Das Buch der Chron. als Geschichtsquelle,' in *Die Gesch. Bücher des AT's* (66), p. 114-247 (see also Be. viii.); Ew. *Hist.* 1 166 ff.; De Wette—*Schr. Eint.* (66), §§ 224-233; We. *Prot.* (6) 160-228 [ET. 171-227]; Kue. *Ond.* (2) §§ 28-32 (very thorough); Dr. *Intrad.* (6) 516-540; Wildeboer, *Letterkunde*, § 25; König, *Eint.* § 54. Cp also Bu.'s 'Vermutungen zum "Midrash" des Buches der Könige in *ZATW*, 1892, p. 37 ff. (speculative); Ki. *Chronicles, Critical Edition*, etc., with Notes, *SBOT* (Hebrew), ed. W. E. Barnes, 'Religious Standpoint of the Chronicler,' *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, Oct. '96; 'Chronicles a Targum,' *Ex. Times*, 8 316 f. (197); *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version* (97) (contains a rather surprising number of variants in the primary MSS); F. Brown, art. 'Chronicles,' *Hastings' DB* (98).

W. R. S.—S. R. D.

¹ The peculiarities in question may often be observed even in the short sentences which the Chronicler sometimes introduces into a narrative otherwise excerpted without material alteration from Samuel or Kings: e.g., 1 Ch. 21 1 (עָרַר) 3 end (אֲרָבָה) 11 end (בָּרַךְ), 2 Ch. 23 (2) 5 11 16-13 12 14 18 3 *Eint.* 316, etc.

² For illustrations see Dr., 'The Speeches in Chronicles,' *Expositor*, Apr. and Oct. 1895, pp. 247-254, 294 f., 304-307.

CHRONOLOGY

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A. OLD TESTAMENT.

The advantages afforded by a fixed and uniform chronological system of defining historical events seem so evident that one might expect to find some such method of determining dates in use from the very earliest times.

1. No fixed era.

History, however, shows that a long development was needed to lead to this simple result. Only in connection with a universal history did the desire for a uniform and comprehensive method of determining dates spring up. The impulse towards a real universal history and a general chronology came, not when the attempt was made to collect and record all human events, but when men learned to look at them from a single point of view and to comprehend them in a single plan. The roots of such a universal history lie in the prophets of Israel, who regarded the plan of Yahwé as realising itself in the experience of the nations of the earth as well as in the history of Israel; and its actual beginnings, strange as it may seem, are to be found in the Apocalyptic writers, who regarded history as a comprehensive whole (see APOCALYPTIC, § 2). This mode of regarding history was continued by Christianity. It is not strange, therefore, that Christianity felt the need for a universal chronology and found a way of meeting that need, thus proving its own world-embracing significance. This is not the place to enter upon the long and involved history of the adoption of the Christian era, which, after its author, the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus of the first half of the sixth century, is also called the Dionysian era. In order, however, to obtain a fixed starting-point from which to reckon, we must simply state here that the year 1—i.e., the year of the birth of Christ—is equivalent to the year 754 of the era of Varro—i.e., the era of the city of Rome,—and to the first year of the 195th Olympiad; and, also, that King Herod died in the year 750 of the city of Rome, and so in the year 4 B.C. (cp Schürer, *OT* I, 141-143).

The same phenomenon of gradual arrival at a satisfactory chronological method is repeated in the narrower sphere of the national history of the several nations. We never find a settled era, a definite date from which years were counted, at the very beginning or even at an early period of a nation's history. If anything of this kind has seemed to appear in early times, it has always turned out to be in the highest degree uncertain, or really to rest on later calculations. Nor is the

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

Assyriology (§§ 23-26).
Menander (§ 30).
Caution (§ 27).

III. RESULTS.

Earliest certain OT dates (§ 28).
Approximate earlier dates (§§ 29, 31).

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

4. Year of death (§§ 50-56).
5. Year of birth (§§ 57-62).
6. Conclusions (§ 63).

II. LIFE OF PAUL (§§ 64-69).

1. Entry into Europe to imprisonment at Rome (§§ 64-71).

Chronology of the several periods (§§ 30-37).

1. Solomon to Jehu (§ 32).
2. Certain dates: Jehu to fall of Samaria (§ 33).
3. Chronology of N. Israel (§ 34).
4. Chronology of Judah (§§ 35-37).

2. Earlier period (§§ 72-75).

Confirmation of results (§§ 76-78).

3. Closing period (§ 79 f.).

III. CHURCHES IN PALESTINE (§ 81 f.).

IV. OTHER DATES (§ 83 f.)

TABLES.

5. Survey: Solomon to Herod (§ 38)

B. NEW TESTAMENT—

6. Secular History (§ 41).
7. Life of Jesus (§ 63).

BIBLIOGRAPHY (§ 85).

8. Paul's middle period (§ 71).

9. Paul: first period (§ 75).

10. Paul: last period (§ 80).

11. Other dates (§ 84).

OT any exception to this rule. Only once had the Jews before Christ a national era, and that was for a very short time. When Simon the Maccabee had obtained from the Syrians complete freedom from taxation along with the acknowledgment of the political independence of Judea, documents and contracts were dated by years of Simon, the High Priest and Prince of the Jews, the first year of Simon the High Priest (1 Macc. 13.41 f. 14.27) representing the 170th year of the era of the Seleucidae (= 143-142 B.C.).¹

On the other hand, since the time when the Jews fell under the dominion of Syria, they had used the so-called era of the Seleucidae (*βασίλειά Ἑλληνιστῶν*, 1 Macc. 1.11; *βασίλειά Ἀσσυρίων* [Assyria = Syrian], Jos. Ant. xiii. 6.; *מלכות אשור* amongst the Jews, and year *ד'ג'א'ת'א'ת'א'ת'* amongst the Syrians). This era has for its starting-point the defeat of Nicanor, the general of Antigonus, by Seleucus Nicator, and the final establishment of the dominion of the Seleucidae in Syria and Babylonia in the year O. 117, 1—i.e., 312 B.C. It is used in the Books of the Maccabees, but there, it would seem, with this difference, that in the first book it begins, not, as was usual elsewhere, in the autumn, but in the spring of 312, thus about half a year earlier.² This era reached in general as far as the Syrian power, and although, usually, where states were able to obtain freedom they introduced new eras of their own, none was able to maintain itself so long as that of the Seleucidae. It remained in use, indeed, among the Syrians for centuries alongside of the Arabic era, which counts from the Hegira (*hijra*, flight of Mohammed), 16th July, 622 A.D.

Real eras are not met with in the OT in earlier times. We cannot cite as an exception the practice of the Jews during the Exile, of counting the years since they were carried away from their land (ליבנותי, Ezek. 33.21 and 40.1; *בגלותי*, 2 K. 25.27; also Jer. 52.31, and Ezek. 1.2, and, without mention of the point from which the reckoning is made, Ezek. 8: 20; 29: 17). In truth, they desired nothing more eagerly than to be delivered from the need of counting in this way. Besides, there

¹ Whether the numbers 1-5 that are found on silver shekels and half-shekels with the inscription *יְהוֹשֻפֶת* or *יְהוֹשֻפֶת* refer to another era than that of Simon's, and, if so, to some pre-Christian era, has not been decided. That Simon had coins stamped, however, is hardly to be doubted (cp 1 Macc. 15.9; also Schürer, *op. cit.* I, 240 ff. 630 ff.).

² So Schürer, *op. cit.* I, 23; We., however (*JG* 129 f. 208), regards this assumption as unnecessary (cp YEAR, § 9).

was along with it a reckoning from the final fall of Jerusalem (Ezek. 40:1), while Ezek. 1:1 (if the text has reached us intact) must rest on still a third mode of reckoning.¹ It is, moreover, a very unsafe hypothesis which ventures to retain in the case of the statement of 2 Ch. 16:1 (as a whole clearly untenable) at least the number 36 as based on trustworthy tradition, and proposes to find therein a trace of a Judean era, thought to date from the division of the kingdom (Sharpe, *Chronology of the Bible*, 29; cp Brandes, *Abhandl.* 62). Nor, lastly, are we any more justified in finding any trace of a real era counting from the Exodus in the late passage 1 K. 6:1, where the building of Solomon's temple is assigned to the 480th year after that event. This number does not rest on tradition: it has been reached by calculation based on some hypothesis. No corroboration can be obtained from the numbers in the late Priestly Code—if the passages containing them are original even there—numbers which date the events of the journey through the wilderness by years from the deliverance out of Egypt (לַיְמֵי מִצְרָיִם אֲשֶׁר יָצְאוּ מִן־מִצְרָיִם; cp Ex. 16:19; Nu. 1:19; 33:38). Nor can any support, in fact, be found for the notion that the Jubilee period was turned to chronological purposes. There is not the slightest trace of a real carrying out of the regulations concerning it mentioned in Lev. 25:9 ff.: even the Books of the Maccabees speak only of Sabbatic years, never of Jubilee years (1 Macc. 6:49-53; cp *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 162).

In spite of this lack of a proper era, the OT is not without notes and data intended to serve as a means of fixing events chronologically.

2. Miscellaneous data.

In addition to isolated observations (none the less important that they are incidental) setting an occurrence in relation to another prominent event (e.g., to the death of the king, as in Is. 6:1; 14:28, or to an important expedition, as in Is. 20:1, to the building of a city, as in Nu. 13:22, or to an extraordinary natural phenomenon, as in Am. 1:1), we generally find, in the case of any important OT personage, the year of his life or his reign specified; and in the books edited during the Exile the date of the events narrated begins to be given by years of the reigning king. Besides, there are the various synchronistic data often supplied by headings of books (e.g., in the case of certain of the prophets), and by the Books of Kings, which have a complete synchronistic record for the time of the coexistence of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Finally, the evidence of the contemporaneity of certain events furnished at times by the historical narrative itself is of the highest importance.

The weightiest question, however, is, to what degree of credibility this chronological material can lay claim.

3. Late origin.

Before undertaking the examination of this question for the several points of the history, we must premise some general considerations that thrust themselves on our notice. First of all, there is the remarkable fact that these chronological notes are to be found in greatest abundance in those parts of the historical books that are confessedly to be regarded as the youngest. In the Pentateuch they belong to the post-exilic Priestly Code or to additions of even later date; in the other historical books into which the older

sources have been worked, they are due, in the main, to the latest exilic editors. Then, it must be regarded as proved that the superscriptions of the prophetic books containing detailed information concerning the time of the respective prophets do not come from the prophets themselves, but are much younger additions, such as the erudition of later ages delighted in. This appears from the inexplicable double date (by kings of Judah and of Israel) found in Hosea and Amos, as well as from the inaccuracy, or the crowding, of the data in Is. Jer. and Ezek. Nor is the remarkable addition in Amos 1:1, 'two years before the earthquake,' any exception to this rule: the fact that a later event is employed to define the date shows that the statement is a subsequent addition, and it is therefore very probable that it rests on the exegesis and calculation of the scribes (cp Hoffmann, *ZITW* 3:123 [83]). Lastly, it is remarkable that the text presents no uniformity of reading in the matter of re-ording dates: nay, that there are even to be found unfilled blanks. Thus in 1 S. 13:1 the numbers have been omitted from the formula giving the age of Saul and the length of his reign, and in Gen. 11:10 the whole verse is omitted.¹ There are also other places in the LXX where such chronological data are lacking—e.g., Jer. 47:1 [BAN]—and elsewhere in the old versions we come on considerable variations from the traditional Hebrew text. All these are marks that indicate a late origin for the chronological numbers and warn us in the most emphatic way to submit them to a thorough examination.

As regards the oldest period, with which Genesis deals, the time down to the Exodus, it is known that the numbers supplied by the Samaritan and the LXX texts, and even by the Book of Jubiles (dating from the first century A. D.), differ in many points from those of the Massoretic text.

The divergence will be made most plain by a comparison showing the sum of the years according to each tradition. In Gen. 5 the period from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood is, according to the Hebrew text, 1656 years; according to the Samaritan, 1307; and, according to Gen. 2242. In Gen. 11:10 ff. the interval from the birth of Shem to the birth of Abraham is, according to the Hebrew text, 300 years; according to the Samaritan, 1040; and, according to the text of Gen. 1270. In this no account is taken of the variations exhibited by the other MS. of Gen. itself, nor is it inquired whether the tradition represented by any one given text is free from internal inconsistency (cp, e.g., Gen. 11:10, 'two years after the flood,' with Gen. 5:32 7:6, and Gen. 11:104; further Gen. 12:4 with Gen. 11:26, 32).

This state of matters shows, what was indeed probable to begin with, that there was no fixed tradition concerning the early history of Israel: that, indeed, even at so late a time as that of the LXX and the Book of Jubiles, there was no clear idea of how the period in question should be measured. Thus the numbers of the Hebrew text, since they are not earlier than the Priestly Code, go back at the best only to the fifth century B.C., and do not rest on tradition, but have been reached by the application of some artificial theory. Since they are useless, therefore, at least for chronology (if indeed one could ever have hoped to obtain such a thing for those earliest times) it is unnecessary to attempt to discover what the actual theory underlying them is.

It will be enough to mention that v. Gutschmid observed that 2666—the number of years resulting from the summation of the Massoretic numbers for the period (Gen. 5 to Ex. 12:40) from the creation of Adam to the Exodus² is exactly two-thirds of 4000 years. These 4000 years he took to represent a period (of 300 generations of 40 years each) assigned for the duration of the world. In this way he sought to explain the artificial origin of the system (cp Nöld. *Untersuch. zur Krit. des AT*

¹ Gen. 11:10 follows MT, Gen. 11:10 is lacking at this point (see further Dr. 788).

² The number 2666 results from the addition of 1656, the number of years from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood (cp Gen. 5), +290, the sum of the years from the flood to the birth of Abraham (cp Gen. 11:10 ff.) +75 to the departure of Abraham from Haran (Gen. 12:4) +15 to the departure of Jacob for Egypt (=25 to the birth of Isaac [Gen. 21:5], +60 to the birth of Jacob [Gen. 25:26], +130 years of Jacob's life [Gen. 47:9-28]), +430 years of stay in Egypt (Ex. 12:40).

¹ In that case nothing would meet the requirements of the passage but a reckoning that counted from the reform of Josiah (622). Of any such mode of reckoning we know nothing, any more than we do of a reckoning by Jubilee periods, or of a Babylonian era meeting the requirements of the text (cp Kue. *Find.* 2:60 n. 4). Wl. (*AT Unters.* 94-96) therefore alters the text, and reads Ezek. 1:1 thus, וַיְהִי בְשָׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִיטָה (read וַיְהִי בְשָׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִיטָה אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הַיְצִיאוֹת מִן־מִצְרָיִם), which must be understood like 8:1, and give an earlier date than 8:1. It would be better, however, to assume the original reading to have been 'in the fifth year' (cp the following verse)—לְיָמֵי חֲמִישִׁית—and that from the fact of Jeremiah's having predicted seventy years for the Exile (25:11, cp 29:10) while Ezekiel prophesied thirty years after Jeremiah, and accordingly inserted as date in Ezek. 1:1 the thirtieth year of the Exile (Duhm).

111). It is worth while, however, noticing the relation in which, according to Oppert (*U.C.V.*, 1877, pp. 291-292), the Chaldean numbers for the first ages in *Deuteronomy* and the statements in *Genesis* stand to each other. The Chaldeans reckon from the beginning of the world to Alexander 315 myriads of years, of which 47 myriads represent the time from the first man to Alexander. Thus they allow for the creation 167 myriads of years. Now, the 7 days of the biblical account of the creation give 168 hours. Thus in the creation age a myriad of years is represented in the biblical account by an hour. Again, for the time of the first ten men down to the flood, the Chaldeans reckon 432,000 years,¹ *Genesis* 1656. If both numbers be divided by 72, we get 6000 and 23 respectively, and 23 years = 168 days = represent 1900 weeks, or also 6000 years in 2 times 1000 years. Hence the Chaldeans seem to have reckoned 5 years (*i.e.* 60 months) as a *lustulum* (*saecus*), where *Genesis* has reckoned 1 week, 1680 years (60 months) = 72 x 23 years = 1680 days = 240 *saecula* weeks; 432,000 years (Chaldean) = 86,400 *lustula*. This remarkable relation, which can hardly rest on pure accident, presupposes a complicated calculation, and a very late origin for these numbers. Whatever be the theory regarding the numbers of *Genesis*, one thing, therefore, is certain: for a sure chronology of the times before the *Exodus*, 3000 numbers, apparently, are they do for the first time in the youngest sources of the Pentateuch, afford no security.

The case is no better with the chronology of the interval that extends from the *Exodus* to the building of the temple of Solomon. We have

5. Exodus to Temple.

here, indeed, a clock in 1 K. 6:1 which makes the building of the temple begin in the 480th year after the *Exodus*; but this number did not make its appearance till a time when the temple of Solomon was no more (cp above, § 1). It bears, moreover, the clear impress of being artificial; for it plainly counts from Moses to David twelve generations of forty years each, which we can easily identify as follows: Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. This explanation of the origin of the number 480 is corroborated by the fact that the five "little" Judges in *Ju.* 10 and 12 appear to have been inserted into the Deuteronomistic Book of Judges later (on the object of their insertion, see *JUDGES*, § 9). Nor can anything certain be obtained from the individual numbers, since they are neither quite clear nor free from gaps.

It remains obscure, *e.g.*, how the numbers relating to the stipendium of the *Beniaminites* and the judgements of Samson (13:1-13:16) are correlated to each other: how the twenty years from the arrival of the ark at Kirjath-jearim to the victory of Samuel over the Philistines are to be fitted into Samuel's history (1 S. 7?); and how the ninety-four years of foreign oppression are to be combined with the data concerning the length of rule of the individual Judges.

The tradition also presents gaps, however, since it does not mention the time during which Joshua was the leader of the Israelites, and in *1 S.* 13:1 the numbers for Saul are entirely wanting. Finally, *1 S.* 4:11 allows Eli in 1 S. 4:18 only twenty years instead of the forty of *MT.*; and the frequently recurring round numbers—such as 40 for Moses, Othniel, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Eli (8 x 5) and David; 60 (= 2 x 30) for Ehud; and 20 (= 2 x 10) for Samson, for Eli (according to *Q*), for Samuel, and (approximately) for Iola (2 x), and Jair (2 x)—go to set in still clearer light the unhistorical character of the data.

The matter may rest, then, as Nöldeke left it at the end of his chronology of the period of the Judges (*op. cit.* 197), with the verdict that 'neither for the several divisions of the period of the Judges nor for its whole duration

is a chronology any longer attainable.' It is, therefore, also useless to seek, by calculation from these numbers, to ascertain the time of the leadership of Joshua and the reign of Saul. The furthest we can go is to conclude, from passages like *Am.* 2:10-5:25, that an old tradition estimated the journey through the wilderness at forty years. (On the chronology of the Book of Judges, see *JUDGES*, § 15.)

It is much harder to deal with the chronological dates for the period from the building of the temple by

6. Temple to Nebuchadnezzar.

Solomon to the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. In various important instances we now meet with statements concerning the year of the reigning king to which the event narrated belongs. Thus in regard to events of war we read: 'In the fifth year of King Rehoboam Shishak King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem' (1 K. 14:25), and 'In the ninth year of Hosea the king of Assyria took Samaria' (2 K. 17:6). So also in regard to home affairs: 'In the three and twentieth year of King Jehoash the priests had not repaired the breaches of the house' (2 K. 12:7). Clear as such passages seem to be, we need to know which year of a given king was called the first—the year in the course of which he ascended the throne, or the first complete year at the beginning of which he was already seated on the throne. Sound information on this point is still more indispensable, however, for the understanding of the further data for our period supplied by the Books of Kings. These give the sum of the years of reign of each several king. If, however, for any interval that can be defined by means of events related, we add together these amounts, the totals for the parallel kingdoms of Judah and Israel do not agree. The question becomes very complicated when at each accession the date is regularly defined synchronistically, by years of the contemporary ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Israel or Judah. This synchronism again leads to a reckoning of its own. What we have first to do is to estimate the value of the various chronological data which form a sort of framework for the whole history of the period. Then we can determine the importance and range of the individual dates assigned by years of accession.

The statements concerning the duration of a reign as well as the synchronism of its beginning form parts of

7. Reigns and synchronisms.

the brief reviews which pass judgment on each king from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic law (see *KINGS*, *BOOKS OF*, § 1 ff.). The two chronological elements, however, have a diverse origin; for the synchronistic notes betray their character as 'subjective additions of the Epitomator.'

It is clear, to begin with, that this notion of synchronism was not in actual use during the existence of the two kingdoms: apart from dates of accessions, we find it only once—at the fall of Samaria (2 K. 18:9-10), the point where the system comes to an end.

It would be natural to maintain that the very construction of the chronological notes reveals their diverse origin: the verb *הָיָה* has in the same sentence one meaning for the words that precede, and another for those that follow. It is to be construed as inchoative ('he became king') as well as progressive ('he reigned'). For instance, in 2 K. 14:23 'In the fifth year of Amaziah the son of Joash, king of Judah, Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel *הָיָה* (= became king, and also = reigned) forty-one years in Samaria.' If here and there (1 K. 15:23, 16:26, 22:23; 2 K. 3:13, 18:1) *הָיָה* is added to *הָיָה*, this only proves, it would seem, a sense of the irreconcilability of expressing both the date of accession and the duration of the reign by the simple verb *הָיָה*. The double sense of this verb, however, is peculiar to such annals, and is to be explained by the brevity of the style. Exactly so in the list of kings of Tyre given by Josephus (*op. cit.* 2:2, 3:1) from Menander of Ephesus, *ἔβασλευσεν* is used in both senses at the same time: 'he became king' as well as 'and he reigned.'

The decisive proof, however, of the secondary character of the synchronistic numbers is reached only when

1 Cp. *KAT* 419 n.
 2 If we reckon together the numbers for this period, we get as follows:—40 (stay in the wilderness) + 40 (Othniel, *Ju.* 3:1) + 80 (Ehud, 3:30) + 40 (Deborah-Barak, 5:31) + 40 (Gideon, 8:28) + 23 (Tola, 10:2) + 20 (Jair, 10:1) + 66 (Jephthah, 12:7) + 7 (Ibzan, 12:9) + 10 (Ehon, 12:11) + 8 (Ahdon, 12:14) + 20 (Samson, 16:31) + 40 (Eli, 1 S. 4:18) + 20 (Samuel, 1 S. 7:2) + 40 (David, 1 K. 2:13) + 4 (Solomon, 1 K. 6:1) = 440 years. If we deduct the 'little' Judges (Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Ehon, and Ahdon = 70), we shall have a total of only 370 years. For Joshua and Saul, for whom the numbers are lacking, there still remain, to complete the 480 years, according to the first calculation 40 years, according to the second 110. If, however, we are to insert between the periods of the several Judges the 04 years of foreign oppression (= 8 (Cushan Rishathaim, *Ju.* 3:8) + 18 (Eglon, 3:14) + 20 (Jabin, 4:3) + 7 (Midianites, 6:1) + 2 (Amorites, 6:22) + 18 (Ammonites, 10:6) + 20 (Philistines, cp 13:15, 20 and 16:1)), we get 334 or 364 years—according to the first reckoning already 54 years too many, with nothing left for Joshua and Saul; according to the second, only sixteen years for these two together, a period far from sufficient for the deeds of both.

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we compare them with the years of reign. It then appears that the former has been attained by calculation from the latter, although the method that has been followed cannot in all points be discerned.¹ A tabular

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exhibition of the data will be the best way to make this clear. In the first column we give the date reckoned from an imaginary era of the division of the kingdom, and in the last the references from the Books of Kings.

TABLE I.—OLD TESTAMENT DATA AS TO REIGNS: SOLOMON TO FALL OF SAMARIA.
SYNCHRONISMS AND LENGTH OF REIGNS.

Year acc. to imaginary era of division of Kingdom.	ISRAEL				JUDAH				References to the Books of Kings.
	Synchronistic Date.	Length of Reign.		Synchronistic Date.	Length of Reign.		References to the Books of Kings.		
		Acc. to Syn-chronisms.	Acc. to Tradition.		Acc. to Syn-chronisms.	Acc. to Tradition.			
1	1st year of Jeroboam	..	22 years	1st year of Rehoboam	17 years	17 years	1 K. 11 29 f.		
18	18th " Jeroboam	..	..	1st " Abijah	..	3 "	1 K. 15 1 f.
20	20th " Jeroboam	20 years	..	1st " Asa	..	41 "	1 K. 15 9 f.		
21	1st " Nadab	1 year	2 "	2nd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 15 25
22	1st " Baasha	23 years	..	3rd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 15 33
45	1st " Ela	1 year	2 "	26th " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16 8
46	1st " Zimri	4 years	7 days	27th " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16 15
50	1st " Omri	7 "	12 years	1st " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16 23
57	1st " Ahab	..	22 "	28th " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16 29
60	4th " Ahab	10 "	..	1st " Jehoshaphat	40 "	25 "	1 K. 22 41		
-6	1st " Ahaziah	1 year	2 "	17th " Jehoshaphat	..	..	1 K. 22 52
77	1st " Jehoram	..	12 "	18th " Jehoshaphat	21 "	..	1 K. 24 1		
81	5th " Jehoram	..	..	1st " Jehoram	7 "	..	2 K. 8 16 f.
83	12th " Jehoram	12 years	..	1st " Ahaziah	1 year	1 year	2 K. 8 25 f.		
Sum of Years of reign in Israel . . . 98				Sum of Years of reign in Judah . . . 95					
89	1st year of Jehu	..	28 years	1st year of Athaliah	6 years	6 years	2 K. 10 36		
95	7th " Jhu	28 years	..	1st " Jehoash	..	40 "	2 K. 11 13		
117	1st " Jehoahaz	34 "	17 "	23rd " Jehoash	..	..	2 K. 12 1
131	1st " Jehoash	16 "	..	37th " Jehoash	37 "	..	2 K. 13 10		
132	2nd " Jehoash	15 "	..	1st " Amaziah	29 "	29 "	2 K. 14 12		
145	1st " Jeroboam (II.)	..	41 "	15th " Amaziah	40 "	..	2 K. 14 23		
152	27th " Jeroboam (II.)	63 "	..	1st " Azariah	52 "	..	2 K. 15 12		
209	1st " Zechariah	1 year	1/2 year	38th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 8
210	1st " Shallum	0 "	1 1/2 "	39th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 13
211	1st " Menahem	11 years	10 years	40th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 17
221	1st " Rekahiah	2 "	2 "	46th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 23
223	1st " Pekah	..	20 "	52nd " Azariah	52 "	..	2 K. 15 27		
224	2nd " Pekah	..	..	1st " Jotham	15 "	16 "	2 K. 15 28 f.
230	17th " Pekah	27 "	..	1st " Ahaz	..	16 "	2 K. 16 1 f.		
250	1st " Hoshea	..	9 "	12th " Ahaz	13 "	..	2 K. 17 1		
252	3rd " Hoshea	..	..	1st " Hezekiah	..	..	2 K. 17 18
258	9th " Hoshea	9 "	..	7th " Hezekiah to Fall of Samaria	7 1/2 "	6 1/2 "	2 K. 18 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100		
258 years 241 1/2 yrs.				258 years 260 years					

This table shows that at the end of the 258th year after the division of the kingdom, there had elapsed 258 synchronistic years, $241\frac{1}{2}$ years of reign in Israel, and 260 such years in Judah; and we have thus the singular equation $258 = 241\frac{1}{2} + 260$. The result is even more singular, however, when we examine separately the parts before and after the first point of coincidence obtained through a contemporaneous accession in both lines. Before the year of accession of Jehu and Athaliah there were only 88 years according to the synchronisms for 98 years of reign in Israel and 95 in Judah; but for the second part there are 170 years according to the synchronisms for only $143\frac{1}{2}$ years of reign in Israel and 165 in Judah. Whilst thus, in the first period, the number, according to the synchronistic calculation, is smaller than the sum of the traditional years, in the second period, which is longer by about a half, it exceeds the traditional years not inconsiderably. Similar variations for smaller periods can easily be proved by a glance at the table. Nor can we equalize the syn-

chronistic and the traditional numbers by assuming that the latter represent a popular way of counting according to which from the middle of the first to the beginning of the third year was considered three years, as in the case of the siege of Samaria (2 K. 18 10). The excess of the traditional values in the period before Jehu could perhaps be thus explained, but not their defect in the following period. Nor is it possible by altering the individual numbers to bring the synchronisms into harmony with the years of reign; even were one to alter all the synchronistic statements, this would do nothing towards removing the differences between the numbers for Israel and those for Judah. Thus, almost along the whole line, the discrepancy between synchronisms and years of reign is incurable.

We must not fail, however, to appreciate a remarkable agreement. The sum of the synchronistic years is very nearly equal to the sum of the years of reign for Judah ($258 = 260$). The slight difference of two years can have no weight, and can perhaps be entirely removed. In the surprising statement of 2 K. 13 10 that the accession of Jehoash of Israel happened in the 37th year of Jehoash of Judah, we may follow *v. 1* and change 37 to 39; for, according to that verse, Jehoahaz, who had acceded in the 23rd year of Jehoash of Judah,

¹ It has recently been shown by Benzinger (*Comm. zu den Könige*, 1899, pp. xviii.-xxi.) that the synchronisms start from two different points and proceed upon two distinct methods of reckoning, one of which is followed by preference in the Hebrew text and the other in *Os.*

reigned 17 years. In this way the sum of the years of reign in the lines of Israel and Judah, according to the synchronisms, would be increased in each case by two years—for Jehoahaz would have reigned, according to the synchronism, 16 years instead of 14, and Jehoash 39 instead of 37—while the traditional numbers would undergo no alteration. Even without this slight emendation—adopted in the *Aldine* edition of the LXX, and demanded by Thénius, Klostermann, and Kamphausen—it is apparent that it is the sum of the Judean years of reign that forms the basis on which the synchronistic numbers are calculated. In this process, however, though the individual sums have not been disregarded, it has been impossible, especially in the case of the kings of N. Israel, to avoid important variations.

Case, however, has been taken not to alter the synchronism of events.¹ It is worthy of note that the following requirements are satisfied:—Jeroboam's reign runs parallel with those of Rehoboam and Abijah (2 K. 14.9-15.7). Baasha is king during the reign of Asa (2 K. 15.6-15.7); Jehoshaphat survives Ahab and Ahaziah, and reigns contemporaneously with Jehoram of Israel (2 K. 22.2 ff., 23.2 K. 27 ff.); the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah fall in the same year (2 K. 9); Amaziah and Jehoash of Israel reign contemporaneously (2 K. 14.8 ff.); and Pekah is a contemporary of Jotham and Ahaz (2 K. 17.4-18.7).

Although the synchronistic dates have thus not been attained without regard to tradition, they are obviously, as belonging to the youngest parts of the text, not a standard for chronology. They apply to the past a method of dating with which it was quite unacquainted. This is true not only of the practice, which could never be carried out in actual life, of connecting the years of one kingdom with reigns of kings in a neighbouring kingdom, but also of the methodical practice, presupposed in such a custom, of indicating in an exact and regular way the years within one and the same kingdom, by the years of reign of its king for the time being. In such texts as we can, with any confidence, assign to pre-exilic times, we find nothing but popular

8. First attempts at chronology.

chronologies associating an event with some other important event contemporary with it (cp. 18.61, 11.10, 20.1). The few dates according to years of kings given in the older history (as, e.g., 1 K. 14.25; 2 K. 12.7) may be ignored. They are too isolated, and must rest (e.g., in the writings and portions which treat of the latest pre-exilic times) on subsequent calculation, or be due to interpolation (cp. also the dates introduced by the Chronicler in deference to the desire felt at a later date for exacter definition of time, of which the Books of Kings still knew nothing; 2 Ch. 13.23, 15.10-19, and especially 16.1)—though it is perhaps possible that, even without there being a settled system, some prominent events might, occasionally and without set purpose, be defined by years of reign. In any case, dating by native kings must be regarded as at least older than the artificial synchronism between Judah and Israel.

Dating by the years of kings was thus never systematically used by the Hebrews so long as they had national kings. They learned this

9. Babylonian method.

useful method from the Babylonians, and then introduced it into their historical works compiled during the exile (cp. *Wi. AT Untersuch.*, especially pp. 87-94). Thus the question how the Hebrews dealt with the year of a king's death—i.e., whether they reckoned the fraction of a year that remained before the beginning of the next year to the deceased king, or made the first year of the new king begin at once—disappears. There can be no doubt that the synchronisms, as well as the dates and years of reign in general, presuppose the Babylonian method (the only satisfactory one), according to which the rest of the year in which any king died was reckoned to the

¹ We need take no account of the independent narratives of Chron. 28.27, § 3; they do not agree even with the traditional years of reign.

² Whether the account is correct need not here be considered.

last of his reign, and the first year of the new king was the year at the beginning of which he already wore the crown.

By giving up the synchronisms we are thrown back for the chronology of the monarchy on the sums of the years of reign of the individual kings.

10. Years of reign.

The hopes of finding in these numbers trustworthy material for chronology, and thus solving the singular equation—*namely* about 242 Israelitish years represent 260 Judean years, could be realised only on one condition. One might simply subtract the 242 Israelitish years from the total for Judah, and regard the excess of 18 years as falling after the conquest of Samaria. Nor is there anything in the synchronism to prevent this operation, for that may have started from an incorrect calculation in putting the fall of Hoshea as late as the reign of Hezekiah. A clear veto, however, is laid on this procedure on other grounds. If we subtract the superfluous 18 years (6 years of Hezekiah and the last 12 of Ahaz) from the total for Judah, all that is left of Ahaz's reign parallel with the Israelitish years of reign is the first 4 years. Therefore Pekah, who was murdered nine years before the fall of Samaria (2 K. 17.6), must, at the accession of Ahaz, have been already five years dead, which is impossible, since, according to 2 K. 16.5 ff., this king was attacked by him. The expedient of simple subtraction, therefore, fails; the embarrassing equation remains, about 242 Israelitish years = 260 Judean; nay, since no objection can be raised against the contemporaneity of the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah, 144 Israelitish years = 165 Judean.

If the totals are thus unequal, very great inequalities appear, naturally, in the details. Efforts have been made to remove them; but this has not been achieved in any convincing way.

2 K. 15.5, e.g., states that during the attack of leprosy from which his father Azariah suffered in the last years of his life, Jehoram was the possessor of the kingdom for 22 years. Even were we to find on this statement the theory that the years of reign of father and son had been counted twice over in the numbers 52 and 16 assigned to their respective reigns, and also to suppose that during all these 16 years the father was still alive, there would still remain 144 Israelitish years = 149 Judean.

Mistaken attempts of this kind are, moreover, the less to be taken into consideration that, as will appear (§ 35^b), even the lowest total of 144 years for the interval from Jehu to the fall of Samaria is more than 20 years too high. From all this it results that the individual numbers of years of reign, as well as the totals, are untrustworthy and useless for the purposes of a certain chronology, even if it be admitted that, within certain limits or in some points, they may agree with actual fact.

The untrustworthiness of the numbers 11. Basis of calculation. according to which they are formed is clearly exhibited.

In 1837 E. Krey (see below, § 85) argued that, at least in the case of the Israelitish kings, the several sums assigned to the respective reigns rest in general on an artificial fiction. He then thought that the series of kings of Judah, and indeed those also of the house of Jehu, 'show no such artificiality'; but (acc. to Bleeck-We. *Einl.* 4. 205) he soon observed a playing with figures also in the items for Judah. To begin with the kings of Israel down to Jehoram, we find an average reign of 12 years. In the case of Omri and Jehoram this is the exact number, whilst for Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab we have 22 (i.e., in round numbers 2 x 12), and for the rest—Nadab, Elah, and Ahaziah (the immediate successors of the kings provided with the date period)—2 years each. This is as if we had 8 kings with 12 years each, making a total of 96—more exactly 98 years. Moreover, the totals for the first and the last four of these are each almost exactly 48. In the next part of the series, as we emphasises, we have for the 9 kings from Jehu to Hoshea a total of 144 years, which makes an average of 16 for each. One might also urge the remarkable fact that, even as Jehu with his 28 years reigned about as long as his two successors, so the 41 years of Jeroboam II. also exactly equal the sum of the reigns of his successors. In the Judean line, on the other hand, a similar role is played by the figures 40 and 80. Thus, down to the destruction of Samaria in the 6th year of Hezekiah, we have Rehoboam + Abijah 20, Asa 41, Jehoshaphat

¹ Strictly, Baasha has exactly 24 assigned him.

+ Jehoram + Ahaziah + Athaliah 40. Jehoash 40. Amaziah + Azariah 81. Jotham + Ahaz + Hezekiah 38 years; and from this point onwards till the last date, the 37th year of Jehoachin, we have Hezekiah + Manasseh + Amon 85, and also Josiah + Jehoiakim + Jehoahcin 70 years. If we might still, with Kämpfhausen, be inclined to find in all this only a freak of chance, our suspicion would be raised on comparing the total for the kings of Israel (277.249) with the number in 1 K. 6:1 (480), and still more on observing that 480 is also the total of years from the building of the temple of Solomon to the beginning of a new epoch—the epoch that opens with the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus and the consequent possibility of founding the second Theocracy and setting about the building of the second temple. (The 367 years of Solomon from the building of the temple + 260 years, to the fall of Samaria + 133 years, to the fall of Jerusalem = 760 years of the Exile, 277.249 + 480 years.)

There can hardly, then, be any mistake about the artificiality of the total as well as of the various items. If so, the origin of the present numbers for the years of reign of the individual kings, on which the synchronistic notices are founded, must fall in a period later than the victory of Cyrus over Babylon, and chronology cannot trust to the correctness of the numbers.

For all that, it may be conjectured the numbers in individual instances are correct; but which are such cases, can be known only in some way independent of the numbers. Sometimes, indeed, the narrative of Kings or a prophetic writing can decide the point; but without help from outside we could not go far. In itself it cannot be more than probable that the last kings of Judah appear with the correct numbers. These numbers give Hezekiah 29 (2 K. 18:12), Manasseh 55 (21), Amon 2 (21:19), Josiah 31 (22:1), Jehoahaz $\frac{1}{2}$ (23:31), Jehoakim 11 (23:36), Jehoachin $\frac{1}{2}$ (24:1), and Zedekiah 11 years (24:18); thus, 133 years in all, embodying an estimate of 133 years from the fall of Samaria to the conquest of Jerusalem. Thus, the earliest that the dates according to years of kings can lay claim to consideration is in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Here grave mistakes in retrospective calculation (for even they rest on that) seem to be excluded by the nearness of the time. Naturally no account can be taken of the statements of the Book of Daniel, which did not originate till the second century B.C.; it knows the history of the fall of the kingdom of Judah and of the exilic period only from tradition, and cannot be acquitted of grave mistakes (see DANIEL, ii. § 9f.).

For the last period, reaching from the fall of Jerusalem to the beginning of the Christian era, we have in the Hebrew OT itself but few historical records. Beyond the introduction of the law in the restored community the historical narrative does not conduct us. For the short interval preceding it we are referred to the statements in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. These, however, show that the Jews had learned in the interval how to date exactly by years of reign. The writings mentioned give dates by years of the Persian kings. All difficulties in the way of a chronology of this period, however, are not thus removed. The names Darius and Artaxerxes leave us to choose between the several bearers of these names among the Persian Kings. Hence both the first and the second of the three Dariuses have been regarded as the Dariawesh mentioned in the OT, and even all three Artaxerxes have been brought into connection with the Artahšasta of Ezr.-Neh. Then, again, the transpositions and actual additions that the Chronicler allows himself to make increase the difficulty of knowing the real order of events. In the case of Darius, indeed, only the first can, after all (in spite of Havet and Imbert), be seriously considered.

The chief interest, accordingly, lies in deciding as to the date in Ezra 7f. which sets the return of Ezra in the seventh year of Artahšasta. It is to be noted that this passage (7:1-10) has been revised by the Chronicler (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, Books of), and in both verses the

date is open, from its position or lack of connection, to the suspicion of not being original. Kusters accordingly, leaving this datum wholly out of account, maintained (Herstel, '94) that Ezra made his first appearance in Jerusalem with the Gola (see ISRAEL, § 57) immediately after Nehemiah's second arrival there, while Artaxerxes I. was still on the throne, and introduced the law thence. Van Hoonacker, on the other hand, accepted the datum of Ezra 7f., but believed that it had reference to Artaxerxes II., and accordingly set down the date of Ezra's arrival as in the seventh year of that king (397 B.C.). [Marquart ('Die Organisation der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem sogenannten Exil,' *Fundamente der u. jüd. Gesch.*, '96)] thinks that the careers of Nehemiah and Ezra can fall only a few decades earlier than the reported deportation of Jews to Hyrcania under Artaxerxes III., Ochus. Nehemiah's Artaxerxes was, he thinks, Artaxerxes II., Mnemon. He finds no trace of Ezra's presence in Jerusalem during the twelve-years' governorship of Nehemiah; the reference to Ezra in Neh. 12:36 is an addition of the Chronicler. Nehemiah, too, is nowhere mentioned in Ezra (Neh. 8:9 10:2 are interpolated). Internal evidence alone can determine the date of Ezra. Neh. 13 is connected naturally with Ezra 9:1-10:44. Ezra's arrival then follows in the time after Nehemiah's return to Susa; the text of Ezra 7 (which belongs to the redactor) has suffered in transmission; 368 or 365 was the original date reported. Nehemiah's second arrival, at any rate, fell after the promulgation of the Law (Neh. 13:1); Marquart proposes to read in Neh. 13:6 'at the end of his days' (יָמָיו), implying a date between 367 (364) and 359. Cheyne, in a work almost devoid of notes, but called 'the provisional summing up of special researches,' differs in some respects in his chronological view of the events alike from the scholars just referred to, and from Ed. Meyer, who is about to be mentioned. (See his *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98, translated, after revision by the author, by H. Stocks under the title *Das religiöse Leben der Juden nach dem Exil*, '99). Like Marquart he doubts the correctness of the text of Neh. 5:14; but he is confident that the Artaxerxes of Ezra-Nehemiah is Artaxerxes I., and that Nehemiah's return to Susa precedes the arrival of Ezra with the Gola. The incapacity of Nehemiah's successor (the Tirshatha?) probably stimulated Ezra to seek a firman from the king, though the terms of the supposed firman in Ezra 7 cannot be relied upon. Ezra seems to have failed at the outset of his career, and it was the news of this failure, according to Cheyne, that drew Nehemiah a second time from Susa. Klostermann's treatment of the chronology in Herzog cannot be here summarised.—Ed.]

Ed. Meyer's thorough discussion (*Entst.* '96), however, has convinced the present writer that we are not entitled to call in question the arrival of Ezra before Nehemiah, and consequently that the datum of Ezra 7f. may be right after all. If so, Ezra returned to Jerusalem with the Gola in 458 B.C., having it for his object to introduce the law there. In this, however, he did not succeed. It was not until after Nehemiah had arrived in Jerusalem in 445 B.C. clothed with ample powers, and had in the same year restored the city walls with his characteristic prudence and energy, that Ezra was at last able to come forward and introduce the law under Nehemiah's protection (445 B.C.). From this date onwards till 433 B.C. (cp. Neh. 13:6) Nehemiah continued in Jerusalem. Shortly after 433 B.C.—perhaps in 432 B.C.—he obtained a second furlough. How long this lasted we do not know; but its importance is clear from Neh. 13:4-31.

The OT offers no further chronological material for determining the dates of the last centuries before Christ.

15. Later times.

1 But the essay was 'completed 29th August 1895' (p. 28).

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The apocalypse of Daniel cannot be held to bridge over the gap between Ezra and the time of the Maccabees with any certainty, for it is the possibility of these apocalypses to point to past events only in a veiled way, and it is, in fact, only what we know otherwise of the complications between Syria and Egypt, and of the doings of Antiochus Epiphanes, that makes an understanding and an estimate of the descriptions in the Book of Daniel possible. Besides, its intimation (9.24 ff.) that from the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (586) to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (164), we are to reckon a period of 70 years—weeks—490 years—shows how inaccurate the chronological knowledge of the writer was, and how much need we have to look around for other help.

Astronomy would furnish the surest means for determining the exact year and day of events, if the OT contained undoubted accounts of solar or lunar eclipses. Unfortunately, such accounts are lacking. One might be tempted to go so far as to suppose a solar eclipse to explain the sign on the sundial of Ahaz given to Hezekiah by Isaiah (Is. 38:8); perhaps also the 'standing still of the sun at Gibeon'

16. Supposed Astronomical data. Unhappily, however, such accounts are lacking. One might be tempted to go so far as to suppose a solar eclipse to explain the sign on the sundial of Ahaz given to Hezekiah by Isaiah (Is. 38:8); perhaps also the 'standing still of the sun at Gibeon'

17. Mahler's system. Rationalistic as this may seem, Ed. Mahler (see § 38 for title of work) has not been content to stop here, but has discovered many solar eclipses intimated in the OT; he even finds them in every prophetic passage that speaks of a darkening of the sun. In this way he has been able to determine astronomically a whole series of events. Before we can accept these results, however, we must examine more carefully the foundation on which they are reared.

For example, Mahler assigns the Exodus to the 27th March 1255 B.C. which was a Thursday, because fourteen days before that day there occurred a central solar eclipse. This calculation rests on Talmudic data that assign the darkness mentioned in Ex. 10:21 to the 18th of Nisan, and explain that that day, and there also the 15th of Nisan, was a Thursday. In Ex. 10:22, indeed, we read of a darkness of three days; but Mahler argues that this note of duration really belongs not to v. 22, but to v. 23, and is meant simply to explain how 'intense and terrifying was the impression which the darkness produced on the inhabitants of Egypt'—'so that no one dared for three days to leave his house.' It is just as arbitrary to assume in Gen. 15:5 ff. an eclipse enabling Abraham to count the stars before sunset, and then to use the eclipse for fixing the date of the covenant then concluded (Berith ben hab-bethärim). The time at which search

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is to be made for this eclipse Mahler reckons as 420 years before the Exodus, since Rabbinic tradition thus explains the number 430 assigned in Ex. 12:40 to the stay in Egypt, whilst on the other hand it makes the 400 years assigned in (Gen. 15:13) to the bondage begin with the birth of Isaac. The desired eclipse Mahler finds on 8th Oct. 1764 B.C. about 430 years before the Exodus (1235 B.C.; see above). Even more artificial, if possible, is the Rabbinic exegesis of Gen. 28:11 and 32:32 on which Mahler relies for the determination of the beginning and the end of the 'twenty-years' stay of Jacob in Haran. The solar eclipse indicated according to him in Gen. 28:11 ('because the sun was set') must have been, he argues, in the evening, and would thus be the eclipse that occurred on the 17th Feb. 1601 B.C., whilst Gen. 32:32 ('and the sun rose upon him') must indicate a morning eclipse, which occurred on 30th May 1581 B.C. If we add that for the victory of Joshua at Gibeon (Josh. 10:12-14) he has found a solar eclipse calculated to have occurred on 31st Jan. 1266 B.C., we have for the earliest period the following items:—

MAHLER'S SUPPOSED EARLY DATES.
 Abraham's Berith ben hab-bethärim (Gen. 15:5 ff.) 1764 B.C.
 Jacob's journey to Haran (Gen. 28:11) . . . 1601 "
 Jacob's return home (Gen. 32:31 [32]) . . . 1581 "
 Exodus (Ex. 10:21) . . . 27th March 1235 "
 Joshua's victory at Gibeon (Josh. 10:12-14) . . . 1266 "

The attempt to do justice to Is. 38:8 by the assumption of a solar eclipse is at least more interesting. According to this theory, all the requirements of the narrative would be met if a solar eclipse had occurred ten hours before sunset, since in that case the eclipse might have traversed over again the ten degrees which, owing to the eclipse, it had 'gone down', and the dial would have again made its usual indication. Such an eclipse has, moreover, been found for 17th June 679 B.C., whence, since the sign in question belongs to Hezekiah's fourteenth year, his reign must have covered the years 693-674 B.C.

The further calculations which fix a whole series of dates on the ground of misunderstood passages, are likewise quite unsatisfactory. Thus, Amos is made (89.7) to announce to Jeroboam II. the solar eclipse of 5th May 770 B.C.; Is. 16:3 and Micah 3:6 are made to refer to that of the 11th Jan. 689 B.C. in the time of Hezekiah; and Joel, who is represented as living in the time of Manasseh, is made to indicate no fewer than three solar eclipses (21st Jan. 662, 27th June 661, and 15th April 657 B.C.; cp Joel 2:10 3:3 4:5). It is further urged that we should refer Ezek. 30:18 and 32:2 to the solar eclipses of 19th May 557 and 21st Nov. 556; Nah. 1:8 to that of 16th March 581; Jer. 4:23 28 to that on 21st Sept. 582 (in the time of Josiah); and Is. 8:22 to that on 5th March 702 B.C. (in the time of Ahaz); and, finally, that even the fight against Siserä can, according to Ju. 5:20, be with certainty fixed for 9th Aug. 1091 B.C.

By combining these 'results' with the numbers of the OT Mahler believes himself justified in producing the following chronological table for the time of the Monarchy:—

TABLE II.—MAHLER'S REMARKABLE CHRONOLOGY: DIVIDED MONARCHY.

KINGS OF JUDAH.	
945-928 Rehoboam	17 years
928-925 Abijah (= Abijah)	3 "
925-884 Asa	41 "
883-858 Jehoshaphat	25 "
859 (sic) 852 Joram	8 "
852-845 Athaliah	1 year
845-845 Athaliah	7 years
845-805 Joash	40 "
805-777 Amaziah	28 "
777-725 Uzziah	52 "
725-709 Jotham	16 "
709-693 Ahaz	16 "
693-664 Hezekiah	30 "
664-610 Manasseh	55 "
610-609 Ammon	2 "
609-579 Josiah	31 "
579-579 Josiah	3 months
579-568 Jehoiakim	11 years
568-568 Jehoiachin	3 months
568-557 Zedekiah	11 years

It is only a pity that the imposing edifice thus erected in the name of astronomical science rests on a foundation so unstable—an artificial phantom, dependent on a Rabbinical exegesis, itself a mere creation of fancy.

The OT itself having thus failed to give sufficient
 1 B. Talm. *Shabbath*, 87b, etc.; see Mahler, *Bibl. Chron.* 4 ff.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.	
945-924 Jeroboam	22 years
924-922 Nadab	3 "
922-899 Baasha	24 "
899-885 Elah	2 "
885-885 Zimri	7 days
885-882 Omri and Tibni	3 "
882-882 Omri	12 years
882-882 Omri	2 "
882-866 Ahab	16 "
866-864 Ahaziah	2 "
864-852 Jehoram	12 "
852-824 Jehu	28 "
824-807 Jehoshaphat	17 "
807-792 Joash	16 "
792-751 Jeroboam II	41 "
739-739 Zechariah 6 months, Shallum	1 month
738-728 Menahem ben Gadi	10 years
727-726 Pekahiah	1 "
726-706 Pekah ben Remaliah	20 "
697-688 Hoshea ben Elah	10 "

1 Mahler finds here a reference to the fall of Nineveh. He argues that the battle against the Lydians in which the day became night (cp Herod. 1:103)—a battle which preceded the fall of Nineveh—fell, not on 30th Sept. 610 B.C. but on 28th May 585 B.C. Again, the solar eclipse with the announcement of which Zephaniah (1:5) connects an allusion to the expedition undertaken by Pharaohs against Nineveh at least twenty-five years before its final fall is (acc. to Mahler) one that happened on 30th July 607.

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chronological data, we have to inquire whether the foreign nations, which so often come through the events of history into contact with Israel, can help us. In so doing we must consider in the first place the Egyptians. It is to Egypt that the narrative of the origin of the people of Israel points; thither escaped the remnant of the community of Gedaliah; and in the interval between these times, as also later, the fortunes of Palestine were often intertwined with those of Egypt.

The Egyptians themselves possessed no continuous era: for the quite unique mention, on a *stèle* from Tanis,

19. No fixed era. of the 400th year of the king Nubti (according to Steindorff probably none other than the god Set of Tanis), is too obscure and uncertain, and would not help us at all even were it more intelligible. Nor yet does the *Sothis-period* help us much. This was a period of 1461 years, at each recurrence of which the first days of the solar year and of the ordinary year of 365 days once again coincided for four years, or, what amounts to the same thing, the Dog-star, from whose rising the solar year was reckoned, again appeared on the 1st of Thoth. The period was never used for chronological purposes.¹ Nor have the monuments fulfilled the expectation, not unreasonable in itself, that by the help of inscriptions giving dates according to two methods it would be possible, by calculation, to reach a more exact chronology for Egyptian history. The most learned Egyptologists, indeed, can themselves determine Egyptian chronology only through combination with data from outside sources. The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in the year 525 B.C. furnishes their cardinal point. From this event, the years of

20. Period of certainty reign of the kings of the 26th dynasty may be fixed with certainty by the help of the data supplied by the monuments, Herodotus, and Manétho. What lies before Psamtik I., the first pharaoh of this dynasty, however, is in the judgment of Egyptologists more or less uncertain, and therefore for other chronological determinations the records of that earlier time are either not to be used at all or to be used with the greatest caution.

Still, even this short period, from 664 $\frac{1}{2}$ (the accession of Psamtik I.) to 525 B.C., is a help to us by supplying points of reference. Through synchronisms of Egyptian and Judean history several events of the time are to a certain extent fixed. Thus Necho II. (middle of 610 B.C. to beginning of 594 B.C.) is admitted to be the king who fought the battle at Megiddo that cost Josiah his life. So mention is made in the OT of Hophra (Apries), who reigned 588-569 B.C., and was even down to 564 nominally joint ruler with Amasis (see EGYPT, § 69). Thus we get fixed points for the contemporaries of Necho II.—Josiah, Jehoahaz, and Jehoiakim;—and for the contemporaries of Hophra—Jeremiah, and the Jews in Egypt (Jer. 44:30)—although neither for the battle of Megiddo nor for that of Carchemish can the year be determined from Egyptian data. On the other hand, these Egyptian data are sufficient to prove that the astronomical edifice of Mahler is quite impossible.

For the time before Psamtik I. the rulers of the 25th dynasty may be fixed approximately.

21. 25th Dynasty. Tanutamon ruled alone only a short time, and therefore may fall out of account. The data for his three predecessors do not agree (cp EGYPT, § 66 f.).

Tanutarke reigned, according to the monuments, 26 years; according to Manétho, 18 (var. 20).

Sabatako's reign, according to the monuments, was uncertain; according to Manétho it was 14 (var. 12).

¹ The confirmation that Mahler (*op. cit.*, p. 56 ff.) seeks for 735 B.C. as the date of the Exodus in the statement that under Menephtah, whom he holds to be the pharaoh of the Exodus, was celebrated the beginning of a Sothic period, which may have happened in the year 1318 B.C., is certainly weak, since the pharaoh who according to Ex. 14 was drowned could not have reigned after that for 17 years. See EXODUS.

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Sabako reigned, according to the monuments, 12 years; according to Manétho, 8 (var. 12).

If we assign to *Sabatako* Manétho's number of years (fourteen) and take, as our basis for the rest, the numbers of the monuments, we get the following:—*Taharka*, 690-664 B.C., *Sabatako*, 704-690 B.C., and *Sabako*, 716-704 B.C. Still, according to the view of Steindorff, to whom we are indebted for these data, *Taharka* may have reigned even longer than twenty-six years, perhaps along with *Sabatako*. Since, however, Ed. Meyer gives *Sabako* 728-716, *Sabatako* *circ.* 704, and makes *Taharka* as early as 704 real master, although not till 689 official ruler, of Egypt (cp *Gesch. Aeg.* 343 ff.), all sure support is already gone. Besides, although according to Meyer (*op. cit.* 344) the identity of *Sabako* with the Assyrian Sab'i and the Hebrew שבו (So', or, more correctly, Save' or Seweh) in 2 K. 17:4 is indubitable, Steindorff has grave doubts as to the phonetic equivalence of these names, and finds no Egyptian datum for the battle of Altaku. It is, therefore, very difficult to get from Egyptian chronology any certain light on two OT statements relating to Egypt—viz., that Sennacherib sent messengers to Hezekiah when he heard of the expedition of *Taharka* (2 K. 19: 1s. 37:9), and that Hoshea of Israel had dealings with *Sabako* of Egypt, and was therefore bound and put into prison by *Shalmaneser* (2 K. 17:4).

For the chronology of the OT in still earlier times, there is, unfortunately, nothing at all to be gained from Egyptology. According to 1 K. 11:40-44 (cp 2 Ch. 12:2), *Shishak* (*Sheshonk*) was a contemporary of Solomon, and in the fifth year of Rehoboam went up against Jerusalem. In spite, however, of the Egyptian monument at Karnak bearing the list of cities conquered by him, his date cannot be determined on Egyptological grounds (on biblical grounds it is usually given as about 930 B.C.). As to 'Zerah the Cushite' (2 Ch. 14:9 ff.), we need not expect to find any mention of him in Egyptian sources (*ZERAH*).

The clay tablets found at *Tell el Amarna* (see ISRAEL, § 6), indeed, make some important contributions to our knowledge of the relations of Palestine to Egypt; but for the chronology they afford nothing certain. We must get help from the chronology of Babylonia before we can, even approximately, determine the date of the correspondence. Then it seems probable that Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. reigned in Egypt either about 1450 B.C. or about 1380 B.C., at which time, therefore, Palestine must have stood under the sceptre of Egypt; the contemporaries of Amen-hotep III.—Burnaburia I. and Kurigalzu I. of Babylon—are assigned by Winckler to 1493-1476 and 1475-1457 B.C. respectively, and the contemporary of Amen-hotep IV.—Burnaburia II.—to 1456-1422, whilst R. W. Rogers, on the other hand (*Outlines of the History of Early Babylonia*, 1895, p. 56), gives 1397-1373 as the probable date of Burnaburia II., and C. Niebuhr (*Chronol. der Gesch. Isr., Aeg., Bab. u. Ass.* von 2000-700 B.C. *untersucht*, 1896) accepts only one Burnaburia and places him and his contemporary Amen-hotep IV. in the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. As in these tablet inscriptions the name of the Hebrews has not so far been certainly discovered, so, in the Egyptian monuments generally, we cannot find any reminiscence of a stay of Israel in Egypt or of their departure.¹ Theories about the pharaoh of the oppression and the pharaoh of the Exodus remain, therefore, in the highest degree uncertain. Neither Joseph nor Moses is to be found in Egyptian sources: supposed points of contact (a seven-years famine, and the narrative of Manétho about Osarsiph-Moses in Josephus, c. *Ap.* 1:27:28; on this cp Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Aeg.* 276 f.) have proved, on

¹ On the inscription of Menephtah discovered in 1896, see EGYPT, § 58 f., and EXODUS, §§ 1, 3.

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nearer examination, untenable.¹ Apart, therefore, from the dates of the rulers of the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth dynasties, there is very little to be gained for OT chronology from Egyptology. On Egyptian Chronology see *ANAT. EGYPT.* § 41.

Assyriology offers much more extensive help. It is much better supplied with chronological material, since

23. Help from Assyriology. It possesses, for a series of 228 years, inscriptions containing careful lists of Eponyms, lists, that is, giving the name of the officer after whom the year was called, and mentioning single important events falling within the year. These brief notes alone are quite enough to give the lists an extraordinary importance. Their value is further increased, however, by the fact that the office of Eponym had to be held in one of his first years, commonly the second full year of his reign, by each king. Hence the order of succession of the Assyrian kings and the length of their reign can be determined with ease, especially as names of kings are distinguished from those of other Eponyms by the addition of the royal title and of a line separating them from those that precede them (cp ASSYRIA, § 19 ff.). The monumental character, too, of these documents, exempting them, as it does, from the risk of alteration attaching to notes in books, gives assurance of their trustworthiness. Nor is the incompleteness of the list supposed by Oppert a fact. In regard to the order of succession no doubt is possible.

The establishment of this uninterrupted series of 228 years can be accomplished with absolute certainty (as

24. Method. we shall see below) by the help of an eclipse of the sun assigned by the list to the Eponym year of Pur-Sagali of Gozan.² In order to be able to determine the eclipse intended, however, and thus to fix the year astronomically, we have first to bring into consideration the so-called Canon of Ptolemy³—next to these Assyrian Eponym lists, perhaps the most important chronological monument of antiquity. This Canon is a list giving the names of the rulers of Babylon—Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian—from Nabonassar to Alexander the Great (the Egyptian Ptolemies and the Romans are appended at the end), with the number of years each of them reigned, and the eclipses observed by the Babylonians and the Alexandrians—the years being reckoned according to the era of Nabonassar—i.e., from that prince's accession. The trustworthiness of this document is proved, once for all, by the astronomical observations it records,⁴ from which we learn that the beginning of the era of Nabonassar falls in the year 747 B.C.⁵

The Canon can be combined with the Assyrian Eponym lists, and the establishment of the latter with certainty effected in the following way. On the one hand, the Ptolemaic Canon assigns to the year 39 of the era of Nabonassar, 709 B.C., the accession of Arkenos (= Sargina on the fragment of the Babylonian list of kings); and, on the other hand, Assyrian clay tablets identify this year, the first of the rule of Sarrukin (i.e., Sargon or Arkenos) over Babylon with the

¹ Cp also Wislizenus's review (*PLZ.* 1804, No. 25, p. 611), of Lathrop's *Chronological chronology* (August, 1802), where the Exodus is assigned to 1292. The judgment of this competent reviewer is that 'the book is well-meant, but brings the question of the Exodus no nearer to a solution.'

² *KB.* I. 120 f.

³ It bears the name 'Ptolemaic Canon' because it was included in his astronomical work by the geographer and mathematician Claudius Ptolemaeus, the contemporary of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (therefore *circa* 150 A.D.).

⁴ The proof is strengthened by the fragments of a Babylonian list of kings published by Pinches in *PSA* 6:32-334 (May, 1884), part of which constitute an exact parallel to the beginning of the Greek list, and completely confirming its statements concerning the names and reigns of the rulers.

⁵ More exactly (since the dates are reduced to the common Egyptian year) on the first of Thoth (= 26th Feb.), not (as according to Babylonian official usage might have been expected) on the 1st of Nisan (= 21st March) (cp Hommel, *G.A.A.*, 485, and see below § 26).

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Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-lī' (Schr. *KAT*⁶, 491) the thirteenth of Sargon's rule in Assyria.¹ Hence we may identify this Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-lī' (the thirteenth year of Sargon's reign in Assyria) likewise with the year 709 B.C.; and, as the series is uninterrupted, all its dates become known. We can, then, obtain astronomical confirmation of the correctness of the Ptolemaic Canon and the Assyrian Eponym lists) in the way hinted at already. For, if the Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-lī' is the year 709 B.C., the Eponym year of Pur-Sagali, to which, as we saw above, there is assigned a solar eclipse, must be the year 763 B.C.; and astronomers have computed that on the 15th June of that year a solar eclipse occurred that would be almost total for Nineveh and its neighbourhood. Thus the Assyrian Eponym list may safely be used for chronological purposes.

On the ground of the statements of this list, then, we have, for the years 893-666 B.C., fixed points not to

25. Result. be called in question by which to date the events of this period in Israel; for the Assyrian inscriptions not only supply direct information concerning certain events in Israel's own history, but also in other cases fix the date of contemporaneous events which the narrative of the OT presupposes. Then the Ptolemaic Canon, which from 747 B.C. onwards accompanies the Assyrian Eponym list, continues when the Eponym list stops (in 666 B.C.), and conducts us with certainty down to Roman times.

We are thus enabled to determine beyond all doubt the background of the history of Israel and Judah from 893 downwards, and obtain down to Alexander the Great the following valuable dates:—

TABLE III.—ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN DATES
893 B.C. TO ALEXANDER THE GREAT

890-885	Tuklat-Adar.
885-881	Asarhaddon-pal.
881-825	Shalmaneser II. (Šal-ma-nu-uššir)
825-811	Sargon III. (Sarg-in-šar-ur)
811-783	Ramman-nirari (III.).
783-773	Sargon III. (Sarg-in-šar-ur)
773-754	Assur-dan III. (Assur-dan III.)
754-746	Ašur-niraru.
745-727	Tiglat-pileser III. (Taklat-habal-išarra)
726-722	Shalmaneser III.
721-705	Sargon (Arkenos, 709-705, king of Babylon).
704-681	Sennacherib (Sin-achi-rib).
680-668	Esarhaddon (Ašarhaddon, Ašur-aḫ-iddin = Asaridinos in Pt. Can.).
667	= first year of the reign of Ašur-bani-pal, who perhaps reigned till 626.
	The continuation is supplied by the Ptolemaic Canon which specifies the rulers of Babylon:—
666-648	Sardanapalos (= Sardanapalos).
648-626	Kingianadanos.
625-605	Nabopolassaros (= Nabū-habal-usur).
604-592	Nabonassaros (= Nabū-kudurrī-usur, נבוןאסר, נבוןאסר)
	592-561
561-560	Illoarudamos (= Avil-Marduk, אביל מרדוך).
550-556	Nerigalsarsaros (= Nirgal-šar-usur).
555-539	Nabonadus (= Nabū-nā'id).
538-530	Kyrus (= Kuruš, כורש).
529-522	Kambyses (= Kambuyijā).
521-486	Dareios I. (= Dārayavuš, דריוש).
485-475	Xerxes (= Khsayartā, חשתיאר).
461-424	Artaxerxes I. (= Artakšataš, ארתקשתא).
423-405	Dareios II.
404-359	Artaxerxes II.
358-338	Ochus.
337-336	Aroges (= Arses).
335-332	Dareios III.

Here follows Alexander the Great, who died in 323 B.C.

With regard to this summary it is to be noted that (as is a matter of course in any rational dating by years of reign—it is certainly the case in the Ptolemaic Canon) the year con-

¹ From the thirteenth year of his reign down to his death in the seventeenth (and so, as the Ptolemaic Canon states, for five years) Sargon must have reigned over Babylon also.

sidered as the first of any king is the earliest year at the beginning of which he was already really reigning; in the preceding year he had begun to reign on his predecessor's death. Short reigns, accordingly, which did not reach the beginning of the new year, had to remain unnoticed, as that of Laborsorach (Lābāsi-Marduk) in the year 556, which, according to Berossus, lasted only nine months. It is

26. Beginning further to be noted that the beginning of the year did not fall in the two lists on the same day. The Egyptian lists mark the year begin on the first of Nisan, the 21st of March, while the Ptolemaic Canon follows the reckoning of the ordinary Egyptian year of 365 days, the beginning of which, as compared with our mode of reckoning, falls one day earlier every four years. Thus, if in the year 747, as was indeed already the case in 748, the beginning of the year fell on the 26th of February, the year 744 would begin on the 25th. For a period of a hundred years this difference would amount to twenty-five days. Thus the beginning of the year 647 B.C. would fall on the 1st of February; and so on. Therefore for the period 747-323 B.C. the beginning of the year would always fall somewhat near the beginning of ours.

If, then, the chronological data of the OT were trustworthy, as soon as one cardinal point where the two series —that of the OT and that just obtained

27. Care necessary. —came into contact could be established with certainty, the whole chronology of the

OT would be at once determined, and the insertion of the history of Israel into the firm network of this general background would become possible. In the uncertainty, however, in which the chronological data of the OT are involved, this simple method can lead to no satisfactory result. All points of coincidence must be separately attended to; and, although we may start out from a fixed point in drawing our line, we must immediately see to it that we keep the next point of contact in view. Unfortunately, in going backwards from the earliest ascertainable date to a remoter antiquity such a check is not available.

The earliest date available, as being certain beyond doubt, for an attempt to set the chronology of the OT on a firm basis is the year 854 B.C., in

28. Earliest certain OT dates.

which Ahab king of Israel was one of the confederates defeated by Shalmaneser II. (859-825) at Karkar (Schir. KGF, 356-371 and K.A.T.¹², 193-200). Since, however, the OT contains no reference to the event, it is of no use for the purpose of bringing the history of Israel into connection with general history till we take into consideration also the next certain date, 842 B.C., in which year presents were offered to the same Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., by Jehu (K.A.T.¹², 208-211). Within these thirteen years (854-842) must fall the death of Ahab, the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, and the accession of Jehu. Of this period the most that need be assigned to Jehu is the last year, which may have been at the same time also the year of Jehoram's death; for it may be regarded as quite probable that it would be immediately after his accession that Jehu would send presents to the Assyrian king to gain his recognition and favour. On the other hand, the traditional values of the reigns require for Ahaziah two years (1 K. 22:22), and for Jehoram alone twelve years (2 K. 3:1): so there appears to be no time left for Ahab after 854. The death of Ahab, however, cannot be assigned to so early a date as 854.¹ The reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, therefore, must be curtailed by more than one year. The course of events from 854 to the death of Ahab in the struggle with the Syrians has, accordingly, been arranged in different ways.

Wellhausen (JG¹⁸, 71) supposes that, in consequence of the universal defeat in 854, Ahab abandoned the relation of vassalage to Aram that had lasted till then, and thus provoked a Syrian attack on Israel. Then, by the victory at Aphek in the second year and the capture of Benhadad, he compelled the Syrians to conclude peace on promise to give up the Gileadite cities they had won from Israel (1 K. 20).

¹ Victor Floig (G.A. 1889, pp. 94-96), indeed, supposes that Ahab fell before Karkar (i.e., in 854), and not before Ramoth-Gilead; but to accomplish this he has to treat the narratives of the Syrian wars (1 K. 20:1-34; 38:43; 22:1-37) as quite untrue-worthy.

Syrians did not keep their promise, he undertook in the third year of the peace the unfortunate expedition for the conquest of Ramoth-gilead which he met his death (1 K. 22). Thus the death of Ahab would fall about the year 851. Schrader, on the other hand, sees in Ahab's taking part in the battle of Karkar a consequence of the conclusion of peace with Aram that followed the battle of Aphek, and finds it thus possible to assign Ahab's death to so early a date as 853. Even if we incline to follow the representation of Schrader, Wellhausen's is much more attractive; the Assyrian notice of the battle of Karkar in 854 establishes at least one point, that the beginning of Jehu's reign cannot be earlier than 842, and the traditional numbers must be curtailed. On the question just discussed see also AHAH.

The year 842 B.C. may, therefore, be assigned as that of the accession of Jehu. In the same year also proposed

29. Approximate earlier dates.

Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, whilst Athaliah seized the reins of government in Jerusalem. If from this date, equally important for both kingdoms, we try to go back, we can determine with approximate certainty the year of the division of the monarchy. The years of reign of the Israelitish kings down to the death of Jehoram make up the sum of ninety-eight, and those of the kings of Judah down to the death of Ahaziah the sum of ninety-five; whilst the synchronisms of the Books of Kings allow only eighty-eight years. Since the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram of Israel must be curtailed (§ 28), if we assume ninety years as the interval that had elapsed since the partition of the kingdoms this will be too high rather than too low an estimate. The death of Solomon may, accordingly, be assigned to ± 930 B.C. Wellhausen (JG¹², 9 f.), indeed, raises an objection against this, on the ground of a statement in the inscription of Mesha; but the expression in the doubtful passage is too awkward and obscure to lead us, on its account, to push back the death of Solomon to 950 B.C., or even farther.¹

In this connection it is not unimportant that the statements of Menander of Ephesus in regard to the

30. Menander. Tyrian list of kings confirm the assignment of 930 B.C. as the approximate date of the death of Solomon.

According to the careful discussion that Franz Rühl has devoted to this statement (see below, § 85 end), preserved to us in three forms (first, in Josephus, *c. Ap. 1.13*; second, in the Chron. of Euseb., and third, in Theophilus *ad Antol. iii.* 100:22), we may, assuming v. Gutschmid's date of 814 B.C. for the foundation of Carthage, fix on 969-936 as the period of reign of Εἰρωμος or Hiram, and on 878-866 B.C. as that of Εἰθθαλος or Ethba'al. Now, Ahab was son-in-law of Ethba'al (1 K. 16:13), and since Ethba'al at his accession in the year 878 B.C. was thirty-six years old, he could only, well have had a marriageable daughter a few years later, when Ahab, who according to 1 K. 16:29 reigned twenty-two years (about 872-851 B.C.), ascended the throne. Moreover, Menander mentions a one-year famine under Eththalos, which even Josephus (*Ant. viii.* 13:2) identifies with the three-year famine that, according to 1 K. 17, fell in the beginning of the reign of Ahab. Further, Εἰρωμος (969-936) may be identified with Hiram, a friend of Solomon (cp. 1 K. 5:18-24; cf. 29:10 ff.), and, whether we adopt the opinion that Hiram, the contemporary of David (2 S. 5:1), was the same person as this friend of Solomon's, or suppose that the name of the better-known contemporary of Solomon has simply been transferred to the Tyrian king who had relations with David, the year ± 930 B.C. for the death of Solomon, agrees excellently with this Phœnician synchronism.

¹ We, translates lines 7-9 thus:—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaba, and Israel dwelt there during his days and half the days of his son, forty years, and Kamos recovered it in my days.' He thus arrives at an estimation of at least sixty years for Omri's and Ahab's combined reigns, since only by adding the half of Ahab's reign to the part of Omri's reign during which Moab was tributary, is the total of forty years attained. It is to be noted, however, that 'Israel,' which We. (so also Smend and Socin, *Die Inschr. des K. Mesa von Moab*, 1886, p. 13) supplies as the subject to 'dwelt' (צָוַן), is lacking in the inscription, and that even with an estimation the construction is not beyond criticism. Is it, in the undoubted awkwardness of the passage, not possible to translate thus—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaba, and held it in possession as long as he reigned, and during the half of the years of my reign his son, in all forty years. But yet in my reign Chemosh recovered it.' In that case there is no ground for ascribing 60 years as sixty to the reigns of Omri and Ahab. Nay, the possibility is not excluded, that 1 K. 8:5 is right in making the revolt of Moab follow the death of Ahab, and then the futile expedition of Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah against Moab could be taken as marking the end of the forty years.

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If it has been difficult to attain sure ground in the early period of the divided monarchy, it is even less

31. Before the Schism. possible to determine anything with certainty about the period preceding Solomon's death. If the data of the OT concerning the reigns of Solomon and David (40 years each, 1 K. 2:11-1142) have any value, David must have attained to power about the year 1000 B.C. Concerning Saul, even 1 S. 13: gives us no real in-

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formation, and regarding the premonarchic period the most that can be said is that, according to the discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna the Hebrews were, about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., not yet settled in Canaan.¹

For the time, therefore, from the partition of the kingdom down to the year 842 B.C., **32. Schism to Jehu.** we must be content with the following estimate:—

TABLE IV.—ESTIMATE OF REIGNS: DEATH OF SOLOMON TO ACCESSION OF JEHU.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.		KINGS OF JUDAH.	
930 (?) = 854	Jeroboam of Israel and his contemporaries	Rehoboam and Abiath in Judah.	
	Nadab		
	Ba'asha	Asa of Judah certainly contemporary with Ba'asha.	
	Elah		
	Zimri		
	Omri		
	Ahab	Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.	
854	Ahab at battle of Karkar		
854-842	Ahab's death		
	Ahaziah, king of Israel		
	Jehoram	Jehoram, king of Judah.	
842	Death of Jehoram of Israel	Death of Ahaziah of Judah.	

From 842 B.C. onwards, there is no fixed point till we come to the eighth century. Then we have one in

33. Certain dates 842-721. the eighth year of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727)—*i.e.*, 738 B.C. In that year, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, this king of Assyria received the tribute of Menahem of Israel. When the OT tells of this (2 K. 15:19 ff.) it calls the Assyrian king Pul: although elsewhere (2 K. 15:29 16:10) it uses the other name, Tiglath-pileser. Of the identity of the two names, however, there can be no doubt (*KAT*² 223 ff., *COT*, 1 219), and we are not to think of the reference being to a Babylonian king, or an Assyrian rival king, or to assume that Tiglath-pileser himself, at an earlier period, twenty years or more before he became king over Assyria, while still bearing the name of Pul, made an expedition against the land of Israel (so Klo. *Sam.* u. *A.ö.* [87] p. 496). If we add that Ahaz of Judah procured for himself through a payment of tribute the help of Tiglath-pileser against the invading kings, Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus; that, accordingly, the Assyrian king took the field against Philistia and Damascus in 734 and 733; and that in 732, after the conquest of Damascus, Ahaz also appeared in Damascus to do homage to Tiglath-pileser, there remains to be mentioned only the equally certain date of the beginning of the year 721 B.C. (Hommel, *GBA* 676) for the conquest of Samaria, to complete the list of assured dates between 842 and 721.

The attempt to arrange the kings of North Israel during this period is hampered by fewer difficulties in the interval 842-738 than are to be found in that between 738 and 721. If we assume that Menahem died soon after paying tribute, we shall still have in the 113 years reckoned by the traditional account from the accession of Jehu to the death of Menahem a slight excess, since for the period 842-738 we need only 104 years. Still, we can here give an approximate date for the individual reigns. The latest results of Kautzsch (in substantial agreement with Brandes, Kamphausen, and Riehm) are the following:—Jehu 841-815, Jehoahaz 814-798, Jehoash 797-783, Jeroboam II. 782-743 (or before 745), Zechariah and Shallum perhaps also in 743, Menahem 742-737 (or ± 745 to after 738). For the last period, on the other hand, from the death of Menahem to the conquest of Samaria, the traditional reckoning gives thirty-one years, whilst from 737 to 721 we have hardly sixteen. The necessary shortening of the reigns

is accomplished by Kautzsch in this way: Pekahiah 736, Pekah 735-730, Hoshea 729-721. Wellhausen has abandoned his former theory that Pekahiah and Pekah are identical, and makes the latter begin to reign in ± 735. To Hoshea, the last king of Israel, he assigns an actual reign of at least ten years, although he assumes that according to 2 K. 17:4 ff. he came under the power of Assyria before the fall of Samaria. For the Judæan line of kings the starting-point is likewise the year 842 B.C., in which Ahaziah of Judah met his death at the hand of Jehu, and **35. Judah 842-734.** Athaliah assumed the direction of the government. On the other hand, we do not find, for the next hundred years, a single event independently determined with perfect exactness by years of the reigning king of Judah. We must come down as far as 734 B.C. before we attain certainty. We know that at that time Ahaz had already come to power, and we can only suppose (according to 2 K. 15:37 ff.) that he had not long before this succeeded his father, during whose lifetime Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus were already preparing for war. The presents of King Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser in the year 734 B.C. delivered Judah from the danger that threatened it, and in 732 B.C. in the conquered Damascus the same king did homage to the victorious Assyrian, and offered him his thanks (cp 2 K. 16:7 ff. and Schrader, *KAT*² 257 ff.). It is still difficult, however, to allot the intervening time to the several kings of Judah; for the traditional values for the reigns require no less than 143 years from the first year of Athaliah to the death of Jotham, whilst between 842 B.C. and 734 B.C. there are only 108 years at our disposal. It is, therefore, necessary to reduce several of the items by a considerable amount, and it is not to be wondered at that different methods of adjustment have been employed. The synchronism of events between the history of Israel and that of Judah is too inadequate to secure unanimity, and the mention (not quite certain) of Azariah of Judah in Assyrian inscriptions for the years 742-740 (cp Schr. *KAT*², 217 ff.) does not make up the lack. On one point, however, there is agreement: that it is in the cases of Amaziah, Azariah (Uzziah), and Jotham that the deductions are to be made.

The years 841-836 B.C. for Athaliah are rendered tolerably certain by the data concerning Jehoash, the infant son of Ahaziah (2 K. 11:1 ff. 4 ff.). Then we need have no misgivings about giving Jehoash, who was raised to the throne at so young an age, about forty years. If we take these years fully, we obtain

1 We modify them only to the extent of giving as the first year of a reign the year at the beginning of which the king was already in power, and adding in parentheses the figures of We., in so far as they are to be found in his *J.G.*

¹ On early traces of certain elements afterwards forming part of Israel, see ISRAEL, § 7 f.; EGYPTE, § 58 f.; ASHUR, § 1 f.

for the reign of Jehoash 835-796 B.C. The date of his death may, indeed, be pushed still farther back; but in any case his time as determined by these data cannot be far wrong, for he must have been a contemporary of Jehoahaz the king of Israel (814-798), and, according to 2 K. 12:18 ff., also of Hazael of Aram (acc. to Winckler 844-about: 804 [?]). From 795 to 734 there are left only 61 years, and in this interval room must be found for Amaziah with twenty-nine years, Azariah with fifty-two, and Jotham with sixteen—no less than ninety-seven years. Even if we allow the whole sixteen years of Jotham, who, according to 2 K. 15:5, conducted the government during the last illness of his father, to be merged in the fifty-two years of Azariah, we do not escape the necessity of seeking other ways of shortening the interval. Amaziah's reign is estimated too high at twenty-nine years. The only thing that is certain about him is that he was a contemporary of Jehoash of Israel (797-783; cp 2 K. 14:8 ff.). It is pure hypothesis to assign him nine years (We.), or nineteen years (Kamph. and Kau.), instead of twenty-nine. The smaller number has the greater probability, since the defeat that he brought on himself by his wanton challenge of Jehoash of Israel best explains the conspiracy against him (2 K. 14:19 f.), and he would therefore hardly survive his conqueror, but much more probably meet his death by assassination at Lachish not long after 790 B.C. (cp also St. *GVT*, 1559). From the death of Amaziah to 734 reigned Azariah and Jotham. To discover the boundary between the two, we must bear in mind the Assyrian inscriptions already mentioned, which apparently represent Azariah as still reigning in the years 742-740, and must keep in view that Isaiah, who cannot be thought of as an old man when Sennacherib marched against Jerusalem in the year 701, received his prophetic call in the year of the death of Uzziah (Isa. 61). Accordingly, we cannot be far wrong in assigning the death of Azariah and the accession of Jotham as sole ruler to 740 B.C. More than this cannot be made out with the help of the materials at our disposal up to the present time.

If now the year of the conquest of Samaria (721 B.C.) were fixed with certainty according to the year of the

king then reigning in Judah, this would appear the next resting-point after 734 B.C. **36. 734-586 B.C.** The data of the OT do not agree, however, and none of them is to be relied upon. This is true even of the datum in 2 K. 18:13, lately much favoured by critics, that Sennacherib's expedition against Palestine in the year 701 B.C., was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (so We. *JD¹* [75] p. 635 ff.; Kamph. *Die Chronol. der Hebr. Könige* [83] p. 28; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jes.* [85] p. 37, and St. *GVT*, 1606 f.). In order to maintain the datum, it is not enough to say, 'The people of Judah are more likely to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which their whole land was laid waste and their capital, Jerusalem, escaped destruction only through enduring the direst distress, than to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which Samaria fell.' The unusual (cp 2 K. 18:19) prefixing of the numeral before לשנת (cp Duhm, *Jesaja*, 235) of itself indicates a later origin, and this is confirmed by what we have already found as to these chronological data not belonging to the original narrative. The number fourteen is based, not upon historical facts, but upon an exegetical inference from Is. 38:5, and a consideration of the twenty-nine years traditionally assigned to Hezekiah, and must therefore rank simply with the scribe's note Am. 1:1: 'two years before the earthquake.'¹

Even when we come to the seventh century, the expectation that at least the death of Josiah in the battle of Megiddo would admit of being dated with complete accuracy by material from inscriptions is not fulfilled. From Egyptian chronology, which does not mention

¹ This is forcibly urged by Kau. (cp Kamph. *op. cit.* 94) and has received the assent of Duhm (*loc. cit.*) and Cheyne (*Intr. Is.* 218).

the date of the battle, we gather only that it must have been after 610 B.C., since the conqueror, Necho II., did not begin to reign till that year. There is, therefore, nothing left but to take as our fixed point the conquest of Jerusalem in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar—*i.e.*, 586 B.C. (2 K. 25:38). For the intervening time we have to take into consideration, besides the death of Josiah, the data supplied by Assyriology, which place Sennacherib's expedition against Hezekiah in 701 B.C. and imply Manasseh's being king of Judah in the years 681-667 (cp Schr. *KAT*², p. 466).

For the whole time from the death of Jotham to the conquest of Jerusalem, tradition requires 155 years of reign, whilst from 734 B.C., when Ahaz was already seated on the throne of Jerusalem—which year, if not that of his accession, must have been at least the first of his reign—to 586 B.C., we have only 148, or, since we may reckon also the year 734 B.C., 149 years. The smallness of the difference of seven years, however, shows that we have now to do with a better tradition. Where the mistake lies we cannot tell beforehand. All we can say is that it is not to be sought between the death of Josiah and the fall of Jerusalem, since for this interval twenty-two years are required by tradition, and this agrees with our datum that Josiah must have died shortly after 610 B.C.

Let us see whether another cardinal point can be found. In 701 Hezekiah was reigning in Jerusalem. When it was that he came to the throne, whether before or after the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.), is the question. In Is. 14:28 we have an oracle against Philistia, dated from the year of the death of king Ahaz,—a chronological note which, like Is. 61, may have importance, if the oracle really belongs to Isaiah. Winckler and Cheyne [but cp *Isaiah*, *SBOT*, *Addenda*] regard it as possible that the oracle may refer to agitation in Syria and Palestine, in which the Philistines shared, on the accession of Sargon (721 B.C.), when Hanun, king of Gaza, induced them to rebel, in reliance on the help of Sibe', one of the Egyptian petty kings (cp above on Sabaka, Sab'i, So', Seweh, § 21). On this theory the death of Ahaz would have to be set down about the year 720 B.C. As, however, the authenticity of the oracle is not certain,—in fact hardly probable (cp Duhm, who even conjectures that originally there may have stood, instead of Ahaz, the name of the second last Persian king, Arses [=Arogos])—it is not safe to take it as fixing the death-year of Ahaz. Of greater value is the section relating to the embassy of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon to Hezekiah (2 K. 20=Is. 39). Merodach-Baladan was king of Babylon from 721 to 710. When, later, he attempted to recover his position, he held Babylon for so short a time that an embassy to the west would be impossible. Thus, Merodach-Baladan must have sought relations with Hezekiah between 721 and 709. The beginning of the reign of Merodach-Baladan, when in the year 721 or 720 he obtained possession of Babylon and held it against Sargon, commends itself as the point of time most suitable. After the battle of Dür-ilu, which both parties regarded as a victory for themselves, it must have seemed natural to hope that the overthrow of the Assyrian kingdom would be possible, if the west joined in the attack. Moreover, Sargon once describes himself (Nimrud inscr., 18) as 'the subduer of Judah,'¹ which seems to mean that, on the suppression of the revolt in Philistia, Hezekiah resumed the payment of the tribute that had been imposed. In view of this, Winckler seems to be justified in placing the appearance of the embassy of Merodach-Baladan before Hezekiah in the year 720 or 719. Approximately, then, the year 721 may be regarded as assured for the year of the death of Ahaz.

The first year of Hezekiah's reign is thus 720 B.C. rather than 728 (Kau.), or 714 (We. and others). The discrepancy of four years, which is all that now remains

¹ For fuller details see *ISAIAH*, i. § 6, *SARGON*.

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TABLE V.—TABULAR SURVEY: DEATH OF SOLOMON TO HEROD THE GREAT.

Certain Dates.	Probable Dates.	ISRAEL.	JUDAH.
	circ. 930	1st year of Jeroboam .	1st year of Rehoboam .
	930-854	Reigns of Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri , part of reign of Ahab .	Reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa , part of reign of Jehoshaphat .
	854	Ahab at battle of Karkar .	
	854-842	Rest of reign of Ahab : reigns of Abaziah and Jehoram .	Rest of reign of Jehoshaphat : reigns of Jehoram and Abaziah .
	842	Death of Jehoram (at the hands of Jehu). Tribute of Jehu to Salmanser II.	Death of Abaziah (at the hands of Jehu).
	841	1st year of Jehu (841-815).	1st year of Athaliah (841-836).
	835		1st year of Jehoash (835-796).
	814	1st year of Jehoahaz (814-798).	
	797	1st year of Jehoash (797-763).	
	745		1st year of Amaziah (795-790).
	780		1st year of Azariah (789-740).
	750	1st year of Jeroboam II. (782-743).	
	743	Zechariah, Shallum .	
	740	1st year Menahem (742-737).	
	739	Tribute of Menahem to Tiglath-pileser III.	1st year Jotham (739-734).
	738	Pekahiah .	
	735	1st year of Pekah (735-730).	
	734		Tribute of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser .
	732		1st year of Ahaz (733-721).
	729	1st year of Hoshea (729-721).	Ahaz does homage to Tiglath-pileser at Damascus .
	721	Fall of Samaria .	
	720	1st year of Hezekiah (720-693). Embassy of Merodach-baladan from Babylon .	
	701	Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem .	
	692	1st year of Manasseh (692-639).	
	618	1st year of Amon (638).	
	637	1st year of Josiah (637-608).	
	608	Battle of Megiddo . Jehoahaz , king.	
	607	1st year of Jehoiakim (607-597).	
	604	1st year of Nebuchadrezzar (604-562).	
	597	Jehoiachin , king.	
	586	1st year of Zedekiah (596-586).	
		FALL OF JERUSALEM .	
Dates.		The more important dates of the succeeding centuries.	
561		1st year of Evil Merodach (561-560). Liberator of Jehoiachin from prison.	
538		1st year of Cyrus (538-530).	
521		1st year of Darius I. (521-486).	
515		Completion of building of second temple.	
464		1st year of Artaxerxes I. (464-424).	
445		1st visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. Building of city-wall.	
433		Return of Nehemiah .	
circ. 432		2nd visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. On the advent of Ezra and the Introduction of the law see above, § 14.	
330		End of Persian Power: Alexander the Great.	
320		Beginning of Ptolemaic dominion in Palestine, which continued with short interruptions till 198.	
312		Beginning of the Era of the Seleucidae .	
197		Palestine under Syrian dominion.	
157-164		Antiochus IV. Epiphanes .	
167		Insurrection of Mattathias the priest, of Modein (166).	
165		Reintroduction of regular service in the temple.	
160		Judas Maccabaeus (166-160) falls in battle against Bacchides .	
143		Execution of Jonathan (leader of Maccabean revolt since 160).	
142-135		Simon High-priest and Prince.	
134-104		Hyrcanus I.	
103		Aristobulus I. king.	
102-70		Jannaeus .	
75-67		Alexandra .	
66-63		Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II. ¹	
63		Taking of Jerusalem by Pompey . Palestine a part of the Roman Province of Syria .	
62-40		Hyrcanus II. under Roman sovereignty.	
40		Invasion of Parthians . Antigonus made king (40-37).	
37-4 B.C.		Herod the Great .	

¹ On the dates of the Maccabees cp We. *JG*(²), 229, n. 2; and ed. 263, n. 3; 3rd ed. 275, n. 2.

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between the sum of the years of reign from the death of Ahaz to the conquest of Jerusalem, and the interval 720-586 B.C.—i. e., between 139 years of reign and 135 actual years—cannot be removed otherwise than by shortening the reign of one or more of the kings. The account of the closing portion of the line of kings has already been found to merit our confidence. The shortening must therefore be undertaken somewhere near the beginning of the line of kings from Hezekiah to Josiah. The most obvious course is to reduce the long reign of Manasseh from fifty-five years to fifty-one (We., indeed, assigns him only forty-five). This, however, may seem arbitrary, and it will be simpler as well as less violent to divide the shortening among all the four reigns. If, that is to say, in the case of the years of reign of the kings from Hezekiah to Josiah, tradition included (according to popular practice) the year of accession and the year of death, we may reduce the numbers for Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah by one each, and assign them twenty-eight, fifty-four, one, and thirty respectively. Thus we get the following series:—Hezekiah 720-693 (28 years), Manasseh 692-639 (54 years), Amon 638 (1 year), Josiah 637-608 (30 years), Jehoahaz 608 ($\frac{1}{4}$ year), Jehoiachim 607-597 (11 years), Jehoiachin 597 ($\frac{1}{4}$ year), and Zedekiah 596-586 (11 years). The control over the date of the death of Josiah from Egyptian history which is to a certain extent possible turns out to be not unfavourable to our results, since Pharaoh Necho II. began to reign in 610 B.C., and, as early as the end of 606, or the beginning of 605, encountered the crown prince Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish (cp. on the date of this battle which, in Jer. 46, is inaccurately assigned to the fourth year of Jehoiachim, Winckler, *AT Untersuch.* 81). Hence the year 608 B.C. for the battle of Megiddo possesses the greatest probability. That, among the numerous dates for the last decades of the kingdom of Judah which the OT furnishes, little inaccuracies, such as that in the passage (Jer. 46) just cited, appear, is intelligible on the ground (apart from others, as, e.g., in the case of Ezek. 33.1) of their being the result of later calculation. At all events, these variations are not to be accounted for, with Hommel (*GBA* 755), by the supposition that the Jews reckoned the years of Nebuchadrezzar, as well as those of their own kings, from the day on which they ascended the throne to the corresponding day in the following year. The Jews, in adopting the exact Babylonian chronological system, and applying it to their own past history, did not mutilate it and render it futile.

Beyond the points already referred to (§ 13 f.), the chronology of the times after the conquest of Jerusalem

in 586 B.C. presents no difficulties worth mentioning. The Canon of Ptolemy supplies an assured framework into which the data that have been preserved can be fitted without trouble.

The tabular survey on the preceding page gathers together the dates we have established.

38. Summary of Results. At the end is appended a continuation indicating the most important dates down to the last century B.C. K. M.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

The chronology of the New Testament is of great (subsidiary) importance for the study of the origins of Christianity. From the order of the events in the primitive period it will be

39. NT chronology: possible to draw conclusions with regard to the influence of one event upon another; and the rapidity of the historical development will enable us to measure the power of the original impulse; and only when the events have received their place in contemporary history can they be fully understood.

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Unfortunately, the task is attended with serious difficulty, the causes of which need to be briefly described.

40. Difficulty. (1) The first Christians themselves had no interest in chronology, whether with reference to events concerning them as Christians, or with reference to events of secular history. This was due not only to their separation from the world and their limited horizon, but also, and still more, to their sense of superiority to the world (Phil. 3.20), which seemed to them already in process of dissolution (1 Cor. 7.31), and to their feeling that they had already begun to live in eternity. (2) The historical traditions of the Christians were formed wholly with the purpose of promoting Christian piety, and were therefore restricted to a small number of events, the choice of which was often, as it were, accidental, and the arrangement according to subject rather than to time. Our chronological interest has, accordingly, to be satisfied with inferences and combinations which often remain, after all, very problematical; and the gaps in the traditions prevent us from constructing anywhere a long chronological sequence. (3) Of at least a part of the traditions the historical trustworthiness is subject to such grave doubt that we can venture to use them only with great reserve, if at all. (4) In the NT, apart from some vague notices in the Fourth Gospel, the only writer who professedly gives chronological data is the author of the Third Gospel and Acts. He gives no account, however, of the means by which he obtained these data. We are, therefore, unable to check his statements, and can treat them only as hypotheses. As far as we know, the old Catholic fathers—Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, and Hippolytus—were the first to make chronological calculations. Whether they based them on any independent tradition or limited themselves to inferences from our Gospels is uncertain; the latter is the more probable view. Their data can receive only occasional mention here.¹ (5) It has not yet been found possible to give exact dates to certain of those events of profane history which come into question. (6) Further difficulty is caused by the complicated nature of the ancient calendar, and by the different usages in reckoning time and in beginning the year. Side by side with the various eras we have various methods of reckoning by the years of reigning monarchs.²

In the following article the years are designated by the numbers of our current Dionysian era, on the origin of which see Ideler (*Handb.* 2.365 ff.). By this reckoning the year 1 B.C. coincides with the year 753 A.U.C., and the year 1 A.D. with the year 754 A.U.C. The years are treated as beginning on 1st Jan., as was the case according to the Varronian reckoning in the period under consideration.

¹ The facts in detail are to a large extent given by Bratke and Hilgenfeld in articles on the chronological attempts of Hippolytus in *ZHW* 7, 1898.

² An excellent guide through this labyrinth is Ideler's *Handb.* abridged and in part improved in his *Lehrb.* (see below, § 85). The most important tables (of the sun and moon, and of eras) are brought together from astronomical works by Günzsch, *Hilfsmittel d. rechm. Chronol.* 1853. See further Bouches, *Hétérologie*, 1868; E. Müller in Pauly's *Realencyc. d. class. Alt. u. v. Ära*; Matzat, *Röm. Chronol.* two vols. 1883-84. Special service to NT Chronology has also been rendered by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1830, 2 ed. 1851; *Fasti Romani*, 1845-50; and by J. Klein, *Fasti Consulares*, Leipzig, 1881. Further bibliographical notices, and many original contributions to the subject, are to be found in Schürer, *GVV*, i. (1890), where, in an appendix, is given a table (taken from Clinton) of parallel years by Olympiads, and by the Seleucid, Varronian, and Dionysian eras. The third appendix discusses the months of the Jewish Calendar, and on p. 630 f. a bibliography of the very large literature of that subject is to be found.—Important for the chronology of the NT are also Wieseler, *Chronol. Syn. der vier Evangelien*, 1843; *Chronol. d. ap. Zeitalters*, 1848; and art. 'Zeitrechnung' in *PKE*, 1866; *Beitr. zur richtigen Würdigung der Evang.* 1869; Lewin, *Fasti Synag.*, 1865; Lightfoot on 'The Chronology of St. Paul's Life and Epistles' in *Biblical Essays* (posthumous), 215 ff. See also B. W. Bacon, 'A New Chronology of the Acts,' *Expositor*, Feb. 1888.

41. Parallel TABLE VI.—NT; PARALLEL DATES FROM SECULAR HISTORY.

- AGOSTINUS CROMAR, 29 Dec. 19th Aug. 14 A.D., and
 Tiberius, 19th Aug. 14 A.D.—16th March 37 A.D.
 37 60-64 A.D., Herod the Great.
 29-37 A.D., Temple begun (Jos. Ant. xiv. 11); see Schürer, I, 199 f.
 40-60 A.D., Antipater ethnarch of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumea (deposed and banished to Vienna in Gaul).
 60-64 A.D., Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea (banished to Lugdunum). On his relations to Aretas see § 76.
 64-71 A.D., Philip, tetrarch of the north-eastern districts. (After his death his tetrarchy was governed as part of the province of Syria.)
 The territory of Archelaus was governed.
 64-41 A.D. by Roman procurators, with their residence in Caesarea. Of these the fifth,
 26-36 beginning of 36 A.D., was Pontius Pilate.
 36, Pilate sent to Rome to answer for his conduct.
 36, Passover, Vitellius in Jerusalem.
 37, Vitellius made war, at the Emperor's command, on Aretas in retaliation for the latter's war against Antipas. At the news of the emperor's death hostilities suspended.
 CALIGULA, 16th March 37-41 Jan. 41.
 37, Herod Agrippa I. receives from Caligula the title of king, with the tetrarchies of Lysanias (see Schürer, I, 600-604) and of Philip; in
 40, also that of Antipas; and in
 41, also the province of Judaea and Samaria, previously governed by procurators.
 CLAUDIUS, 24th Jan. 41-13th Oct. 54.
 44, Death of Herod Agrippa I. at Caesarea. The territory of Agrippa after his death governed by procurators.
 Expulsion of Jews from Rome.
 NERO, 13th Oct. 54-9th June 68.
 57-60 A.D., Festus procurator of Palestine.
 60-62 A.D., Pallas procurator of Palestine.
 62-64 A.D., Albinus.
 64, 19th July, Burning of Rome.
 65, Outbreak of Jewish war.
 GABRIEL, ORIGEN, and VITELLIUS, 25th June 68-16th Dec. 68.
 VERBASCIANUS—Proclaimed Emperor 1st July 69 in Egypt while engaged in putting down the Jewish insurrection. Recognised as Emperor in the East at once, throughout the Empire not until after the death of Vitellius. Died 23rd June 70.
 70, Most disastrous of Jewish wars.
 TITUS, 70-81.
 DOMITIAN, 81-96.
 92-96, Persecutions of Christians, especially in Rome and Asia Minor.
 NERVA, 96-98.
 TRAJAN, 98-117.
 111-113, Correspondence with Pliny, governor of Bithynia, on the subject of the Christians in that province.
 HADRIAN, 117-138.
 Insurrection of the Jews under Bar-kokheba.

Our investigation will treat the problems of NT chronology in the following order: the chronology of the life of Jesus (§§ 43-63), that of the life of Paul (§§ 64-80), that of the churches in Palestine (§ 81), other dates (§ 83), etc.

42. Plan of article.

The first and second of these divisions are wholly separate from each other.

I. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.—The questions here relate to the year of Jesus' birth (§ 57 ff.), the year of his public appearance (§ 47 ff.), his age at his entrance upon his ministry (§ 43), the duration of his ministry (§ 44 ff.), and the year of his death (§ 50 ff.).

1. The age of Jesus at his Baptism.—It is not surprising that tradition is meagre. In itself, as a mere tale of years, the matter had no interest for the early Christians. That

43. Baptism of Jesus.

Jesus was a man of mature years was enough: why should they care to inquire how long he

¹ Legatus in Syria who had occasion to interfere in the government of Palestine were:

(1) perhaps at first a Roman, and certainly (2) *Quintinius*, later 6 A.D. (at least) 11 A.D.

7 A.D. Census instituted in Judaea and Samaria.

(2) 35-39 A.D., L. Vitellius.

² That Felix entered on his office in 52 (or possibly 50) and that Albinus arrived in Palestine at latest in the summer of 62 are directly attested facts. That Festus succeeded Felix in 60 or 61 is only inferred. See below, § 45.

³ On the day of his birth, for determining which there are no historical data, but for which the church, after much vacillation, finally settled on 25th Dec., see Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Unterr.* vol. I.

had lived quietly at Nazareth? We have to consider only two passages. 117 Jo 8:17. If the foolish question, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' were authentic, it would only give a superior limit, plainly put as high as possible on the ground of the general impression from Jesus' appearance. From this no inference as to any definite number could be drawn, for among the Jews a man began to be elderly at fifty years, and the remark would merely have meant, 'You are still one of the younger men.' If the question is not authentic, it either testifies to the impression made by the account of Jesus in the tradition, that he was in the best years of life (cp Nu. 41 Jo 8:57 f. Jo 8:58 the half-century, as an age which he had not yet attained, is intended to form an ironical contrast to the many centuries from Abraham to the then present time. In the ancient church, Irenaeus (ii. 22 5) is the only writer to make use of this passage for chronology; he remarks that the presbyters in Asia Minor had on the ground of it ascribed to Jesus an age of forty to fifty years.

(2) Lk. 3:23. The text is here not quite certain, and the sense of the most probable reading is obscure. (What does ἀρχαίους mean? In the Sin. Syr. it is omitted from the translation.) In any case, the presence of ἀρῆι ('about') for bids us to use the number as if it were exact. It merely tells us that Jesus stood in the beginning of adult manhood, and leaves undecided the question whether he had just entered on his thirtieth year or was already over thirty.

Moreover, whether the number comes from actual historical recollection at all is made uncertain by the fact that, according to Nu. 43:39, from thirty to fifty was the canonical age for certain ritual acts. It is significant that these two gospels, from Asia Minor, in so many points similar, give for the age of Jesus in these two passages the two limits of this canonical term of years.

2. The Length of the Public Ministry of Jesus.—The evidence here points on the whole to one year.

44. Public Ministry.

'Three years' in the parable of the fig-tree (Lk. 13:7) are either arbitrarily chosen to designate a short period or are to be connected with the fact that the fig-tree commonly bears fruit in three years (for the opposite view, see Wieseler, *Synopticon* 202 ff.). The 'threedays' of Lk. 13: express by a proverbial number both brief time and fixed limit (for the opposite view, Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen*, 311). From Mark and Matthew we get no light, because of the arrangement of the material by subjects. The plucking of the ears in Mk. 2:23 may indicate the time when the grain was ripe; but that must have been between the middle of April and the middle of June, before which time the harvest in Galilee is not ended. Thus, if the incident was in the early months of Jesus' ministry, it does not imply a duration of more than one year. One year seems to have been the idea of the third evangelist, who, like all the writers of the second century except Irenaeus, and like many Fathers of the third century, may very well have understood literally the quotation from Is. 61:1 f. which he puts (Lk. 4:19) into the mouth of Jesus.

In any case, a place can be found without difficulty within the limits of one year for the entire contents of the Synoptical gospels, while to fill out several years the material is rather meagre. The feeling, shared (for instance) by Beyschlag (*Leben Jesu*, I 133), that it is a 'violent and unnatural process' to crowd the whole development into the space of one year, is balanced by the feeling of the men of the second and third centuries. Even repeated visits to Jerusalem, if the Synoptical gospels really imply them, are, in view of the nearness of Galilee to Jerusalem and of the many feasts (cp the Gospel of John), easily conceivable within one year. The early Christian Fathers were not disturbed in their assumption of a single year for the Fourth Gospel with its journeys to the feasts.

In the Fourth Gospel, apart from 64, if we accept the

most common interpretation of εορτή (Jn. 5:1) as meaning Pentecost, the feasts group themselves into the course of a single year: 2:13 Passover; 5:1 Pentecost; 7:2 Tabernacles; 10:22 Dedication; 11:55 Passover. Irenaeus alone (ii. 22:3) finds three passovers mentioned in the public life of Jesus; and, since he takes the second not from 6:4 but from 5:1, he, as well as Origen (on Jn. 4:35 tom. 1339), must have had at 6:4 a different text from any known to us. The Allogi, also, according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* 51:22), found mentioned in Jn. only a passover at the beginning and one at the end of the ministry. Positive ground for assuming the later interpolation of 6:4 (which could well have been suggested by the substance of the following conversation) may be found in the designation of the feast there, which is different from that in 2:13 and 11:55, a designation combining (so to speak) 5:1 and 7:2. So also the introductory formula *ἦν δὲ ἐγγυς* ('was at hand') is suitable only in 2:13 7:2 11:55, where a journey to the feast, which does not here come in question, is to be mentioned.

Moreover, the meagreness of the narrative in Jn. is much more comprehensible if the writer thought of the whole ministry as included between two passovers. He can hardly have regarded the narrative in chaps. 3-5, and again that in chaps. 7-11, as sufficient to fill out in each case a whole year. Otherwise, if the saying with reference to the harvest (Jn. 4:35) is to be regarded as anything more than a proverbial phrase (used for the purpose of the figure which Jesus is employing) there would be a period of nine months for which nothing would be told but the conversation with Nicodemus and the baptizing work of the disciples, and a stay of six months in Galilee for which we should have nothing but chap. 6. If, on the other hand, only one year elapsed from the purification of the temple to the destruction of the 'temple of his body,' we should have: 2:13-5:1, only fifty days; 5:1-7:2, perhaps 127 days; 7:2-10:22, perhaps fifty-eight days; 10:22-12:1, perhaps 119 days. In reality, however, even this year will have to be shortened somewhat at the beginning; for the purification of the temple, which the Synoptists likewise connect with a passover (but with the last one), cannot have happened twice, and, while it is incomprehensible at the beginning, it cannot be spared at the end of the ministry. Whether, then, the baptism of Jesus was before a passover, or whether the journey to John in the wilderness may have followed a journey to the passover in Jerusalem, it is wholly impossible to decide. In the latter case the complete absence from the narrative of the baptism of all recollection of such a connection would be singular; in the former it would be strange that Jesus stayed away from the passover in Jerusalem. On the other hand, since the forty days of the temptation are surely a round number drawn from OT analogies, they may safely be somewhat reduced; and the walk with the disciples through the ripe cornfields in Galilee on the sabbath is then chronologically quite possible, even if the baptism was not until immediately after the passover.

3. *The Year of the Passover Appearance of Jesus.*—(1) In Lk. 3:1 f. we have, as the last of Lk.'s several chronological notes (1:5 26 2:1 f.), a notice of the date of the public appearance of the Baptist. This notice is clearly the product of careful investigation, and it is extremely unlikely that the evangelist would have taken so much pains about fixing this date if he had not supposed himself to be at the same time fixing the year (for the Christian, the only year of real importance in the history of the world) of at least the beginning of the Messiah's ministry, which last, together with the baptism of Jesus, Lk. regarded, as appears from the whole tenor of his narrative, as the immediate consequence of the appearance of the Baptist. Whether

he was right in this short allowance of time for the preaching of the Baptist we need not decide; if the ministry of the Baptist really did last longer, it is easily comprehensible that the previous time should have escaped his knowledge. What year, then, does Lk. mean? Following previous writers on the life of Jesus, B. Weiss and Beyschlag have taken as the starting-point for Lk.'s reckoning the year 12 A.D., in which Tiberius was made co-regent with Augustus. There is no proof, however, that such a method of reckoning was ever used. Neither the coins, to which Wieseler¹ appealed, nor the great dignity of Tiberius, aduced by Schegg,² which is in any case to be ascribed to flatterers, can establish this hypothesis; and we shall have to take the death of Augustus as the starting-point. Now, Mommsen³ has proved that until the time of Nerva the reckoning usually employed was by consuls, but that when for any reason a reckoning by the years of the emperor's reign was desirable, the years were counted from the exact date of the beginning of the reign.⁴ Accordingly, Lk. must have reckoned the years of Tiberius as beginning with 19th August, 14 A.D.⁵ The fifteenth year ran from 19th August 28 A.D., to 18th August, 29 A.D. Although we cannot control the sources from which Lk. derived his information,⁶ it is plain from the table of dates given above that the notices in Lk. 3:1 do not contradict one another, and we have no reason to doubt Lk.'s information. We say this in spite of the fact that in one point he shows himself not perfectly well-versed in Jewish affairs: the Roman custom of having two consuls has perhaps led him to misinterpret the fact that in the time of the high-priest Caiaphas (from about 18 A.D. to Easter 36 A.D.), the latter's father-in-law, Annas, who had been high priest in 6-15 A.D., was the real leader of the Sanhedrim. Lk. has taken this to mean that the two were high priests at the same time (cp the same error in Acts 4:6).

(2) In Jn. 2:20, forty-six years are said to have elapsed from the beginning of the building of the temple to the beginning of Jesus' ministry and the cleansing of the temple. If the forty-six years are treated as already past, this brings us to A.D. 28. Everything, however, is here uncertain—the position of the cleansing of the temple at the beginning of the ministry, and the authenticity of the conversation, as well as the evangelist's method of reckoning (on the supposition that the number comes from him).⁷

(3) The public appearance of Jesus was con-

48. **The temple.** beginning of Jesus' ministry and the cleansing of the temple. If the forty-six years are treated as already past, this brings us to A.D. 28. Everything, however, is here uncertain—the position of the cleansing of the temple at the beginning of the ministry, and the authenticity of the conversation, as well as the evangelist's method of reckoning (on the supposition that the number comes from him).⁷

(3) The public appearance of Jesus was con-

¹ *Beitr. v. Wieseler.*
² *Todesjahr des Königs Herodes und Todesjahr Jesu Christi,* 1835, pp. 61-63.

³ "Das römisch-germanische Herrscherjahr" in *Neues Archiv für Geschichte, für Alterth. d. deutsche Geschichts Kunde,* 1869, pp. 54-65.

⁴ The imperial era introduced by Nerva, which took as a basis the tribunician year beginning with 10th December, the tribunician year in which the emperor assumed the throne counting as the first of his reign, did not actually come into common use until the time of Trajan.

⁵ The method of reckoning the years of the emperor's reign (namely beginning with 1st Tishri 766 A.U.C.) represented by Gumpach (*l.c.* 92) as having been the universal custom, according to which he makes the fifteenth year of Tiberius begin with 1st Tishri 27 A.D., no one besides himself has ventured to accept.

⁶ Keim assumed, without any foundation, that Lk. had Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3:3) before him, and that he supposed the two revolutions there mentioned as occurring in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, which began in the twelfth year of Tiberius, to have been in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Tiberius, and so hit on the fifteenth year for the Baptist. This is, however, in contradiction with the fact of the large number of single notices in Lk. 3:1, which implies careful investigation; and it is in itself impossible, since Josephus first mentions the Baptist in xviii. 5:2, and has already related the death of Philip, which happened so late as the twentieth year of Tiberius.

⁷ Has the evangelist perhaps used Nerva's method of reckoning? That yields the year 28 A.D. On the different interpretations of the number, see *Sevin, Chronol. Jesu* (9), 1874, pp. 117-13.

temporaneous with the imprisonment of the Baptist
49. The Baptist. (Mk. 1:14 = Mt. 4:12; Mk. 6:27 f. = Mt. 14:3 ff.; cp. Lk. 3:10-12.) Jesus was baptised shortly before that (Mk. 1:12 ff. and parallels), and the execution of the Baptist happened in the course of Jesus' public ministry (Lk. 7:18 f. = Mt. 11:3 f.; Mk. 6:19-29 = Mt. 14:1-12; with Mk. 6:14+16 = Lk. 9:7-9 = Mt. 11:3 f.).

The execution is related also by Josephus (*Ant. xviii. 350-52*), who does not give the exact date, but is led to mention the matter in connection with the death of Antipas (no name, same sentence as autumn of 36 A.D.), which the narrator believed to be a judgment of God for the murder of John. Aretas's reasons for making the war are said to have been two: (1) the divorce of his daughter by Antipas in order that the latter might marry Herodius; (2) boundary disputes. From this Keim, Holtzmann, Hausrath, Schenkel, and Sevin have inferred that this divorce, the occasion of which by John's death, according to the Synoptists, to John's death, must have been not long before 36 A.D. A judgment of God, however, may well be delayed for six years, provided the crime which the people believe to be punished by it is not forgotten; whilst a favourable moment for executing human vengeance does not always arrive immediately. Moreover, it appears that boundary disputes were finally needed to bring about the actual war.

From this war, therefore, we can draw no inferences about the date of the Baptist's martyrdom. As to the marriage itself, there is, in the first place, no reason to doubt the synoptical tradition that the Baptist's courage occasioned his imprisonment. The account of Josephus neither excludes the assumption that the tetrarch waited for a good pretext before arresting John nor makes it impossible that his arrest and execution should have been separated by a short imprisonment (cp. Mk. 6:29; Mt. 11:3). These Herodians' daughter was too old to dance at the feast is shown by A. von Gutschmid (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, p. 522) to be wholly undemonstrable, and a banquet at Machabrus is not inconceivable. That, according to Josephus, Machabrus should have been at one time in the possession of Aretas and shortly afterwards in that of Antipas, we cannot indeed explain (cp. Schürer, 1:365); but since Josephus finds no difficulty in it, it has no force as an argument. Since, however, we cannot fix the date of the marriage, the whole matter does not help us much,² and we can only say that there is no sufficient evidence that the journey to Rome, on which Antipas made the acquaintance of his brother's wife, and his return to the tetrarchy, soon after which the marriage occurred, were not between 27 and 30 A.D.

The history of the Baptist presents, therefore, no insuperable obstacle to the view that the fifteenth year of Tiberius = 29 A.D.

4. *The Year of Jesus' Death.* Since the crucifixion is certainly mentioned under Pontius Pilate, its earliest possible date is 26 A.D., the latest 35 A.D.

The complete publicity of Jesus' death and its character as a civil event, its well-understood importance as the starting-point of Christianity, its unique impressiveness, and its connection with the Jewish passover, must have made it a chief object of the awakening chronological interest of the early Christians, and at the same time have given ground for believing that the date could be fixed with reasonable certainty.

51. Lk.'s method. (a) This suggests that probably the chronological interest of the third Evangelist (Lk. 3:1 f.) was engaged as little for the first public appearance of Jesus as for that of the Baptist: that it was directed towards the date of the Lord's death. He preferred, however, not to interrupt his narrative of the Passion by a chronological notice, and therefore worked back from the date of the crucifixion to the date of the beginning of Jesus' ministry, and so to that of the beginning of the ministry of the Baptist. This is confirmed by the fact that the date in Lk. 3:1 f. is, with the exception of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' in 4:9, the last date that Lk. gives. If, as we have concluded above, Lk. really had a whole year in mind, he must have put the death of Jesus into the next (the sixteenth) year of Tiberius—that is, at the passover of 30 A.D.³

(b) This suggests that probably the chronological interest of the third Evangelist (Lk. 3:1 f.) was engaged as little for the first public appearance of Jesus as for that of the Baptist: that it was directed towards the date of the Lord's death. He preferred, however, not to interrupt his narrative of the Passion by a chronological notice, and therefore worked back from the date of the crucifixion to the date of the beginning of Jesus' ministry, and so to that of the beginning of the ministry of the Baptist. This is confirmed by the fact that the date in Lk. 3:1 f. is, with the exception of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' in 4:9, the last date that Lk. gives. If, as we have concluded above, Lk. really had a whole year in mind, he must have put the death of Jesus into the next (the sixteenth) year of Tiberius—that is, at the passover of 30 A.D.³

(c) This suggests that probably the chronological interest of the third Evangelist (Lk. 3:1 f.) was engaged as little for the first public appearance of Jesus as for that of the Baptist: that it was directed towards the date of the Lord's death. He preferred, however, not to interrupt his narrative of the Passion by a chronological notice, and therefore worked back from the date of the crucifixion to the date of the beginning of Jesus' ministry, and so to that of the beginning of the ministry of the Baptist. This is confirmed by the fact that the date in Lk. 3:1 f. is, with the exception of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' in 4:9, the last date that Lk. gives. If, as we have concluded above, Lk. really had a whole year in mind, he must have put the death of Jesus into the next (the sixteenth) year of Tiberius—that is, at the passover of 30 A.D.³

¹ See the account, with criticism, of Keim's theory and of Wiesner's objections to it, in Schürer, 1:368 f.
² Cf. Clemens, *Chron. der Faust. d. Welt*, thinks otherwise, and reckons out 33 A.D.; but his argument is wholly inconclusive.
³ A different view is held by Lietzow, *Stud. u. Anz.*, 1894, who holds that Lk. regarded the fifteenth year of Tiberius as

That Lk. had worked back one year from the sixteenth year of Tiberius was the view of Justus Arelimanus. On the other hand, Clement of Alexandria took the fifteenth year of Tiberius as the year of Jesus' death; as did probably Tertullian, whose statement that Christ was crucified in the consulate of the two consuls (i.e. A.D. 30) is mentioned in Lk. 3:1 f. and may perhaps have been made on purpose to avoid confusion from the later method of reckoning (cp. above, § 47) which would have led him to the year 31. The statement in the preface of Tertullian that Jesus revealed himself 'anno xii. Tiberii Caesaris' cannot be harmonised with Tertullian's other notices, and looks like an ancient correction intended to combine the statement in the text that Jesus was crucified in the fifteenth year of Tiberius with the later traditional view of a three-year ministry.

(d) The theory explaining the conduct of Pilate at the trial of Jesus by the curse received from Rome

52. Pilate. between 31 and 33 A.D. lacks all foundation; and so does the theory (Sevin, p. 135) that the hostility between Pilate and Herod (Lk. 23:12) was possible only after the complaint against Pilate (as to the date of the complaint, cp. Schürer 1:411), in which Antipas had a share. Hostility between the Roman procurator and Herod's heir must have been the rule, not the exception.

(e) If, in spite of what has been said above, the fourth Evangelist counted three passovers in the public

53. Temple. life of Jesus (cp. above, § 43), since the period of forty-six years from the beginning of the building of the temple is to be taken seriously (cp. § 48), his chronology also would yield the year 30 for the death of Jesus.

(f) A final decision cannot be reached from the Jewish Calendar. On the one hand, the Synoptists put the crucifixion on Friday, the 14th Nisan, (Lk. 23:34, Mt. 27:46, Ju. 19:14-17). On the other hand, although the astronomical new moons have been computed for the possible years with a difference of but a few minutes between the computation of Wurms and that of Oudemans, and the days of the week can be found,⁴ difficulty is caused by various

54. Day of Crucifixion. irregularities in the Jewish calendar-system. First, the beginning of the month was determined, not by the astronomical new moon, but by the time when the new moon was first visible, which depends partly on the weather and on the season of the year, and is always at least from twenty-four to thirty hours later than the astronomical new moon. In order to prevent too great divergence of the calendar, it was prescribed, however, that no month should in any case last more than thirty days, and that no years should contain less than four or more than eight such 'full' months. Secondly, the intercalary years create complication.

A thirteenth month was added to the year whenever on the 16th Nisan the barley was not yet ripe. But this was forbidden in the sabbatical years, and the intercalary years in succession were not allowed. The only sabbatical year in our period (imputed to the end of 4 B.C.—9 A.D.) and, consequently, cp. 15:12) was according to Schürer, 3:33-34 A.D.; according to Sevin and others,⁴ 34-35 A.D. Any one of the six preceding years

identical with the 'acceptable year,' and put the death of Jesus into that year, 29 A.D. Arguments similar to Brakke's are to be found in Sanclemente, *De vulgaris vrbis enumeratione*, 1703, and in Caspari, *Monat. Jahrbuch der bibl. Chronologie*, 1869, *Leben Jesu*, 1869.

¹ So also Schürer, 1:369. Cp. Gelzer, *S. Julius Africanus und die Chronologie*, 1880, 144.
² On the attempts to reconcile this discrepancy see the commentaries and the books there mentioned.
³ Cp. Wurms in Bengels, *Arch. f. d. Theol.*, 1866, vol. ii.; Ideler, *Handb.*, 1:477-53; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse der bibl. Zeit*, 1849, and the *Monat. Jahrbuch der bibl. Chronologie*, 1869, Oudemans, *Leben Jesu*, 1869; al-Juld, *Kalender*, 1848; Oudemans, *Rev. de Theol.*, 1863; Caspari, *Chronol.-geogr. Fand. i. d. Leb. Jesu Christi*, 1869; Schürer, *Das jüd. Volk*, 1876, 2; and the astronomical works of Zuckermann, *Materiales zur Entwicklung der altjüd. Chronologie*, 1880, 1881.

⁴ Cp. besides the above-mentioned work of Gumpach, Caspari, 1870; Sevin, 1861; Auger, *Le commencement de l'ère apostolique rationelle*, 1833, p. 38; Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Ier.*, 2:458 ff.; Zuckermann, *Monat. Jahrbuch der bibl. Chronologie*, 1869, 1870; Ronsch, 1857; Krätz, *Gesch. d. Jüd.*, iii. 1878, p. 636-639; Ronsch, in *Stud. u. Anz.*, 1870, p. 361 f., 1875, p. 589 ff.;

might have been an intercalary year. At the end of 28-29 A.D., however, there was no need of an intercalated month, because the 15th Nisan fell on 16th April 29 A.D., and on 5th April 30 A.D. (so according to Wurm; according to Gauss and Schwarz one day later). At the end of 30-31 there may have been an intercalary month, for the 15th Nisan would otherwise have fallen on 26th or 27th March, 31 A.D., but with an intercalary month on 24th April. In 32 A.D., the 15th Nisan fell on 12th April; in 33 A.D., on 2nd April. If, however, 33-34 was a sabbatical year, an extra month would have had to be intercalated at the end of 32-33, and then the 15th Nisan would have fallen on 1st May, 33 A.D., and 21st April, 34 A.D.; whereas if 33-34 was the sabbatical year, the extra month would not have been inserted until the end of 33-34. Thus, in 33 A.D. the 15th Nisan would have remained 2nd April. The Jewish empirically determined dates all fell, however, one or two days later than these astronomical dates.

If we take the days of the week into account, in the years 29, 32, and 35 A.D., neither the 14th nor the 15th Nisan could possibly have fallen on

56. Days of week. Friday. On the other hand, if 33-34 was not a sabbatical year (and so 32-33 not an intercalary year), the 14th Nisan may have been celebrated on Friday, 4th April 33, which would correspond to the view of the Fourth Gospel. This year, however, is excluded if Jesus died on the 15th Nisan, and it is impossible in either case if, as is more likely, 33-34 was the sabbatical year, and so 32-33 had thirteen months.¹ There is, therefore, no great probability on the side of 33 A.D. On the other hand, the 15th Nisan may have fallen on Friday, 23rd April 34 A.D. This is hardly possible for the 14th Nisan, as the astronomical new moon occurred at 6.42 p.m., 7th April, so that the 1st Nisan can have been put at the latest on 9th April (so Sevin, 144). No other line of evidence, however, points to the year 34, and this reckoning by the calendar suits just as well the year 30 of Lk. 3:1 f., for in that year the astronomical new moon occurred at 8.08 p.m., 22nd March, so that the 1st Nisan may have been put on Friday, 24th March, and the 15th have fallen on Friday, 7th April.²

57. The Year of Jesus' Birth. — Dionysius Exiguus, according to the proofs given by Sanclemente (l.c. 48)

and confirmed by Ideler (*Handbuch*, 2:383 f.), started in his reckoning from the incarnation, and followed the common method for the years of reigning monarchs.

His view was that Jesus was born on the 15th December, 754 A.U.C., and so he counted the whole year 754 as 1 A.D. The view defended by Noris and Pagi, that he assigned the nativity to 25th December 753, and ignored the five following days, is wrong.

In this reckoning, which gradually came to be universally accepted, Dionysius departed from the dating for which Ireneus (*Adv. her.* iii. 25) and Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 8) are the oldest witnesses; which dating, based only on the information given in the Gospels, put the nativity in 751 A.U.C. = 3 B.C. Dionysius, perhaps because he had no means of fixing the date of the census under Quirinius in Lk. 2, or the death of Herod in Mt. 2, seems to have reached his result by putting the public appearance of Jesus one year later than that of John (15th year of Tiberius, Lk. 3:1 f.), and reckoning back thirty years. Since we have seen that the thirty years of Lk. 3:1 f. is a round number, perhaps drawn from the OT, we are thrown back on the narratives of the nativity.

(2) Lk. gives two points. (i.) He says (1:36) that Jesus was six months younger than the Baptist, whose

58. The Baptist. conception happened under Herod (1:15). It does not, however, follow that the birth of Jesus fifteen months later was also under Herod, and, even if the evangelist thought so,

Wieseler in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1835, p. 527 ff.; Caspari in *Soud. u. Krit.* 1877, pp. 181-190; Riess, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1880, p. 45 f. 229-231; and other works mentioned in Schirrer, 1:206 f.

¹ See for the year 33 A.D. the exact reckoning in Schegg, p. 42 f.

² So also Gumpach, *Halbsm. d. rechnend. Chronol.* 1853, p. 94.

his view cannot have rested on documentary evidence. Perhaps Lk. may have drawn his inference from the fact that the Baptist died six months before Jesus.

(ii.) Lk. says (2:1-5) that Jesus was born at the time when a census, ordered by Augustus for the whole empire, was being taken in Judæa and

59. The Census. Galilee, and that this was while Cyrenius (undoubtedly Publ. Sulpicius Quirinius) was governor in Syria.¹ Such a census, however, was legally impossible in the reign of Herod, and a governorship of Quirinius in Syria before Herod's death is chronologically impossible, since at the time of Herod's death (4 B.C.) Quinctilius Varus (who put down the insurrection following that event) was still governor in Syria, whilst his predecessors were Sentius Saturninus (9-6 B.C.) and Titius (attested for 10 B.C.). Josephus, who relates the last years of Herod in much detail, has no knowledge of such a census, but says that the census of 7 A.D. was the first, and something altogether novel for the Jews. It may be that Quirinius was governor of Syria for a short time (3-2 B.C.) as successor to Varus, as he certainly was afterwards from 6 A.D. until (at the latest) 11 A.D.; but in his first (probational) governorship a census for Judæa, which had fallen to the share of Archelaus, is likewise impossible. On the other hand, the census in Judæa under Quirinius is well attested (cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 12 s. xviii. 1 and 2:1 xx. 5 s. 2; *Bl.* xi. 11. Acts 1:6 Lk. 5:37) and may have been in fulfilment of a general imperial command intended to be executed as occasion should arise in the several provinces. This could, however, have applied only to imperial provinces (including, therefore, Judæa), not to senatorial provinces: that is, it would not be universal. Further, (1) even this census could not have included the Galileans, who were subjects of Antipas; and (2) it must have been taken as the basis for a poll and property tax, at the actual, not at the ancestral, home of the subject, for the latter would have been in most cases hard to determine, and such a procedure was in general impracticable. (3) Moreover, Mary could not possibly be affected by it, because she was not of the lineage of David (cp GENEALOGIES, ii.), and in such cases the authorities dealt with the male representatives of the women.

The account in Lk. rests, therefore, on a series of mistakes, and the most plausible view is that the evangelist, or the tradition which he followed, for

60. Lk.'s method. some reason combined the birth of Jesus with the census under Quirinius, and assigned to the latter a wrong date.²

Perhaps Lk. simply confused Archelaus with his father, for the former was very probably, like Antipas, occasionally called Herod. This confusion of the two Herods would have been all the easier if after Herod the Great's death Quirinius really was for a while governor of Syria. The same confusion may have caused Ireneus and Tertullian to adopt the year 3 B.C. for the birth of Jesus. The imperial census of Lk. is perhaps a confusion of the census under Quirinius, put incorrectly into the year 3 B.C., with the remembrance of the census of Roman citizens throughout the empire which was actually ordered by Augustus in 6 B.C., for the two events lay only two years apart. Lk., who (cp § 47 above, on the two high priests in Lk. 3:2) was none too well informed on Jewish matters, may have inferred from 'the family of David' that Joseph's home was really in Bethlehem, and have supposed this fact to be the true means of combining the already current tradition of the birth in Bethlehem with the incontestable tradition that Jesus was a Nazarene. If

¹ See the conclusive investigation by Schirer, 1:33 ff.

² A chronological error is not without analogies in Lk. The case of Theudas (Acts 21:36 f.) is well known, and the collection for the poor in Acts 11:28 f. is perhaps confused with that of Acts 21, whilst the combination of the various famines in the time of Claudius into one world-wide famine (Acts 11:28) is very closely analogous to the case of the census.

these suppositions are admissible, the kernel of truth in the narrative would be that Jesus was born not far from the end of the Herodian period, and that the Roman rule was set up in his earliest childhood. In both these political occurrences an inner connection with the events which brought in the Kingdom of God was doubtless observed in very early times, and the interest in making the closeness of this connection as clear as possible may have led to the enrichment of the narrative.

(δ) From Mt. we have as chronological evidence the star and the slaughter of the innocents. Rationalising attempts, however, to subject this star to astronomical laws do violence to the idea of the narrator. The star moves in its own free path, appears and disappears, travels and stands still. Even if the evangelist is wrong, and a conjunction or a comet lies at the basis of the story, it is impossible to determine from what phenomena astrologers of 'the East' supposed themselves able to draw such inferences. The star shines only in the legend, and derives its origin from Nu. 24.17 and the apocalyptic imagery (cp Rev. 12.1).

61. The Star. It has been matched by similar legendary stars at the birth and at the death of many of the great men of the heathen world.

As to the murder of the innocents, if it were a historical fact, Jesus must be supposed, since the male children were killed 'from two years old and under,' to have been not less than a year old, even if the murder was just before Herod's death; and in that case, since Herod died shortly before the Passover of 4 B.C., Jesus must have been born at the latest in 5 B.C.

62. The Innocents. Josephus, however, although he narrates with the most scrupulous exactness all the horrors of Herod's last years, has no knowledge of the murder of the children. On the other hand, he gives almost exactly the same story as relating to Moses (*Ant.* xi. 9).

All the other suspicious circumstances in the narrative in Mt. 2 cannot be set forth here. In view of the natural tendency of legends to connect important events with one another and to mirror their mutual relations, we cannot infer from Mt. more than that Jesus was probably born shortly before or after the death of Herod—the same result that we reached from Lk.

The only results which have a very high degree of probability are the date 30 A.D. for the death of Jesus, and the period of about one year for the length of his public ministry.

63. Conclusions. Besides this, it is also probable that Jesus was born in the agitated times when death was snatching the sceptre from the hand of Herod the Great, and when with his successors the Roman rule in Judæa was coming again in sight.

TABLE VII. LIFE OF JESUS, PROBABLE DATES.

circa 4 B.C. ? Birth of Jesus.
 circa 28-29 A.D. Beginning of public work.
 30 A.D.—Death of Jesus.

II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF PAUL.—The starting-point for Pauline chronology must be the journey to Rome, for here we can make connection with the dates supplied by Roman history. The events immediately preceding—namely, the arrival of Festus in Palestine, the beginning of the proceedings against Paul (Acts 25.1-6), the hearing and the appeal (25.6-12), and (27.1) the shipment of the prisoner—probably followed one another rapidly; but the actual date of the arrival of Festus is matter of dispute (see the literature in Schürer, *GIJ*, I 484 f. n. 38, to which must now be added O. Holtzmann, *NT Zeitsch.*, 1895, p. 125 ff. 248; Blass, *Acta Ap.*, 1895, p. 21 f.; Harnack, *Die Chron. der christl. Lit.*, I [97]. For the most part the preference is given to the year 60 or 59 A.D., since it was at the latest in the summer of 62 (more probably in that of 61) that

Albinus succeeded Festus, and for the events related of Festus's term of office one year will suffice. The objection to an earlier date is that it might not leave room for the events of the life of Paul, and that, according to Acts 24.10, at the imprisonment of Paul, Felix had already been in office 'many years' (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν). (That the courtly Josephus casually mentions Poppæa as Nero's wife, which she did not become till several years later, cannot be adduced as a serious argument in the same direction.)

By the side of this commonly received date, however, a much earlier one has been advocated recently.¹

Thus Kellner proposes Nov. 54 A.D.; Weber and O. Holtzmann, the summer of 55; Blass and Harnack, 56 (Harnack, 55?). Whilst O. Holtzmann takes his start from Tacitus, Harnack starts from the chronology of Eusebius, the claims of which to our confidence his labours have materially enhanced. He shows that there is no ground for the common suspicion of the dates given by Eusebius for the procuratorships preceding and following that of Festus.

Eusebius's date for the year preceding the accession of Felix differs from that of Tacitus by only one year. Notwithstanding any greater in the date of his removal. According to Tacitus, Pallas fell into disavour a few days before the fourteenth birthday of Britannicus, which fell in the middle of Feb. 5, A.D. According to Josephus, Pallas obtained of Nero's aunt Agrippina for his brother Felix from an accusation made by the Jews after his recall. Now, as Nero ascended the throne on the 12th Oct. 54 A.D., the time left under him by these two dates is clearly too short for the events narrated by Josephus. Two solutions are possible. Tacitus may be wrong in a detail in the age of Britannicus; it may have been his fifteenth birthday, so that it was not till 56 that Pallas fell into disavour; or else even after his fall Pallas may still have had access to the Emperor. Now, Eusebius in his Chronicle supports the year 56 as that of the accession of Festus, since he assigns it to the second year of Nero (Oct. 55 to Oct. 56); on the textual certainty of this date see Harnack, 236, n. 2). If Felix entered on his office, as according to Eusebius he did, between Jan. 51 and Jan. 52 (according to Tacitus between Jan. 52 and Jan. 53), he could in the summer of 56 be described in case of need, if we compare the average length of procuratorships, as having been in office ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν.

Any objection, in fact, to this number 56 for the accession of Festus, supported by Tacitus and Eusebius, could come only from the requirements of the life of Paul. We shall, therefore, leave the question open for the present.

From the date thus obtained for the relegation of the prisoner to the tribunal at Rome, let us in the first place make our way backwards.

If, as we shall see to be probable, Paul carried out the plan mentioned in Acts 20.16, his arrest must have been at Pentecost under the procurator

66. Felix. Felix, who (24.27) prolonged the proceedings for two years until his retirement from office. This mention of Felix and the two-years imprisonment in Cæsarea are, indeed, regarded as unhistorical by Straatman (*Paulus*, 1874), van Manen (*Paulus*, I, *De handelingen der Apostelen*, 1860), and especially by Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 1886, pp. 433-461); but the improbability of certain details, on which they rely, is not conclusive, and, on the other hand, the rise of this circumstantial narrative cannot be explained on the ground that it is a doublet to Acts 25.1. That Felix should hold over the prisoner for the chance of a change of sentiment in Jerusalem, and, this change not having come about, should finally leave him in prison in the hope of leaving one popular deed to be remembered by, agrees with his character and the habit of procurators. That Acts tells nothing about these two years is much less surprising than its silence about the year and a half in Corinth and the three years in Ephesus. That a provisional imprisonment of two years could be imposed even on a Roman citizen is

¹ By Kellner (the article 'Felix' in Hergenröther's *Kirchenlex.*, [Roman Catholic], 1867; *Z. f. kath. Theol.*, 1868); Weber (*Kritische Gesch. der Evangelien des 9. Kap. des Römerbriefts*, 1889, p. 177 ff.); O. Holtzmann (*z. c.*), Blass (*z. c.*), Harnack (*z. c.*) following such older scholars as Bengel, Süsskind, and Kettig.

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shown by the two-years imprisonment in Rome. It is likewise obvious that Paul would not have had his case transferred to Rome except in dire necessity. The dry notice in Acts 24²⁷ is, therefore, without doubt trustworthy, and the arrest of Paul is to be put two years earlier than the arrival of Festus—that is, at Pentecost 54 or 58.

For the events before the arrest in Jerusalem we give the dates in two numbers: one on the assumption that this happened at Pentecost 54; the other, that it was in 58. The journey to Jerusalem from Philippi (Acts 20, 4-21, 16), which is related, with the exception of the episode at Miletus (20, 16-38), from the 'we-source,' was begun after 'the days of unleavened bread,' and there is no reason for supposing that Paul did not carry out his plan (20, 16) of arriving at Jerusalem by Pentecost. The itinerary from the beginning of the Passover is given us as follows:—At Philippi (Passover) seven days; to Troas five days; at Troas seven days; to Patara eight days,—in all twenty-seven days. This leaves twenty-two days before Pentecost, which was ample for the journey to Jerusalem except in case of a very exceptionally unfavourable passage from Patara to the coast of Syria. Of these twenty-two days twelve were occupied as follows:—At Tyre seven days, at Ptolemais one, to Caesarea one, to Jerusalem two to three; so that ten days remain for the voyage from Patara to Tyre (which in ordinary weather required four to five days) and for the stay at Caesarea, the duration of neither of which is stated. From the stops, which in view of the brisk coasting-trade were surely not necessary, we may infer that satisfactory progress was made by the travellers. The departure from Philippi, which was the conclusion of Paul's missionary career, is, therefore, to be put just after the Passover of the year of the arrest.

For the dates earlier than this point, the chronologist would be wholly at sea without Acts; and no good reason appears for not trusting the information which it gives. On the great journey which ended at Jerusalem, Paul had started from Ephesus (1 Cor. 163^{f.}; Acts 19), and journeyed by way of Troas, where he carried on his work for a short time (Acts 20, 1 does not mention Troas at all), to Macedonia (2 Cor. 2, 12^{f.} 7, 5). That he stayed there long is not likely; for, if he had done so, the length of his stay would probably have been given as in the case (Acts 20, 3) of Greece (Corinth). Moreover, the plans made in Ephesus (1 Cor. 16, 5; 2 Cor. 1, 15^{f.}) had in view only a short stay in Macedonia, for (1 Cor. 16, 8 cp v. 6) Paul expected to leave Ephesus after Pentecost (which fell somewhere between 15th May and 15th June) and to be in Corinth so early that, even if he should not decide to pass the winter there, his visit should, nevertheless, not be too short. This would allow at most three months on the way. Now, he may have waited rather longer in Macedonia, in order to learn the impression made by Titus (the bearer of 2 Cor.); but, even so, we cannot reckon more than from four to five months for the whole journey. In Corinth itself he stayed (Acts 20, 3) three months, and then returned to Macedonia, where he surely did not stay long, since he had been there just three months earlier. Moreover, he had, no doubt, formed in Corinth his plan of being in Jerusalem by Pentecost, and the additional time which the unexpectedly long journey (occasioned by Jewish plots, Acts 20, 3) which made the direct route impossible) must have cost him would of itself have forbidden an unnecessarily long stay. He probably, therefore, reached Philippi but little before the Passover; and we have for the whole journey from Ephesus through Troas, Macedonia, Greece, and back to Macedonia perhaps eight to ten months—namely, about the space of time from Pentecost 53/57 to Passover 54/58. In the summer¹ of 53/57 in Macedonia

¹ Or autumn; see CORINTHIANS, § 3.

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Paul wrote 2 Cor.; at the end of this year or the beginning of the next in Corinth, Romans, and the letter of introduction for Phœbe to the Christians at Ephesus (Rom. 16, 1-20). About this time may belong, too, the undoubtedly authentic note Tit. 3, 12-14; in which case the Macedonian Nicomedia is meant, and the plan for the winter was not carried out.

The stay in Ephesus had lasted, according to Acts 19, 8 to 22, over two years and a quarter (Acts 20, 31 speaks of three years), so that Paul must have come to Ephesus at Pentecost or in the summer of 50/54. From there, after he had already sent one letter to Corinth (1 Cor. 5, 9), he wrote in the beginning of 53/57 our 1 Cor., and later had occasion to write to Corinth for yet a third time (2 Cor. 7, 3: the letter is perhaps preserved in 2 Cor. 10, 13-14).¹

From this long stay in Ephesus, which doubtless formed the second great epoch in Paul's missionary activity in the Greek world, we go back to Corinth. The first—namely, the first visit to Corinth (Acts 18, 1-18; cp 1 and 2 Cor.). This appears to have lasted about two years, since to the one year and a half of 18, 11 must be added, in case 18, 11 refers only to the time spent in the house of Titius Justus, the previous time, in which Paul was trying to work from the synagogue as a base, as well as the later *καινα ημεραι* of 18, 18. How much time lay, however, between the departure from Corinth and the arrival at Ephesus in 50/54 we cannot tell, although the very sketchiness of our only authority (Acts 18, 19-14) makes it easier to believe that the author is drawing here (except for the words, v. 19, *εισελθων v. 21, θελωτος*) from a written source than that he relies on oral tradition or his own imagination. Oral tradition would either have omitted the journey altogether, or have narrated what happened at Jerusalem in some detail. All suspicion of 'tendency' is excluded by the brevity and obscurity of the passage. For the journey thus barely mentioned in Acts one year would be ample time. In that case Paul would have left Corinth in the summer of 49/53, having arrived there in the summer of 47/51. In the beginning of this period of two years 1 Thess. was written. (The genuineness of 2 Thess. must be left undetermined.)

Before the long stay in Corinth falls the Macedonian mission, with the necessary journeys, which, however, occupied but one day each (Acts 16, 11-18, 1). For the whole journey from Troas to Corinth a few months would suffice. It is, therefore, possible that Paul set out after the opening of navigation in March of the same year in the summer of which he arrived for his long stay in Corinth.

Up to this point the probability of the chronology is very considerable. The results may be summarised as follows:—

TABLE VIII.—LIFE OF PAUL: ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE TO IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

Spring 47/51.—Departure from Troas, followed by mission in Macedonia.
 Summer 47/51—Summer 49/53.—Corinth and Achaia. 1 Thess. Summer 49/53—Summer 50/54.—Visit to Jerusalem and Antioch; journey through Asia Minor to Ephesus.
 Summer 50/54—Pentecost 53/57.—Ephesus.
 Pentecost 53/57—Passover 54/58.—Journey by way of Troas and Macedonia to Achaia and return to Philippi.
 Passover—Pentecost 54/58.—Journey, with the contribution, from Philippi to Jerusalem.
 54, 50—56, 60.—Imprisonment in Caesarea.
 Autumn 56/60—Spring 57/61.—Journey to Rome.
 57/61—59/63.—Imprisonment in Rome.

Passing now to the period before 47/51 A.D., we find that Acts supplies us with far less trustworthy accounts and is wholly without dates; nor have we any Pauline epistles written in these years.

72. Earlier period. Highly probable, nevertheless (just because of the peculiar way in which it is given), although not

¹ See, however, CORINTHIANS, § 18.

without editorial additions, is the representation preserved in Acts 15:30-16:1, that Troas was the goal of a zigzag journey from Antioch in Syria through the interior of Asia Minor. The seeming restlessness (Acts 16:8)—at any rate in the latter part of the inland journey—may imply that the time occupied was comparatively short. In that case, the start from Antioch might fall in the year 48/49; but even that is very problematical. We are, therefore, thrown back for the chronology wholly

73. Gal. 1 f. on Gal. 1 f. Here, however, it is not perfectly plain whether the fourteen years in 21 include or follow the three years in 18. For the former view may be adduced the change of prepositions *μετά* ('after') and *διὰ* ('in the course of'; RV^{mic}); but this can be explained better thus. An *ἔπειτα* ('then') having been introduced in 18 between the two *ἔπειτα* of 18 and 21, *ἀπὸ* was used instead of *ἐν*, in order not to exclude the space of time between the two *ἔπειτα* of 17, 18 and 21—namely, the fifteen days in Jerusalem. (Perhaps, also, in 21 the three years had completely elapsed before the first visit, whereas the second visit may have been made in the course of the fourteenth year.) On this view seventeen years would have elapsed from the conversion of Paul to the conference in Jerusalem, out of which time he had spent three years in Arabia and fourteen in Syria and Cilicia (17-21). The latter period was certainly, the former (at least for Damascus) probably, occupied in the work of an apostle (Gal. 1:23 27 f.). After the conference in Jerusalem followed a stay in Antioch (21-21). Since 31 f. is introduced without any sign of transition, the simplest supposition is that this *προγράφηεν* (31; RV 'open setting forth') and its results (that is, the mission in Galatia) come chronologically after, but not too long after, the events narrated previously. This would agree, also, with the most natural interpretation of Gal. 25.

If we look now at the parallel narrative in Acts, there is, in the first place, no doubt that in 15:1-35 we have in the same events described as in Gal. 2. In

74. Acts. Acts, as in Galatians, Paul and Barnabas come with others in their company to Jerusalem, and return to Antioch after arriving at an understanding with the church in Jerusalem. To Antioch come also, in both cases (although in Acts no mention is made of a visit of Peter), members of the Jerusalem church, who might in Acts also, just as in Galatians, have been said to come from James. In Acts 11:27-30 124 f., however, we find, besides, mention of another earlier journey of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem and back again, after the journey from Damascus to Jerusalem (Acts 9:26-30 = Gal. 1:18). Since Gal. 1:20-21 makes this impossible as a separate visit to Jerusalem, the two visits from Antioch (Acts 11 f. and Acts 15) must have been really one; and this would explain the further points of resemblance that on both occasions (in one case after, in the other before, the journey of the apostles) prophets come from Jerusalem to Antioch 11:27 15:32, and that both times, although in different ways, a contribution of money plays a part (Acts 11:28 f. Gal. 2:10). Cp also 'to the elders' (Acts 11:30 15:4). Now, although this visit is in general more accurately described by Acts 15, there are many reasons for thinking that it is chronologically placed more correctly by Acts 11 27 f.

The insertion by mistake of the word *ἔπειτα* 14 is easy to understand; for within large portions of Acts 15, and the words which 19 are certainly the work of the final author of Acts; and that the style is the same as in Acts 1:12, at the same time the 'source' can be detected (as is now more and more widely held) as far back as 13 1, and we can see that the return to Antioch (14 26a) as well as the later departure for the journey of 166 f. (without the intervening narrative), although we can no longer restore the original connection. Accordingly, since the author had not been able because Acts 13 f. to give a more exact account of any Gentile mission, an undated account (perhaps not perfectly accurate) of a conference in Jerusalem (to which the missionaries came from Antioch) which treated the subject of Gentile missions could be inserted after 13 f. better than earlier. The author may have had some reason to suppose that the contribution of money (the fact but not the date of which he had learned; it was not mentioned in his source as the occasion

of the last visit of Paul to Jerusalem: Acts 17) must have been brought on the occasion of the earlier stay in Antioch. If we see the same error in comparison of the first journey of Antioch in Antioch, he was not to suppose that there had been two visits to Jerusalem, and so to insert a contribution to Gal. 1 f. All this becomes still more probable if the words *ἐπίστει* in Acts 13 f. could be traced (as they by Paul) to a possibility which can now be regarded as proved, as is the improbability that Paul should have called them Cilicia (Gal. 1:21) see GALATIA. On the other hand, it can be seen in Acts 13 f. 27 f. that on the conference the great question was about the Syrian Christians, not about those whose conversion is related in Acts 13 f.

If these hypotheses are correct, between the conference in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1 f.) and the journey from Troas to Macedonia (Acts 16:8-11) lie the missionary journey (Acts 13 f.); begun and ended at Antioch, and the zig-zag tour through Asia Minor (Acts 15:30-16:8), the beginning of the original account of which has been, doubtless, somewhat confused by the insertion of Acts 15. One year, however, is not enough for these journeys. The hindrance hinted at in Acts 166 f. may perhaps have been connected with the winter season, if the date (March 47/51) which we have ventured to give above for the passage from Troas to Macedonia is correct. In that case the missionaries would perhaps have passed the preceding winter in Antioch (Acts 14:26); the missionary journey of Acts 13 f. would then fall in the open season before this winter; and thus the departure from Antioch related in Acts 13 f. would have been two years before the passage from Troas to Europe (that is, in the spring of 45/49), and the conference in Jerusalem immediately before—perhaps (if we may infer from analogies) at the time of the Passover. The conversion of Paul would fall (Gal. 1:18 21) fourteen or seventeen years earlier—that is, in the year 31/35 or 28/32. When Gal. was written is for the general chronology a matter of indifference.¹

75. Results. To the table given above should therefore be added:

TABLE IX.—LIFE OF PAUL: CONVERSION TO ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE.

31/35 or 28/32.	—Conversion of Paul.
	Three-years stay in Arabia and Damascus.
45/49.	—Conference in Jerusalem.
	Eleven- or fourteen-years work in Syria and Cilicia.
45/49.	—Conference in Jerusalem, mission in Galatia.
	Christ's journey through Asia Minor to the Troas.

Three further passages can perhaps serve as proof of the results reached above.² The first (Acts 11:28), con-

76. Famine. Claudius, loses, indeed, its significance, if the visit there mentioned had as its object the agreement about the mission-fields, not the bringing of a contribution; but it perhaps explains the mistaken combination (Acts 11:30 12:1) of this journey (for 45/49 A.D.) with the death of James the son of Zebedee, which happened (Acts 12:19-23) between 42 and 44. Josephus tells (*Ant.* xx. 5.2 and 26 iii. 15.3) of a famine in Judaea, which can well be put in one of these years, and so could have been foreseen in the preceding year (cp Schürer, 1 474, n. 8). By a singular coincidence there was in 49 also, one of the alternative years for the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, a much more widely extended famine (see, for authorities, Schürer, *ibid.*). It is possible, then, that the author knew that the conference was in a famine year, but connected it by mistake with the famine of 44 instead of that of 49, and that this assisted the confusion which resulted in the creation of an extra visit to

¹ For the different possibilities see the Introductions to the NT, for the latest hypotheses, G. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.* *Introduction*, pp. 11-13.

² We can make nothing of the statement in Acts 21:38. Even were its authenticity beyond dispute, we have no means whatever of determining the year of the sedition referred to, and Wieseler's estimate of 40 or 37 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 79) is derived of any solid foundation. Nor is it possible to infer any date from the account in Acts 25:7 of Agrippa and Berenice's presence in Caesarea at the time when Paul's case was decided.

Jerusalem. The confusion of the two famine years is the more pardonable because both fell under Claudius; the transformation of the two local famines into one which affected the whole empire is easily explicable. All this, however, is simply a possibility. If the year of the conference was 45 A.D., the two journeys distinguished by Lk. would fall so close together that we can easily understand their being regarded as distinct, on the supposition that Lk. knew nothing of the raising of a collection and its delivery on the occasion of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, but did know of a famine about the time of the conference and of succour given to the primitive church through Paul.

The second notice is that of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius, which was (Acts 18:1 f.), before Paul's arrival at Corinth. The year, however, of this edict, which Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) also mentions, is not certain. Wieseler (*Chronol.* 120-128) conjectures, without conclusive arguments, that it was issued in the year of the expulsion of the mathematici (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 52; Dio Cassius 606)—that is, in 52 A.D.—whilst Orosius (76, 15 ed. Zangemeister, 1882) gives as the date, on the authority of Josephus (in the existing text of whose writings we find no mention of the matter), the ninth year of Claudius=49 A.D.—a date not favourable to the earlier alternative reached above for the year of Paul's arrival in Corinth, the summer of 47/51. Orosius's statement, however, cannot be verified.

Finally, from Acts 24 ff. and 2 Cor. 11:32 f., it appears that Paul's first visit to Jerusalem was occasioned by a persecution at a time when a viceroy of Aretas, king of the Nabateans, resided at Damascus.

78. Aretas : Paul's conversion.

The latest Damascene coins with the head of Tiberius (which form one of the proofs brought together by Schürer, 1615 f. n. 14, to prove, against Marquardt and Mommsen, that Damascus was not all the time under Arabian rule) belong to the year 33-34, and it is in itself not probable, though it is possible, that Damascus was given to Aretas by Tiberius, who died in March 37 A.D., while under Caligula such favours are well known. If Caligula's reign had already begun, the flight of Paul would have fallen at least two years later than all but one of the dates assigned for it above. However, the argument is uncertain. Nothing known to us makes the possession of Damascus by Aretas in the last years of Tiberius actually impossible. If that should be excluded by discoveries of coins or other new evidence, we should then (the often assailed genuineness of 2 Cor. 11:32 f. being pre-supposed) have to combine the numbers in Gal. 1:18 21 (so that there would be only fourteen years between Paul's conversion and the conference in Jerusalem), or to shorten the time estimated for the mission in Asia Minor and Europe, or else to omit from the life of Paul the two-year imprisonment in Caesarea under the procurator Felix.

At the same time, the coins of Tiberius for the year 33-34 exclude the year 28 as that of Paul's conversion. If we assign the imprisonment to 54, the date of Gal. 1:1 f. must be explained as referring to the total of fourteen years, so that Paul's conversion would fall in 31. In favour of this is its nearness to the death of Jesus. For 1 Cor. 15:3 ff. does not well permit an interval of any length between Jesus' death and Paul's arrival at Damascus. Conversely, the same consideration demands that, if we regard 58 as the date of the imprisonment, we should calculate from the statements in Gal. 1:1 a period of seventeen years, so that 32 would be the year of Paul's conversion. Neither series, accordingly, conflicts with what we know of those times; but it may readily be asked: Are we warranted in casting discredit on the statements of Eusebius?

How now stands the case with reference to the close of Paul's life? The travellers set out for

Rome in the autumn of 56 or 60, and arrived in the spring of the subsequent year (Acts 27 f.). For the next two years Paul was kept in easy imprisonment, and to this period belong Colossians and Philemon, though some assign them to the Caesarean imprisonment.

79. Closing period.

After the lapse of the two years began the trial, about which we have some information from a note to Timothy now incorporated in 2 Tim., and from Philippians. Of its duration and issue we know nothing. The prediction that Paul would die without meeting his friends again (Acts 20:25-38), the sudden breaking off of Acts, and the utter absence of all trace of any later activity on the part of the apostle, will always incline one to believe that Paul's presentment was fulfilled, and that his trial ended in a sentence of death. If so, the great apostle died in the course of the year 59 or 63. In either case his martyrdom was before the persecution of Nero, and had no connection with it. Nor does any of the older narratives conflict with this. When Eusebius in his Chronicle assigns the death of Peter and Paul to the fourteenth or thirteenth year of Nero (the number varies in different texts)—i.e., 68 or 67 A.D.—he is in conflict with himself, for he elsewhere sets this event in the beginning of the persecution of Nero, which beyond all question was in the summer of 64; and moreover, as Harnack insists (*l.c.* 241 f.), his date lies under the suspicion of being occasioned by the legendary twenty-five years stay of Peter at Rome, in combination with the story that the apostles left Jerusalem twelve years after the death of Jesus: 30+12+25 make 67.

But neither is the tradition of the contemporaneous death of the two apostolic leaders by any means so well grounded as Harnack assumes (*l.c.*). In Eusebius, the contemporaneousness lies under the same suspicion as the date. Clem. Rom. chap. 5 gives no hint of it, and the summary introduction of other sufferers in chap. 6 gives us no right, in face of the enumeration of the sufferings endured by Peter and Paul during the whole of their apostolic activity, to apply all that is said in chap. 6, and therefore the death of these apostles, to the persecution of Nero. The testimony of Dionysius (Eus. *HE* ii. 25 8), ἀμφω εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ('After both teaching together as far as to Italy, they suffered martyrdom at the same time') is to be taken *cum grano salis*. If the two great apostles died a violent death for their faith in Rome under Nero, it is easy to see how tradition might lose sight of the interval of one year or five years, and bring the two martyrdoms together. The rapidity with which in the popular memory Paul receded behind Peter, a phenomenon already noticeable in Clem. Rom. and Ignat. (*ad Rom.* 4), admits of a peculiarly simple explanation if Paul was withdrawn from the scene so much sooner.

Whatever testimony can be found in the literature down to Eusebius for the liberation of Paul from his

80. Was Paul liberated?

first imprisonment at Rome has been collected anew by Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Urchrist.* 1). In truth, all that can be taken account of before Eusebius is the apostle's intention intimated in Rom. 15:24 and mentioned in the Muratorian fragment (except that the apostle's plans were so often upset by events), the Pauline fragments of the Pastoral Epistles (if they ought not also to be brought within the period of missionary activity known to us, since otherwise they would present the post-captivity labours as a strange repetition of what preceded the captivity), and the expression *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* 'boundary of the west' in Clem. Rom. It is only the last that we can take seriously. Since, however, Ignatius speaks of Rome as *δύσις* ('west,' *ad Rom.* 2), and Clement himself has immediately before opposed *δύσις* to *ἀνατολή* ('east'), meaning therefore at least Rome among other places, it is not at all

difficult, especially keeping in view the Pauline metaphor of the *ἀγῶν* (conflict), to suppose that it is this *ἀγῶν*, (i.e., Rome) that is indicated as *ῥῆμα*. If, in spite of this, the hypothesis of the liberation of Paul should be accepted, we should have to add to our chronological table: 59/63.—Liberation of Paul; July–Aug. 64.—Martyrdom. The apostle's eventful life would thus end with a period completely obscured in the popular memory, a period the events of which have not left a trace behind.

TABLE X.—LIFE OF PAUL: LAST PERIOD.

56/60 (autumn).—Paul set out for Rome.
57/61 (spring).—Arrival in Rome.
57/61 f.—Easy imprisonment; Gal. Philem.
59/63.—Death of Paul.
[otherwise]
[56/64.—Liberation of Paul.]
[64 July–Aug.—Martyrdom.]

III. CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHURCHES IN PALESTINE.—I. If the dates so far accepted are correct, the whole Palestinian development described by the author of Acts (almost our only authority for this period) between the death of Jesus and the conversion of Paul, finally culminating in the death of Stephen and the dispersion of the church in Jerusalem, must be crowded into the limits of two years, or possibly even of a single year.

The traditions are, however, very scanty. According to 1 Cor. 15:7 there happened in this space of time the appearance of Jesus to Peter and the twelve (as to the time and place of which it is not possible to reach a certain conclusion, but with which the return to Jerusalem is most clearly connected), his appearance to the 500 brethren (perhaps to be identified with the occurrence narrated in Acts 2, which in that case was in Jerusalem, and, if Acts 2 is correct, fifty days after the death of Jesus), the conversion of him who afterwards became head of the church of Jerusalem, James the Lord's brother (since this beyond doubt happened at the time of the appearance to him mentioned in 1 Cor. 15:7), and the conversion (by the same means) of many who afterwards became missionaries. The necessity of a representation of the Hellenists (Acts 6:1-6) suggests that from the return of the twelve until that time a considerable period had elapsed, which is, however, very insufficiently filled out by the narratives in chaps. 3-5.

2. As to the later events, in the narratives in Acts 8:4-21; 9:1-11; 11:19-24 illustrating the geographical extension of Christianity, the author plainly does not mean to assert that the events described followed one another in mutually exclusive periods of time.

82. **Later events.** If the accounts are historical, the missionary operations of Philip and Peter were undertaken while Paul was working in Damascus and Antioch (including Syria) in 31/35 or 32/36 f. A.D. The anonymous beginnings of Christianity in Damascus and Antioch belong, of course, to the time before Paul took hold in those places. If the recollections lying at the basis of Acts 11:22-26 are approximately correct, Barnabas must have left Jerusalem finally for Antioch not very long after Paul's first visit to Jerusalem in 34/38 or 35/39 A.D., and Philip may by that time have already removed to Casarea (Acts 8:40).

3. After these events we hear nothing until the death of James the son of Zebedee between 41, the year in which Herod Agrippa I. began to rule over Judaea, and 44, the year of his death (Acts 12: f.). If the account in Acts is correct, about this same time Peter left Jerusalem permanently (Acts 12:17), and James the Lord's brother must have already become the leader of the church (Acts 12:17). With this agrees excellently the abundantly attested old Christian tradition that the twelve left Jerusalem twelve years after Jesus' death (see ref. in Harnack, *Chronologie*, 243). It may be in error simply in transferring to the twelve what applied only to their head, Peter. At all events, Acts tells us nothing

of the ten left after the death of James. The twelfth year would be 42 A.D. In that case Herod must have sought, immediately after his accession, by his proceedings against the Christians to secure the confidence of the Jews.

4. If the results reached above with reference to what we read in Acts 15:11-27 f. and 13 f. are right, our next information relates to the year 45 or 49, when Peter, Paul, and Barnabas gather again at the conference round James, at whose side (Gal. 2:9) appears John, the son of Zebedee. Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch; Peter leaves Jerusalem again very soon, and lives for a while among the Christians at Antioch (Gal. 2:11 f.).

5. In 54/58, when Paul comes to Jerusalem with the contrition, James is master of the situation (Acts 21:18). This is the last information from the NT about the church in Palestine.

6. According to the received text of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9:1), James suffered martyrdom in 62—that is, under the high priest Ananias (son of the high priest of the same name known to us from the Gospels)—but before the arrival in Judaea of Albinus, the successor of the procurator Festus. (After Festus's early death Annas had been appointed high priest by Agrippa II.) The passage is not free, however, from the suspicion of Christian interpolation. Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* ii. 23:11-18) seems to have put the death of James somewhat nearer to the destruction of Jerusalem.¹

Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) the Christians removed to Pella in Peræa. The year is not certain, but was probably 67, when, after the downfall of Festus, Jewish fanaticism overreached itself.

IV. OTHER DATES IN THE HISTORY OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

83. **Other dates.**—Here can be mentioned only those few points on which a stray ray of light happens to fall. In the nature of the case, detailed discussions can be given only in the special articles.

1. *Peter*.—That Peter, the last trace of whom we found in A.D. 45/49, or somewhat later, at Antioch, was later a travelling missionary after the manner of Paul, is to be inferred from the allusions to him in 1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:5. ¹ *1 Pet. 5:13*, even if the epistle was not written by Peter, implies his intimate association with Paul's former companions Silvanus and Mark, and 1 Pet. 1:1 f. his missionary activity in the provinces of Asia Minor. For this latter there was room at any rate after the imprisonment of Paul in 54/58, and for most of the provinces even before that time: namely, from the moment when Paul transferred his chief activity to Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia. In regard to Peter's stay in Rome, for which 1 Pet. 5:13 is an argument (it is certainly to be put later than the end of Paul's trial), and in regard to the question whether it was in the persecution after the fire in Rome (July 64) that he suffered martyrdom (cp Clem. Rom. 5), see *PETER*. The assumption of a contemporaneous martyrdom of Paul and Peter finds no support in the earliest documents: see above, § 79.

2. *John*.—As to John's residence in Ephesus and his end, see *JOHN*.

3. Whilst the persecution under Nero was doubtless in the main limited to Rome, the last years of Domitian, especially in Asia Minor, in consequence of the insistence on the worship of the Emperor, may have been a period of many conflicts with Christianity.²

To this time (say 93-96) many scholars assign Hebrews and 1 Peter (while others carry them down to the reign

84. **NT writings.** John (see the special articles). Not much later, perhaps about the end of the first

¹ For further discussion, with references to sources and bibliography, see Sellars, 1. 200 f.
² Cp especially Neumann, *Der römische Staat u. die allgemeine Kirche*, 1868, 17 ff.; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, 26, 258 ff.

century, were written Ephesians, the Third Gospel, and Acts. Our Gospel of Mark must, apart possibly from some later additions, have been written before this; there is no need to suppose a much later date than 70. The Fourth Gospel, after which, probably, came the Johannine epistles, can well, by reason of its near relation to Lk. and for other reasons, have been written at the same time as, or not long after, the Third Gospel. The first third of the second century best suits the latest books of the NT—Matthew, the Pastoral Epistles, and James, all of them doubtless products of the Roman church. Jude may have been written somewhat earlier, 2 Peter somewhat later. See the Introductions to the NT and Harnack, *Chronologie*, 246-50, 245 f., 451-64, 475-91, 651-81.

TABLE XI.—SOME OTHER DATES (APPROXIMATIONS).

- 31/35 or 32/36 ff.—Work of Philip and Peter in Palestine.
- 32 or 35 or 38/42 ff.—Barnabas returns to Antioch.
- Between 41 and 44.—Death of James, son of Zebedee; Peter leaves Jerusalem; James leader.
- 45/49.—Conference (Gal. 2.9).—Peter soon resides at Antioch (Gal. 2.11 ff.).
- 54/58.—Paul brings contribution to Jerusalem (Acts 21 18).
- Later.—Peter becomes a travelling missionary.
- 62 or later.—Death of James.
- 67? Christians remove from Jerusalem to Pella.
- 70. Destruction of Jerusalem.
- Not much after 70.—Our Gospel of Mark written.
- 93-96 (?)—Heb. and 1 Pet. (acc. to many); Apoc.
- About end of century.—Eph., Lk., Acts, Jn., Epp. of Jn.
- First third of 2d century.—Jude, Mt., Past. Epp., Jas., 2 Pet.

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B. *New Testament*.—See the literature cited in the course of the article, especially § 40 (note) and §§ 51-56 (notes). Cp also C. H. Turner in Hastings' *DB*.

K. M. (§§ 1-38, 85); H. V. S. (§§ 39-84).

CHRYSOLITE (χρυσολίθος), one of the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (Rev. 21.10). It is not improbable that in ancient times the term was applied to a particular shade of BERYL (*q.v.*). See PRECIOUS STONES. In modern usage Chrysolite is the name generally given to the yellow or yellowish-green varieties of olivine, the transparent varieties being known as peridote (cp TOPAZ).

χρυσολίθος in \mathfrak{S} is used to translate *tariz* in Ex. 28.20 30.21 Ezek. 28.13 (cp Ezek. 1.16 Aq [HAQ transliterated], Dan. 10.6 Theod. [see Sw.]). In Ezek. 28.13 AVmg has 'chrysolite', but elsewhere EV 'beryl', which more probably represents *lōham*; see BERYL, § 3, TABSHTI, STONE OF.

CHRYSOPRASE, CHRYSOPRASUS (χρυσοπρασός), one of the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (Rev. 21.10f.). In ancient times the term was perhaps applied to a shade of BERYL; cp PRECIOUS STONES.

The word does not occur in \mathfrak{S} , but AVmg has 'chryso-prase' for כֶּרֶבֶר , *kāhōkōh*, in Ezek. 27.16 where AV has 'agate' and RV 'ruby' (see CHALCEDONY); and has 'chryso-prase' also for עֶמֶק־אֶבֶן , in Ezek. 28.13, where EV has 'emerald' and RVmg 'carbuncle' (see CARBUNCLE, EMERALD). In mod. mineralogy the chryso-prase is an aged coloured apple-green by the presence of oxide of nickel.

CHUB, RV CUB (כֻּב; Aq., Sym., Theod. γογβαλλ), if correct, is the name of a people (Ezek. 30.5f.); but \mathfrak{S} has לִיבְעֵע , and Cornill is doubtless right in regarding כֻּב , *Cub*, as a corruption of לִיב , *Lub*, which occurs repeatedly in the plural form LUBIM (*q.v.*). See also MINGLED PEOPLE.

CHUN, RV CUN (כֻּן, 1 Ch. 188), an Aramean city identified by Ges.-Buhl (following ZDPV 8.34) with the modern Kunā (Röm. *Cunna*) between Baalceca and Hierapolis. The reading *Chan* is, however, certainly corrupt (cp Ki. in *SBOT*). See BERTHOAI, and for a suggested emendation, MEROM.

CHURCH (ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ). I. *Name and Idea*.—The word *Ecclesia* has an important history behind it when it first appears in Christian literature.

1. **History of word.** It was the regular designation of the assembly of the whole body of citizens in a free Greek state, 'called out' or summoned to the transaction of public business. It had then been employed by the Greek translators of the OT as a natural rendering of the Hebrew קָהָל (see ASSEMBLY), the whole 'congregation' of Israel, regarded in its entirety as the people of God. A less technical Greek usage, current in the apostolic age, is illustrated by the disorderly assemblage in the theatre at Ephesus (Acts 19.32-41), where we find also by way of contrast a reference to 'the lawful assembly' (*v. 39, ἐν τῇ ἐνόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*). The Jewish usage is found in Stephen's speech when he speaks of Moses as having been 'in the church in the wilderness' (7.38). Thus the traditions of the word enabled it to appeal alike to Jews and Gentiles as a fitting designation of the new people of God, the Christian society regarded as a corporate whole.

In this full sense we find it in Jesus' declaration to Peter, 'I will build my church' (*οἰκοδομήσω μὴ τὴν*

ἐκκλησίαν; Mt. 16.18). Here it is regarded as the divine house that is to be builded, 'the keys' of which are to be placed in the apostle's hands; see BINDING AND LOOSING. It is thus equated with 'the kingdom of heaven' which Christ has come to establish, each of the designations being derived from the past history of the sacred commonwealth. The force of the phrase, as well as the emphasis given by the position of the pronoun in the original, comes out if for a moment we venture to substitute the word 'Israel' for the word 'church' (Hort); and the thought thus finds a parallel in the quotation of Amos 9.11 f. in Acts 15.16 f., 'I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen down.'

The only other passage where the word occurs in the Gospels is Mt. 18.17, where 'the church' is contrasted with the 'one or two more' whom the erring brother has refused to hear. We are here again reminded of the whole congregation of Israel from which offenders were cut off: the delinquent becomes henceforth as one who belongs to the 'nations' outside, and as a traitor

¹ Though ὁ λαὸς ὁ πρῶτος represents עַמְּיָו (BERYL) in Gen. 21.2.

to the chosen people (*ὡςπερ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ πᾶν ἔθνος*). It is possible indeed that the primary reference in this phrase may be to the Jewish *ekklesia*; but if so, the principle remains unchanged for the Christian *ecclesia*; and in either case, while some local embodiment of the Church is thought of as the means by which action is taken, the meaning is that the whole weight of the divine society is to be brought to bear upon the offender.

While the Christian society is still confined within the walls of Jerusalem, 'the church' is the designation of

3. In Acts. the whole body of the believers, as contrasted with the other residents in the city (Acts 5:11 cp 8:13); but it is possible that the appellation is here due to the historian himself, recounting the events many years later. When, as the result of Stephen's testimony and death, believers are to be found in all parts of Palestine, they are still summed up in the same single word: 'the church (or churches, AV) throughout the whole of Judæa and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being builded' (Acts 9:31; cp Mt. 16:18 as above). The same full sense of the

4. In Paul. word is found in Paul's epistles at a time when Christian communities were established in various cities of Asia Minor and of Greece: apostles, prophets, and teachers are set 'in the church' by God (1 Cor. 12:28); 'the church of God' is contrasted with Jews and Greeks (10:32).

The Church is thus the new chosen people: it is 'the Israel of God' (cp Gal. 6:16). Jews and Gentiles who enter it are merged into unity; the two are made one (Eph. 2:14). It is 'the body of Christ,' and as such inseparable from him. Christ and the Church are not two, but one—as it was written of earthly marriage, 'they twain shall be one flesh' (Eph. 5:31f.). The main practical anxiety of Paul's life appears to have been the preservation of the scattered communities of Christians, which had sprung up under his preaching, in a living unity with the earlier communities of Palestine, so as to form with them a single whole, the undivided and indivisible representative of Christ in the world.

It is noteworthy that Peter never uses the word *ecclesia*. Yet, in spite of the absence both of this

5. In Peter. word and of the *time* *word* of 'the body,' no writer displays such a wealth of imagery in describing the holy society. Once he speaks of it as 'a holy nation' (1 Pet. 2:9), twice as a 'people' (2:9, 10), twice as a 'house' (2:5, 17), twice as a 'flock' (5:2, 3), twice as a 'priesthood' (2:5, 9), and twice again, in a word wholly his own, as a 'brotherhood' ('Love the brotherhood,' 2:17; 'your brotherhood which is in the world,' 5:9).

Side by side with the full sense of the word *ecclesia* we find another and a wholly natural use of it, which

6. Of local churches. seems at first sight to conflict with the conception of unity which is dominant in the passages we have hitherto examined. The new 'Israel of God,' like its predecessor, was scattered over a wide area. Wherever Christians were gathered as such, there was the Church of God. Hence we find such an expression as 'at Antioch, in the church, there were prophets and teachers' (*κατὰ τὴν οὐσαν ἐκκλησίαν*, the participle throwing emphasis upon the noun, 'in what was the church,' Acts 13:1); and again, 'the church of God which is in Corinth'; and even, 'the church that is in their house' (Rom. 16:5). In all these cases the sense of unity may be felt: it is the one Church, thought of as existing in various localities. From this, however, it is an easy passage to speak of 'the church of the Thessalonians' (1 Thess. 1:2 2 Thess. 1:1); and even to use the word in the plural, 'the churches of Galatia' or 'of Asia' (1 Cor. 16:19), 'the churches of God' (2 Thess. 1:4). The transition is naturally found on Greek ground, where the use of *ecclesia* in the plural would be helped by its common employment for the *ecclesia* of Greek cities; whereas in Palestine, where the Jewish connotation of the word was more

sensibly felt, it was more natural to speak of the local representative of the *ecclesia* under the designation of *synagoge* (cp Jas. 2:2).

The churches, then, are the local embodiments of the Church: the distribution of the one into many is

7. Outside Canon. unaffected: there is no other Church than 'the church of God.' When we pass outside the canon we find the same conception of the Church both as a living unity and as the divinely pre-ordained successor to the ancient Israel. Thus in the *Synonyma* the church appears to Herodias as an aged woman, even as Sion had appeared to Esdras as a barren woman (4 Esd. 9:38 10:44). She is aged, 'because she was created first of all things, and for her sake the world was made' (Hern. *Vit.* 24). Again, in the ancient homily formerly ascribed to Clement of Rome (chap. 14), we read of the pre-existent, spiritual Church, 'created before sun and moon,' and manifested at length in the flesh. In the Valentinian system, moreover, *Ecclesia* appears as one of the æons. Cp, too, Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 8, *Strom.* iv. 8. The earliest use of the term 'the Catholic Church' (Ignat. *Smyrn.* 8: *circa* 117, Lightf.) emphasises the unity and universality of the whole in contrast with the individual congregations; not, as in the later technical sense, its orthodoxy in contrast with heretical systems: 'Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church' (*ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*).

II. *Organisation.*—The primitive conception of the Church thus regards it (a) as essentially one, admitting of no plurality except such as is due to local distribution, and (b) as succeeding to the peculiar position of privilege hitherto occupied by the sacred Jewish Commonwealth, so that even Paul in writing to Gentiles thinks of it as 'the Israel of God.' In correspondence with the two parts of this conception it is natural to expect in the development of its organisation (a) a general unity in spite of local and temporary variety, and (b) a tendency, both at the outset and from time to time afterwards, to look back to the more prominent features of Jewish religious institutions. Weekly gatherings for liturgical worship, the recognition of holy seasons and holy books, are examples of elements of religious life which passed over naturally and at once from the Jewish to the Christian Church; and these were elements which the experience of the scattered Judaism of the Dispersion had proved and warranted as amongst the strongest bonds of practical unity.

Had the apostles separated immediately after Pentecost for the evangelisation of the world, it might easily have happened that, while the general needs of the societies founded by their labours were, to a large extent, the same in various districts, the institutions developed to meet those needs might have presented a most astonishing variety. As a matter of fact such a mode of procedure on their part was impossible. The direct command of Christ had indicated Jerusalem as the first scene of their work; but, even apart from this, the very clearness with which from the first they recognised the new society to be the divinely appointed issue and climax of the old, must have hindered them from perceiving at once all that was involved in the complementary truth of its universality. As a matter of fact they clung to the sacred centre of the old national life until the development of events gradually forced them into a wider sphere. Hence a period of years was passed within Jerusalem itself, and in the most intimate relation with the religious institutions of the Jewish people, of whom, at that time, all the believers formed an integral part. Accordingly the new society had time to grow into a consciousness of its own corporate life within a limited area; the pressure of practical difficulties led to the experiment of institu-

8. Primitive conception. of no plurality except such as is due to local distribution, and (b) as succeeding to the peculiar position of privilege hitherto occupied by the sacred Jewish Commonwealth, so that even Paul in writing to Gentiles thinks of it as 'the Israel of God.' In correspondence with the two parts of this conception it is natural to expect in the development of its organisation (a) a general unity in spite of local and temporary variety, and (b) a tendency, both at the outset and from time to time afterwards, to look back to the more prominent features of Jewish religious institutions. Weekly gatherings for liturgical worship, the recognition of holy seasons and holy books, are examples of elements of religious life which passed over naturally and at once from the Jewish to the Christian Church; and these were elements which the experience of the scattered Judaism of the Dispersion had proved and warranted as amongst the strongest bonds of practical unity.

Had the apostles separated immediately after Pentecost for the evangelisation of the world, it might easily have happened that, while the general needs of the societies founded by their labours were, to a large extent, the same in various districts, the institutions developed to meet those needs might have presented a most astonishing variety. As a matter of fact such a mode of procedure on their part was impossible. The direct command of Christ had indicated Jerusalem as the first scene of their work; but, even apart from this, the very clearness with which from the first they recognised the new society to be the divinely appointed issue and climax of the old, must have hindered them from perceiving at once all that was involved in the complementary truth of its universality. As a matter of fact they clung to the sacred centre of the old national life until the development of events gradually forced them into a wider sphere. Hence a period of years was passed within Jerusalem itself, and in the most intimate relation with the religious institutions of the Jewish people, of whom, at that time, all the believers formed an integral part. Accordingly the new society had time to grow into a consciousness of its own corporate life within a limited area; the pressure of practical difficulties led to the experiment of institu-

9. Earliest period. have happened that, while the general needs of the societies founded by their labours were, to a large extent, the same in various districts, the institutions developed to meet those needs might have presented a most astonishing variety. As a matter of fact such a mode of procedure on their part was impossible. The direct command of Christ had indicated Jerusalem as the first scene of their work; but, even apart from this, the very clearness with which from the first they recognised the new society to be the divinely appointed issue and climax of the old, must have hindered them from perceiving at once all that was involved in the complementary truth of its universality. As a matter of fact they clung to the sacred centre of the old national life until the development of events gradually forced them into a wider sphere. Hence a period of years was passed within Jerusalem itself, and in the most intimate relation with the religious institutions of the Jewish people, of whom, at that time, all the believers formed an integral part. Accordingly the new society had time to grow into a consciousness of its own corporate life within a limited area; the pressure of practical difficulties led to the experiment of institu-

tions specially designed to meet them; and, when the earlier limitations began gradually to disappear in consequence of Stephen's wider conceptions and the crisis which they brought upon his fellow-believers, and the society was now scattered like seed over the countries, this corporate life had already given signs of an organised growth, and the home church at Jerusalem had become in some sense a pattern which could not fail to influence all subsequent foundations. These first years in Jerusalem, then, demand careful study, if the development of Christian institutions is to be securely traced.

The brotherhood which was formed by the baptism of the earliest converts was, at the outset, practically a guild of Judaism, faithful to the ancient creed and worship, and with no thought of a severance from the religious life of the nation. Its distinctive mark was not the neglect of Jewish ordinances, but the adherence to new duties and privileges of its own. 'They were continuing steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers' (Acts 2.42).

The temple worship was not forsaken (3.1); but it was supplemented (2.46) by the 'breaking of bread at home.' The first note of this brotherhood was its unity: 'they had one heart and soul' (4.32); they claimed nothing that they possessed as their private right, but held all as a trust for the good of the whole; they would even on occasion sell their property and bring the proceeds to the apostles for distribution to the needy (4.32-35). As the numbers increased, these simple and extemporaneous methods were found to be inadequate. Thus the common tables, at which the poorer dependents received their daily provision, proved an occasion of friction between the two elements of Hebrew and Greek-speaking Jews, of which the brotherhood, from the outset, was composed. Organisation was

11. The 'seven.' necessitated, if the unity of the body was to remain unimpaired; and seven men were accordingly appointed to 'serve tables' (6.1-6). [On the criticism of these narratives cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS.]

Thus was made the first essay in providing for the discharge of the functions of the whole body through representative members. No distinctive title is given by the historian to these seven men. Their office was to serve (*διακονεῖν*); in respect of it, therefore, they could be termed servants (*διδάκονα*); but it is probable that the word 'deacon' remained for some time a mere description of function, rather than a title such as it afterwards became. The naturalness of this institution—the response to a new need which was certain in some form or other to recur, wherever the society was planted—is a most important feature of it. There is no reason to suppose that it was suggested by any Jewish institution. The number of the persons chosen was a natural number in a community consisting of Jews; but the institution itself was a purely spontaneous development, designed to meet a necessity which was wholly new.

Thus far we find but two kinds of distinction which in any way mark off individual members of the society from the general mass. The apostles are

12. The apostles. the natural leaders; to them all look, both for religious teaching and for practical guidance; through them discipline on one memorable occasion is enforced; it is they who suggest a remedy for the first difficulty which was occasioned by increasing numbers; and their hands are laid on the seven men whom, at their bidding, the whole brotherhood has selected to serve on its behalf. The seven, on the other hand, are ordained to humble duties; their function is not to rule, but to serve; through them the society fulfils its common responsibility of providing for the needs of its poorer members.

The dispersion after Stephen's death distracts our

¹ On the fact that they are nowhere styled *διδάκονα*, see also COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5.

attention from the Church in Jerusalem for a while.

13. The 'elders.' Some years later, when the apostles had begun to evangelise other parts of Palestine, we get another glimpse of it at a time of threatened famine. Contributions are sent from the disciples at Antioch to aid the poorer brethren in Judaea; it is not to the apostles, however, that the gifts are brought, but to 'the elders' (Acts 11.30), a class of which we now hear for the first time in the Christian Church. Thus it would seem that the necessity of leaving the apostles free for wider work had issued in a further development of organisation in Jerusalem; but it is only incidentally that we learn that a new step has been taken. We have no indication in Acts of the relation of 'the seven' to these 'elders.'

Peter's imprisonment, which immediately follows, is the occasion of a further notice bearing on the practical government of the church in Jerusalem.

14. James. 'Tell these things to James and to the brethren,' says the apostle after his release (12.17). The position of prominence thus indicated for 'the brother of the Lord' prepares us for the leading part which he subsequently takes in the conference of the apostles and elders, when a question of vital importance has been referred from Antioch to Jerusalem (15.13). Many years later, when Paul arrives on an important errand, his first act is thus described by an eye-witness: 'On the morrow Paul entered in with us unto James, and all the elders came together' (21.18). It is clear, then, that James had come to occupy a unique position in the church at Jerusalem—a position gained, it may be, by no formal accession to power, resulting rather from his relationship to Jesus and his well-known sanctity of life; yet a position clearly recognised by the apostles, and foreshadowing the climax of a series of developments in the universally established rule of the monarchical episcopate.

We have thus, in the early history of the church in Jerusalem, notices, for the most part merely incidental,

15. Summary. of the gradual development of organisation in response to the growing necessities of a corporate life. The humblest offices of the daily service (*ἡ καθημερινὴ διακονία*) by which the bodily needs of the poorer members were supplied, are discharged by the church through seven representatives. The guidance of the whole body is found to have devolved upon men whose title of 'elders' reminds us of the elders of the Jewish people; and in this case there is no reason for doubting that the new institution was directly suggested by the old. These elders are the medium by which the church in Jerusalem holds formal intercourse with the church elsewhere. Lastly, at the head of all, but acting in close concert with the elders, we see James holding an undefined but unmistakable position of authority.

We must be careful to avoid a confusion between this development of administrative organs of the body

16. Teachers, and that other form of service, rendered to it by those who discharged the various

etc. functions of evangelisation, exhortation, and instruction (*ἡ διακονία τοῦ λόγου*, Acts 6.4). The two kinds of service might often meet in the same persons; thus, at the outset, the apostles themselves were, necessarily, at once the instructors and the administrators of the society—at their feet, for example, gifts for the community were laid, as at a later time they were brought to the elders—and, on the other hand, we read of 'Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven' (21.8). Quite apart from these, however, we have a mention of 'prophets,' of whom Agabus is one, as coming from Jerusalem (11.27).

The incidental nature of the references to those who discharged these functions of administration and instruction prevents us from knowing to what extent the church in Antioch resembled in its organisation the church in Jerusalem. We only learn that it contained

'prophets and teachers' (131): we hear nothing of its elders or other officers. When, however, Paul and

17. Paul's churches. Barnabas, going forth from the church in Antioch, founded communities in various cities of Asia Minor: they appointed, we are expressly told, elders to administer them (14²³). In this they probably reproduced an institution already known at Antioch, with which both of them had together been brought into contact in Jerusalem (11³⁰).

As Paul travelled further west, and Christian societies sprang up in a more purely Greek soil, the Church's independence of Judaism became continually clearer; and we might reasonably expect to find elements of Greek social life exerting an influence upon the development of Christian organisation. At the same time we must bear in mind that Paul himself was a Jew, that to the Jews in every place he made his first appeal, that his epistles indicate that there was a considerable Jewish element among those to whom he wrote, and that we have clear evidence that, at first, at any rate, his organisation of administration was based upon a Jewish precedent. In his earliest letters to a European church Paul urges the recognition and esteem of 'those who labour among you and preside over you in the Lord, and admonish you,' thus implying a local administration, though not further defining it (1 Thess. 5¹²); but at the same time he demands absolute obedience to the injunctions which he sends them in the joint names of himself and Silvanus and Timothy (2 Thess. 3¹⁴).

If we try to draw from the study of Paul's epistles a picture of a Christian society in a Greek city, we may start by observing that the members of it are distinguished one from another mainly by their spiritual 'gifts' (*χαρισματα*). Of these the highest is prophecy, which is freely and sometimes distractingly exercised, by any who possess it, in the ordinary meetings of the society. Other gifts too, such as those of healing, give a certain natural pre-eminence to their possessors. Over all we recognise the undefined but overshadowing authority of the apostolic founder. Such is the most elementary stage, and we cannot sharply distinguish it from that which immediately follows. Leading men fall into classes, with obvious divisions (not in any sense stereotyped orders) separating them from the general mass: apostles, prophets, teachers—clear grades of spiritual prestige, though by no means marked off as a hierarchy. The teachers are mainly local in the exercise of their functions; the prophets are local to some extent, but moving from church to church, and recognised everywhere in virtue of their gift; the apostles are not local, but essentially itinerant, belonging to the whole Church.

This ministry expresses the more distinctly spiritual side of the Church's activities. But the community needs, besides, to be governed; and discipline must be exercised in the case of unworthy members. It must have representatives who can formally act on its behalf, either in dealing with individuals or in carrying on communications with sister communities.

Again, there are other functions of the Church's life which call for executive officers. The care of the sick and the poor was a primary duty; so, too, was the exercise of the Church's hospitality to travelling brethren. These duties involved an administration of the common funds collected for such purposes, and generally of corporate property. Servants of the Church were thus called for to perform these humble but necessary functions, and responsible superintendents to see that they were duly performed. This class of executive ministers we find in the 'bishops and deacons' (*ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι*) whom Paul greets in the opening words of his epistle to the Philippians; and the qualifications demanded of them in the Pastoral Epistles afford valuable indications of the nature of their service.

All these elements of moral or formal authority would

be more or less distinctly present in every community, expressing the activity and life of the community itself in various forms. In different localities development would proceed at different rates of progress; but in all, the same general needs would have to be met, and inter-communication would help towards a comparatively uniform result. The earlier and the more rapidly developing societies would serve as a natural model to the rest.

In speaking thus we do not lose sight of the controlling inspiration of the divine Spirit promised by Jesus to be the Church's guide. We rather recognise the presence of a continuous inspiration, developing from within the growth of a living organism, not promulgating a code of rules to be imposed from without upon each community at its foundation.

The scanty and scattered notices of church organisation in the NT need, for their interpretation, all the light that can be thrown upon them by the

18. The practice of Christian communities, so far as 'Didache.' it can be ascertained from the remains of their earliest literature. Here again, however, the evidence is still sparse and incidental, though of late years it has been increased, especially by the recovery (1883) of the *Teaching of the Apostles*. The date of this book is quite uncertain. It is of a composite nature and preserves very early documents in a modified form. There is no agreement among scholars as to the locality to which it belongs. It may represent a community lying outside the general stream of development and preserving, even to the middle of the second century, a primitive condition which had elsewhere, for the most part, passed away. This view does not materially lessen its value as an illustration of an early stage of Christian life; but we must be careful not to generalise hastily from its statements when they lack confirmation from other quarters.

In the *Teaching* (chaps. 7 ff.), then, we have instructions relating to BAPTISM (*g.v.*, § 3), fasting, and the EUCCHARIST (*g.v.*). The following chapters introduce us to apostles and prophets; they provide tests for their genuineness, and instructions as to the honour to be paid to them. The apostles travel from place to place, making but the briefest stay; the prophets appear to be the most prominent persons in the community in which they reside (see PROPHET). In comparison with them, bishops and deacons seem to hold but a secondary place. The community is charged to appoint fit persons to these offices, and not to despise them; 'for they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.' There is no mention whatever of presbyters. In all this we seem to be on the verge of a transition. The ministry of extraordinary gifts is still dominant; but the abuses to which it is liable are keenly felt; the humbler local ministry, though despised by comparison, has the future before it.¹

Other illustrations from the early literature will be found under BISHOP (§ 14 f.). It must suffice here to

19. End of 2nd cent. say in conclusion that, before the close of the second century, the long process of development had issued in a threefold ministry—a bishop, presbyters, and deacons—being at length generally recognised in all Christian churches. In point of time, as well as of method, we have an exact parallel to this development both in the settlement of the canon and in the formulation of the Apostolic Creed. The more abundant literature of the end of the second century shows us a generally accepted standard of ministry, of canon, and of creed. In each case the need of definiteness and of general uniformity had gradually made itself felt, and the Christian consciousness, guided and expressed by eminent leaders, had slowly solved the problems presented to it. In each case we have evidence of that growth which is the

prerogative and proof of life in the social as in the individual organism. J. A. R.

CHURNING (כִּיּוּן), Prov. 30:33; see MILK.

CHUSHAN RISHATHAIM (כִּוְשָׁן רִישַׁתַּיִם), Judg. 3:8; RV CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.

CHUSI (ΧΟΥΣΙ [HN], -CEI [A], חוּסִי), a locality mentioned in Judith 7:18 to define the position of Ekrebel (see AKRABATTINE). It may possibly be the mod. *Kuzah*, 5 m. W. of 'Akrabah.

CHUZA (ΧΟΥΖΑ [Ti. WH]); Amer. RV prefers CHUZAS), the house-steward of Herod (Lk. 8:3), husband of JOANNA. The name is probably identical with the Nabataean *knz*. The steward may well have been of foreign origin as were the Herods themselves. See BIRKITT, *L'Épave*, Feb. 1899, 118-122.

CIELING. See CEILING.

CILICIA (ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑ [Ti. WH]). From southern Cappadocia the range of Taurus descends in a SW.

1. Physical. direction to the sea, reaching it in a complex of mountains constituting that projection of coast which divides the bay of Issus (Skanderûn) from that of Pamphylia. The Cilicians extended partly over the Taurus itself, and partly between it and the sea (Strabo, 668), thus bordering upon Pamphylia in the W., and Lycæonia and Cappadocia in the N.; in the E. the lofty range of Amanus separated them from Syria. The country within these boundaries falls into two strongly marked sections.

Of Cilicia beyond Taurus a part [W.] is called Tracheia (rugged), and the rest [E.] Pedias (plain). The former has a narrow seaboard, and little or no level country; that part of it which lies under Taurus is equally mountainous, and is thinly inhabited as far as the northern flanks of the range—as far, that is, as Isaura and Pisidia. This district bears the name Trachelis. Cilicia Pedias extends from Soli and Tarsus as far as Issus, and as far N. as the Cappadocians on the N. flank of Taurus. This section consists for the most part of plains and fertile land' (L.C.).

Four considerable streams—Pyramus, Sarus, Cydnus, and Calycadnus—descend from Taurus to the bay of Issus. For a long time the rude W. district remained practically outside the pale of civilisation; we are here concerned only with the eastern part, Cilicia Pedias or Campestris. Difficult passes, of which there are only a few, lead through the mountains into the neighbouring districts. The famous Pylæ Cilicia, some 30 miles N. of Tarsus, gave access to Cappadocia and W. Asia Minor; in the other direction the Syrian Gates and the pass of *Beilam* communicated with Syria; through these two passes ran the E. trade route from Ephesus. The military importance of the Cilician plain thus included within the angle of the Taurus and Amanus ranges is finely expressed by Herodian (34).

Owing to the barriers of Mount Taurus, the geographical affinity of Cilicia is with Syria rather than with Asia Minor. It would be only natural, therefore,

2. In OT. that there should be references to it in OT (cp also AŞUR-BANI-PAL, § 4, end). Nor are these wanting. Archæological criticism indicates three OT names¹ as more or less certainly meaning Cilicia.² The first is CAPHTOR (*q. v.*, § 4), which, however, probably had a more extended application, and referred to coast-regions of Asia Minor besides Cilicia. Caphtor was the first home of the Philistines; it probably represents the Egyptian Keftû. The second is Kue or Kuah (קֹּוּ)—i. e., E. Cilicia³—from which Solomon imported horses, as we learn from the emended text of 1 K. 10:28 (see HORSE, § 3, n.). The third is Helak, the Hîlakku

¹ Josephus identified with Cilicia the Tarshish of Gen. 10:4, Jon. 1:3 (*Ant.* i. 61).

² The last of these, Muşî, also, which *rejmîmîl* Kue (W. *Genes. Rab.* v. Ass. 175), must have included a part of Cilicia (cp MIZRAÏM, § 9, n.).

³ According to Maspero (*Revue*, 1921), Cilicia is the Kefti (cp Kîre) which is often mentioned with Naharin in the Egyptian inscriptions. Is this name connected with Kue?

of the Assyrians, which has been restored by Halévy (*Mélanges*, 74, p. 69), Geiger (*Jüd. Zt.* 11:242), and Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 1211) in Ezek. 27:11 (Mt has the impossible חֲבֵרֵי 'thine army'; read 'the sons of Arvad and of Helak'). The same name probably occurs in Egyptian inscriptions under the form Ka-ra-ki-sa, originally Kilakk(u).¹ It follows from Halévy's restoration that there was, according to Ezekiel, a Cilician as well as a Phœnician and a Syrian element in the garrison of Tyre in 886 B.C.

The close physical relation of Cilicia and Syria explains their political connection during the early

3. Later. Roman Empire. Cilicia was usually under the legatus of Syria (Dio Cass. 53:12 where Coele-Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Cyprus are *ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι*; cp Tac. *Ann.* 2:78). Cilicia is found under a separate governor, however, in 57 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 13:33), perhaps as a temporary measure after the disturbances of 52 A.D. (*Ann.* 12:55). Vespasian is credited with its reconstruction as a distinct province, in 74 A.D.; but his action was apparently confined to the reduction of part of Cilicia Tracheia to the form of a province, which was united with that of eastern Cilicia (Suet. *Vesp.* 8). In 117-138 A.D. Cilicia, including Tracheia, was certainly an imperial province, under a praetorian *legatus Augusti*; but in what year this state of things began is not known. No inference can be drawn from the use of the word 'province' (*ἐπαρχία*) in the question of Felix (Acts 23:34). The connection between Cilicia and Syria is illustrated in the NT by such passages as Acts 15:23, 41 Gal. 1:21, where 'Syria and Cilicia' are almost a single term; and conversely the omission of Cilicia from the superscription of 1 Pet. 1:1, where the enumeration of provinces sums up all Asia Minor N. of the Taurus, is based upon the close connection between the churches in Cilicia and the church of Antioch in Syria.

The presence of Jews in Cilicia must date principally from the time when it became part of the Syrian kingdom (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 34). It must have been the hillmen of Cilicia Tracheia that served in the guard of Alexander Jannæus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 135, *II*: i. 43). In apostolic times the Jewish settlers were many and influential (Acts 6:9).

Paul visited his native province soon after his conversion (Acts 9:30 Gal. 1:21), and possibly founded then the churches of which we hear in Acts 15:24, 41. It is probable that in his 'second missionary journey' he followed the usual commercial route across the Taurus to Derbe (Acts 15:41; cp Str. 537).

One article of Cilician export is interesting to the student of the NT. The goats'-hair cloth called *Cilicium* was exported to be used in tent-making (cp Varro, *R.R.* 2:11). Paul was taught this trade, and supported himself by means of it in the house of Aquila at Corinth (Acts 18:3 and elsewhere; cp Acts 20:34). (See Sterrett, 'Routes in Cilicia,' in *Arch. Inst. Amer.* 36.) W. J. W.

CINNAMON (קִּינָמֹן; ΚΙΝΝΑΜΟΝ [OC] [HN] [AFL]; Ti. WH); Ex. 30:23 Pr. 7:17 Cant. 4:14 Rev. 18:13) bears the same name in Hebrew as in Greek and English, and this is almost certainly a word borrowed from the farther East.² Lagarde (*Uebers.* 199) maintains that Hebrew borrowed the name from Greek; but against this there is the statement of Herodotus (3:11) that the Greeks learned the word from the Phœnicians.

Kinnamôn is the fragrant inner bark of *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* Nees that is now called cinnamon. 'As is correctly stated by Flück. and Hanb. (520), however, 'none of the cinnamon of the ancients was obtained from Ceylon,'³ and 'the early notices of cinnamon as a product of Ceylon are not prior to the thirteenth century' (*ib.* 468). Accordingly, it is probable that, as these writers suggest, the cinnamon of the ancients was

¹ W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 359.

² The derivation from קִּינָמֹן is most unlikely.

³ Cp Tennent, *Ceylon* 1:575.

Cassia lignea, which was obtained, as it is still, from S. China.¹ The source of this is *Cassinnomum Cassia*, Bl., as has been shown by Sir W. Bissell-Dyer in *Journ. Ind. Soc.* 20 11, ff. The name *cinnamomum lignea* given to the distant W. of Cape Good Hope, must be taken in a loose sense as referring to the commerce of the Erythraean Sea. Like lign-aloes, cinnamon was thus brought along the regular trade-route from E. Asia. See ALOES, § 3.

From whatever source cinnamon was obtained, it appears thrice in the OT among aromatic spices, and in Rev. 18 13 among the merchandises of the apocalyptic Babylon. Thus the Jews must have been tolerably familiar with it. See CASSIA, INCENSE, § 6.

N. M.—W. T. T.—D.

CINNEROTH (כִּנְרוֹת), 1 K. 15 26, RV CINNEROTH.

CIRAMA (ΚΙΡΑΜΑ [Α]). 1 Esd. 5 20; AV—Ezra 2:6 RAMAH.

CIRCLE OF JORDAN (בְּכַר הַיַּרְדֵּן), Gen. 13 10. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUIT (הַבְּכָר), Neh. 3 22, RV^{mg}. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUMCISION (כְּלֵי, ΠΕΡΙΤΟΜΗ), the cutting away of the foreskin (כְּלֵי, ΑΚΡΟΒΥΚΤΙΑ). For-surgical

and other details of the operation as practised in later Judaism, reference may be made to the Mishna (*Shabb. 19:2* *Yōre dē'ah*, § 264) and to the literature cited at the end of this article. It was performed not only on the (male) children of the Israelites, but also upon all slaves (as being members of the household and sharers in its worship), whether born within the house or brought in from abroad (Gen. 17 22 ff.)—a usage which plainly points to a great antiquity. In P it is enjoined that all aliens (גֵּרִים) who desire to join in the Passover shall be circumcised (Ex. 12 48); in the Graeco-Roman period it was also the condition for the admission of proselytes.

The age for receiving the rite is fixed by the Law for the eighth day after birth (Lev. 12 3; cp. Gen. 21 4 [1], etc.); even on the sabbath the sacred ordinance had to be observed (Jn. 7 22 *Shabb. 19:2* ff.), although in case of sickness of the child a short delay was permitted (cp. *2DMG 20:539* [66]). For the performance of the office all adult male Israelites were fully qualified; but customarily the duty fell to the head of the house (Gen. 17 23 ff.). That in the earlier times it could be performed (of course only in exceptional cases) by women appears from Ex. 4 25; but this was not allowed by later custom. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2 4) it was not unusual to employ the physician; at the present day it is the business of a specially appointed official, the *middeh*.

At the close of the first century B.C. the naming of the child accompanied his circumcision (cp. Lk. 1 59 221); but there is no indication of any such usage in the OT; indeed, in the older times, the two things were wholly dissociated, the child receiving its name as soon as it was born (cp. for example, Gen. 21 3 29 31 ff. 30 6 ff. 35 18 38 28 ff., etc.).

The origin of the rite among the Hebrews is obscure. One of the views represented in the OT is that it was introduced by Joshua (Josh. 5 2 ff.), who, at the 'Hill of the Foreskins,'² by divine command circumcised the people with knives of flint, and thereby called them 'the reproach of Egypt,' 'wherefore the name of that place was called Gilgal (i.e. 'rolling') unto this day.' Verses 4-7 are an interpolation designed to bring the narrative into conformity with the view of P that circumcision had merely been in abeyance during the years of wandering; cp. Hollenberg in *St. Ar.*, '74, 493 ff., St. in *ZATW* 6 132 ff. (86), and see JOSHUA, § 7. The 'reproach of Egypt,' unless we

2. Hebrew legends.

1 Hence in Persian and Arabic it is called *Darsāni* (Chinese wood).
2 So EV, EV^{mg} *Gilgal ha-areveloth*; BHS has *הַר הָאֲרָבֹתָיִם* [BAF]. According to BSAI in Josh. 5 9 the knives of flint referred to were buried with Joshua in Timnath-serah.

are to do violence to the narrative, can only be interpreted as meaning that in that country the children of Israel had been uncircumcised, and therefore objects of contempt and scorn. It is impossible, however, to regard the narrative in Joshua as strictly historical; it belongs rather to the category of etymologizing legend, being designed to explain the name and origin of the sanctuary of Gilgal. Possibly Stade is right in his conjecture (see above) that the legend arose from the circumstance that in ancient times the young men of Benjamin or of certain Benjaminite families were circumcised on the Hill of the Foreskins at Gilgal. See GILGAL.

Another view of the origin of the rite is given in the account of the circumcision of the son of Moses (Ex. 4 25 ff. [1]), for here also the intention manifestly is to describe its first introduction among the Israelites; there is no suggestion of any idea that it had been a long-standing Hebrew custom. The general meaning of the story is that Moses had incurred the anger of Yahwé, and made himself liable to the penalty of death, because he was not 'a bridegroom of blood'—i.e., because he had not, before his marriage, submitted himself to this rite. Zipporah accordingly takes a flint, circumcises the son instead of her husband, and thereby symbolically makes the latter a 'bridegroom of blood,' whereby the wrath of Yahwé is appeased (see We. *Prol.* (4) 345).

Both narratives notwithstanding, it is necessary to carry back the origin of this rite among the Hebrews to

3. Early origin. a much earlier date. True, it is no sufficient proof of this that P (Gen. 17) carries it back to Abraham, and that everywhere in the Law

the custom is assumed to be of extreme antiquity. More to the point are the facts that Gen. 34 also represents it as pre-Mosaic, while the use of knives of flint (which was long kept up; see Ex. 4 25 Josh. 5 2 ff.) also indicates a high antiquity. What most of all compels us to this conclusion, however, is the well-ascertained fact that circumcision was in no way a practice peculiar to the Israelites. It was common to a number of Semitic peoples in antiquity; Edom, Ammon, Moab all were circumcised (Jer. 9 25 [26]); of the nations of Palestine the Philistines alone were not (cp. for example, Herod. 2 26 f. 104), and the Arabs also practised this rite, which, in the Koran, is taken for granted as a firmly-established custom. Nor is it less widely diffused among non-Semitic races.¹ Of special interest for us here is its existence among the Egyptians; for from a very early period we meet with the view that, within the lands of the ancient civilisations, circumcision had its native home in Egypt, from which it had spread not only to the other peoples of Africa, but also to the Semites of Asia (so Herod. 2 36 204 Diod. Sic. 3 31 Strabo 17 824). It certainly was known in Egypt from the earliest times (Ebers, *Egypt. u. d. Bh. Mos.* 1 283), and we have the express testimony of Herodotus (2 26) and Philo (2 210, ed. Mangey) that all Egyptians were circumcised (cp. Josh. 5 2 ff., where the same thing is presupposed; Erman, *Egypt.* 32 f., 539; Ebers, *op. cit.* 2 78 ff.), although, it is true, their testimony has not been allowed to pass wholly unquestioned. One piece of evidence for the Egyptian origin of the rite would be the fact that to the Semites of the Euphrates, who had no direct contact with Egypt, circumcision was unknown. In any case, however, it would be illegitimate to suppose that it was borrowed from Egypt directly by the Hebrews—say, for example, at the time of the sojourn in Egypt; for the nomads of the Sinaitic peninsula appear to have practised it from a very remote period.

As to the original meaning of the rite equally divergent views have been held. The explanations offered fall in

4. Views of the meaning. the main into two groups—(1) the sanitary: Herodotus asserts that the Egyptians had adopted it simply for the sake of cleanliness, whilst other ancient writers regard it

¹ The facts of its present diffusion have been collected most fully by Pless, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitze der Völker*, 1 342 f. [30].

as a prophylactic against certain forms of disease (Phil. *de Circumcis.* 2210, ed. Mangey; Jos. *c. Ap.* 213). A similar theory is still put forward here and there by various nations (cp Ploss, *op. cit.*), and it was in great favour with the racialists of last century (see, e.g., Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, 1180; also Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*, 1246). Recent anthropologists, such as Ploss, give greater prominence to the fact that with many peoples (if not with most) circumcision stands, or originally stood, closely connected with marriage, and regard it as an operation preparatory to the exercise of the marital functions, suggested by the belief that fruitfulness is thereby promoted (so already Philo, *loc. cit.*; cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 11). (2) The religious: It is impossible to decide the question by mere reference to the present conditions, or to the explanation which ancient or modern peoples themselves give. On the one hand, it is not to be expected that the original meaning of the act should be permanently remembered; on the other hand, evidence can be adduced in support of either theory. There are broad general considerations, however, which lead inevitably to the conclusion that, in the last resort, the explanation is to be sought in the sphere of religion. All the world over, in every uncivilised people, whether of ancient or of modern times, practices such as this are called into existence, not by medical knowledge, but by religious ideas. It is to the belief about the gods and to the worship of the gods that all primitive ethics must be traced. In this there is nothing to prevent practices, grown unintelligible through the religious motives having gradually faded into the background, being supplied with other reasons, in this case, sanitary. On the other hand, inasmuch as, to judge by its wide diffusion, circumcision must have arisen spontaneously and independently in more places than one, there is nothing to exclude the possibility of diverse origins.

The primarily religious nature of circumcision being granted, we must nevertheless be careful not to carry back to the earlier times the interpretation put upon it by later Judaism. According to P the rite is a symbolical act of purification (in the ritual sense); the foreskin represents the unclean. This conception of circumcision is presupposed in the symbolical applications of the expression to be met with in the discourses of the prophets (see below, § 7). For the earlier period, however, we have no evidence of the presence of any such idea, nor is there any analogous conception to make its existence probable. The notion so frequently brought forward in explanation of the idea,—that the sexual life, as such, was regarded as sinful,—is in truth nowhere to be met with in the OT. The ancient conceptions of clean and unclean are all of them of a wholly different nature; see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

In general, circumcision is to be regarded as a ritual tribal mark. This view is favoured by several considerations. Not only among the Jews, but also among the Egyptians and most other peoples by whom circumcision is practised, the uncircumcised are regarded as unclean—*i.e.*, as aliens from the tribe and its worship—and as such are looked upon by the circumcised with contempt. Among peoples who do not practise circumcision we find analogous tribal marks; filing or removal of teeth, special tattooings, in some cases still more drastic mutilations of the sexual organs (semi-castration and the like). Finally, with most peoples, circumcision used to be performed at the age of puberty. By its means the grown-up youth was formally admitted among the men, received all the rights due to this position, and, in particular, the permission to marry (hence the frequent connection already alluded to between circumcision and marriage). The full-grown man becomes for the first time the fully-invested member of the tribe, and, in particular, capable of taking part in its religious

functions. It is fitting then that he should wear the badge of his tribe.

Such a badge has always a religious significance, since membership of a clan carries with it the right to participate in the tribal worship (see GOVERNMENT, § 8), and, for early times, to be outside the tribe and outside its worship meant the same thing. Thus the act of circumcision had, in the earliest times, a sacral meaning. Like all other initiation ceremonies of the kind in the Semitic religions, circumcision had attributed to it also the effect of accomplishing a sacramental communion, bringing about a union with the godhead. To this extent the explanation of circumcision as of the nature of a sacrifice (Ewald) is just; originally circumcision and sacrifice served the same end.

For the old Israelite, in particular, the view just stated is confirmed by the identification of the two conceptions

6. In early 'uncircumcised' and 'unclean'; see especially, in this connection, Ezek. 31:8 Israel.

32:19-32, where in the under-world the uncircumcised have assigned to them a place by themselves, away from the members of the circumcised people. The receiving of the tribal mark is a condition of conubium (Gen. 34). Among the Israelites also it was the marriageable young men who were circumcised (Josh. 5:2 *f.*, see above, § 2). In like manner, as already noticed, in Ex. 4:25 circumcision, as a token of marriageability, is brought into connection with marriage itself; cp the expression 'bridegroom of blood.' The same narrative also explains the circumcision of young boys as a surrogate for that of men (cp We. *Prod.* 345 *f.*). This custom—of circumcising boys when quite young—may have arisen very early, as soon as the political aspects of the rite fell into the background. 'When the rite loses political significance, and becomes purely religious, it is not necessary that it should be deferred to the age of full manhood; indeed the natural tendency of pious parents will be to dedicate their child as early as possible to the god who is to be his protector through life' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 328). This last general statement is particularly apposite in the case of circumcision.

No mention of circumcision is made either in the decalogue or in any other of the old laws. This silence

7. Later, cannot be explained on the ground merely that as a firmly established custom the rite did not require to be specially enjoined; rather does it prove that, for the religion of Yahwé in the pre-exilic period, circumcision had ceased to possess the great importance which we are compelled to assume for it in the old Semitic religion; nor was the same weight assigned to it which it subsequently acquired in Judaism. In particular the prophets took up towards it the same attitude as they held towards sacrifice, that is to say, they looked upon it as of no consequence so far as the worship of Yahwé was concerned. Such a prophet as Jeremiah, for example, sets himself in the most marked manner against the high appreciation of circumcision still prevalent among the masses in his day, when he places the circumcision of the Israelites exactly on the same level with that of the Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites, and threatens all alike with the divine judgment as being 'circumcised in uncircumcision' or as 'uncircumcised'—that is, as not having the circumcision of the heart (Jer. 9:25 [24] *f.*, cp 4:4 6:30 Lev. 26:41). By this very fact—that they contrast with the circumcision of the flesh that of the heart, the ears, the lips—the prophets gave the first impulse to the later symbolical interpretation of the rite as an act of purification.

This last, as already stated, is dominant in Judaism. In the post-exilic period the rite acquired a quite different position from that which it had

8. In Judaism, previously held. As substitutes for the sacrificial worship, no longer possible, the sabbath and circumcision became the cardinal com-

mands of Judaism, and the chief symbols of the religion of Yahweh and of membership of the religious community. For this reason neither Greek nor Roman culture was able to suppress this relic of barbarism. Antiochus Epiphanes indeed prohibited circumcision, but with no great effect (1 Macc. 1:48-66 2:46). On the other hand, however, the spread of Grecian culture so wrought among those Jews who had yielded to its influence, that they became ashamed of their circumcision, as in the exercises and games of the arena it exposed them to pagan ridicule; they accordingly took steps by means of a special operation to obliterate the signs of it (*συνεῖν ἐπιτομῆς ἀποβολήν*, 1 Macc. 1:15, *ἐπιπαῖσθαι*, 1 Cor. 7:18). In order to remove the possibility of this in future the Talmudists and Bar Cochba ordered that after the ordinary cut had been made the flesh should also be torn with the thumb nail.

Michaëlis, *Mon. Theol.*, §§ 184-190; *Sachs-Schütz, Mon. Theol.*, 1:247; the commentaries on Gen. 17; the handbooks of biblical archaeology; *Hamburger's Lexikon*, s.v. 'Be-

9. Literature. *Schmidling*, *Schulze*, *A. V. Theol.*, 174 ff.; *Snodgrass*, *Int. Bib. Arch.*, 37 f.; *Marti, Griech. u. J. Jer. Bib.*, 43, 103 f., etc.; *Glassberg, Die Beschnittung*, Berlin, 1896. On the later customs connected with the rite, see *Buxtorf, Syn. Jud.* and *Otho, Lex. Rab.* For the practice of Judaism, *Schürer*, *Die J. u. J. u. J.*, 2:204 ff. 3:102 ff., etc. On the present diffusion of the rite, *Pharis, Das Kont.*, 200 ff.; on circumcision among the Arabs, *We. d. Arab.*, 134.

CIS (כַּיִס [Ti. WH]), Acts 13:21, RV KISH (g.v.).

CISAI (כִּיֵּי | חַיָּוִי | [HALALAI]), Esth. 11:2. RV KISEUS. See KISH.

CISTERNE (כִּסְתָרִים [בְּוֹר]), Jer. 2:13 etc. See CONDUITS, § 1 (C).

CITHERN (ΚΙΘΑΡΑ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 4:34. See MUSIC, § 7 ff.

CITIMS (ΚΙΤΙΩΝ [N*]), 1 Macc. 8:5, AV. See KITHIM.

CITRON. See APPLE, § 2 (3).

CITY (עִיר; עִירָה, almost confined to poetry and place-names; עִירָה, frequent in Phœnician, but only five times in OT; cp also KARTAI, KARTAN; ΠΟΛΙΣ).

1. Names. A synonym of עִיר. *Ass. uru ālu* 'settlement, city'; cp *CAN.*, § 1; for Heb. *kiryah* and *kereth*, cp *Ar. kiryah*, *Ar. kereth*.

The influence of the old Babylonian culture is manifest. We note, too, that 'ir, in virtue of its origin, is an elastic term including the settlements of those who were once nomads (see HAZOR, VILLAGE), and thus we can account for the 'cities (read עִיר with [C], KLO.) of Amalek' in 1 S. 15:5, and the description in 2 K. 17:9, 'in all their cities, from the tower of the watchmen (see TOWER) to the fortified city.' Dillmann, too, thus explains the phrase 'the wilderness and its cities' in Is. 42:11, and some have supposed that the 'city' built by Cain was but a settlement such as we have just referred to—a most uncritical supposition! We may safely assume that the Israelites acquired the word 'ir in Canaan. There they encountered highly civilised peoples and strongly fortified cities. The Deuteronomist remarks (Josh. 11:13; cp Jer. 30:18) that places which stood upon *tillim*—i.e., on artificially heightened mounds or hills—the Israelitish immigrants did not burn down, with the single exception of Hazor. Of course, mountain cities were still more difficult to take (see FORTRESS).

1 The text, however, is corrupt. For עִירָה and its cities' we should read עִירָה and the desert' (see *SBOT ad loc.*).

2 It was not a dweller in the land of Nod ('wandering') who built (or whose son built) a city, and obtained the first place in the Hebrew legend of culture. Cain was originally a divine being, or semi-divine hero. See *CAIN*, § 3.

3 Read עִירָה (I_g); cp *De Dieu, Critica Sacra* (1693), 49-78 (see *BBB s.v.*) or *nil (tell)* on which *LACHISH* (g.v.) was built is a good specimen of these hills. *Tell* abounds in the Arabic geographical nomenclature of Syria and the Euphrates Valley.

(a) *Citadels*.—In Gen. 11:4 the builders of Babylon say, 'Let us make a city and a tower'; the *citadels* or tower here represents the *citadel*.

2. Various details. Elsewhere it is the 'city' (עִיר) that is the citadel—e.g., the 'city of David,' 'city of Milcom' (see RABBATH AMMON); but observe that in Jer. 48:41 קִירִית appears to be used of the lower cities as opposed to the *קְצֵרוֹת* or citadels.

(b) *Gates*.—At the gates² of the town (see FORTRESS) there were 'broad places,'³ expressly distinguished from the 'street' in Prov. 7:12, devoted in turn to judicial business, traffic, popular assemblies, and gossip. See 2 K. 7:1 2 Ch. 32:6 Neh. 8:1 Job 20:7; also *Is. 56:11*, where we might render, 'Extortion and deceit depart not from its market-place.'

(c) *Streets*.—Except in Græco-Roman cities like Caesarea and Sebasté—cities the importance of which is shown by the continuance of their names in an almost unmodified form—the streets⁴ were presumably as narrow as those in a modern Oriental city. That the houses before the Greek period were for the most part poor and perishable is remarked elsewhere (see HOUSE, § 1). Still, the increase of wealth must have had some effect on the architecture (cp Jer. 22:14)—at any rate, in the merchants' quarters, the existence of which may be inferred from Zeph. 1:11 Neh. 3:31 f. Jer. 37:21 (the 'bakers' street'). Whether the Aramaean merchants in Samaria had whole streets (MT of 1 K. 20:34) or simply caravanserais (קְצֵרוֹת, KLO., קְצֵרוֹת) may be left undecided. On the question whether the streets were paved it may be said that the soil was so often rocky that paving would frequently be uncalled for. We have no evidence of paving in Jerusalem before the Roman period (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 97). Herod the Great is said to have laid an open road in Antioch with polished stone (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5:3). On the 'street called Straight,' see DAMASCUS.

(d) *Watchmen*.—Watchmen, apart from the keepers of the gates, are mentioned only in two almost identical passages of Canticles (3:3 5:7), a work possibly of the Greek period; it is, of course, the capital that is referred to.

(e) *Water-supply*.—The excellent water-supply of ancient Jerusalem is treated elsewhere (see CONDUITS); smaller places had to be content with the fountains which were the original cause of the settlements.

The student will now be able to judge how far the Hebrew and the Greek conception of a city differed. Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.) thus presents the Greek conception (Paus. x. 4:1, Frazer, 1:593): 'It is twenty furlongs from Chæronea to Panopeus, a city of Phocis, if city it can be called that has no government-offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water conducted to a fountain, and where the people live in hovels, just like highland shanties, perched on the edge of a ravine. Yet its territory is marked off by boundaries from that of its neighbours, and it even sends members to the Phocian parliament.' Jerusalem, at any rate, had its conduits and a substitute for a market-place, nor were large and high houses (מִגְדָּלוֹת) altogether unknown (see HOUSE, § 1). The gymnasium spoken of

1 'City of the house of Paal' (1 K. 10:26) is not a correct phrase. For 'city' (2^d) read 'sanctuary' (גִּבְעוֹן). See *IBOT*.

2 In EV 1 K. 5:37 2 Ch. 6:8 Ruth 3:11 עִיר is actually rendered 'city' (and in this sense is characteristic of J), but practically is equivalent to 'jurisdiction.' Cp 'The Sublime Porte' and the Japanese 'Mikado,' literally 'exalted gate.' So in *Is. 60:10* and *Mich. 4:8* (see *IBOT*).

3 So RV for 7:12 in *Proverbs*, in Cant. 8:2 EV has 'broad ways'; cp *Ps. 122:7*, 2 Ch. 32:6; see *Neh. 8:1*, *Is. 60:10* always *πλατεία*, except *Is. 10:1* (*ibid.*) because of *πλατεία* preceding.

4 *קָוָה*. *Is. 60:10* has *πλατεία* five times, *Is. 60:11* six times, *Is. 60:12* once, *Is. 60:13* more than twelve times, but most frequently renders, with reference to the etymology, simply *εὐθεῖα*, *εὐθεῖρος*, or *εὐθεῖα*. *Ps. 119:7* Eccl. 12:4 Cant. 3:21. *Is. 40:3*. In NT the words are *πλατεία* and *ὁμῆ* (in *Lk. 14:21*, 'lane'); cp *Tobit 13:18* *Ecclus. 9:7*.

in 1 Macc. 1:14 2 Macc. 4:9¹² was only a temporary innovation.

(f) *Store-cities*.—This phrase¹ means cities in which grain (2 Ch. 32:28) or other royal provisions, valuable for war or for peace, were stored (1 K. 9:19 etc.). It is implied that such cities were fortified. In Ex. 1:11 6 gives πόλεις ἀχυράς; cp PITHOM, RAAMESSES.

On citizenship, cp GOVERNMENT, § 4; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14; and DISPERSION, § 15.

For the cities of the Plain (ערי הַבְּרָקָה) see ADMATH, etc.; on the cities of refuge (ערי הַקָּדְשִׁים), see ASYLUM, § 3.

CITY OF MOAB (עִיר מוֹאָב), Nu. 22:36. See AR OF MOAB.

CITY OF SALT. See SALT, CITY OF.

CLASPS (קְרָסִים), Ex. 26:6 RV; AV 'taches.' See TABERNACLE.

CLAUDA, RV CAUDA (κλαυδά [Ti. with N* 13, etc.]. κλαυδά [WH with N* 13]. *Cauda*, Acts 27:16), is described as a small island (νησίον) on the lee of which Paul's ship ran for shelter (ὑποδραμόντες) when blown off the Cretan shore. She was driving before an ENE. wind (v. 14), which caught her between Cape Lithinos (called also Cape Matala) and Lutro harbour (see PHOENIX, 2). Hence Claudia must be the small island now called *Gaudhonisi* (Γαυδωνήσι) or *Gozzo*, lying about 20 m. due S. of Lutro. Ptolemy (iii. 17:11) has Κλαυδῶς νῆσος ἐν τῇ πόδι, and remains of a small town are found on the island. There is some variety in the ancient appellation (Κλαυδία, *Stad. m. m.*, § 328; Gaudos, *Pomp. Mela*, 2:114; Pliny, *H. V.* iv. 12:61). It became the seat of a bishop (cp Hier. Syn. p. 14, Νῆσος Κλαυδῶς, and *Notit. Epis.* 8:240, etc.).

W. J. W.

CLAUDIA (κλαυδία [Ti. WH]) unites with Paul at Rome in sending greeting to Timothy at Ephesus (2 Tim. 4:21). Nothing further is known concerning her.

For the ingenious but unconvincing argument by which it has been sought to identify her with the Claudia who marries Pudens in Martial's epigram (4:13), and to prove her the daughter of the British king Elmerius Claudius Cogidubnus, see *Alford, NT*, vol. iii., *Prolog.* to 2 Tim.

CLAUDIUS, the fourth emperor of Rome (41-54), was the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and the successor of Caius Caligula. His advancement to this position came chiefly through the energies of Herod Agrippa I., whom he rewarded with consular honours and the enlargement of his territories by the addition of Judæa, Samaria, and certain districts in Lebanon. For the history of the Jews during his reign, see ISRAEL. Claudius is twice mentioned in the NT. In Acts 11:28 the famine foretold by AGABUS is said to have been in the time of Claudius Cæsar (ἐπι Κλαυδίου [Ti. WH]); AV after TR, ἐ. Κλ. Καίσαρος; but see CÆSAR, and in 18:1 f. reference is made to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome which he was induced to order (as *Suet. Claud.* 25 tells us) on account of their tumults; 'Judæos impulsores Chresto² assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.' The precise dates of both famine and expulsion have been disputed; see CHRONOLOGY, § 76 f.

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (κλαυδιος λυσιος [Ti. WH], Acts 23:26), 'chief captain' (military tribune, or chiliarch) in command of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem in the governorship of Felix (Acts 21:31 ff.).

CLAY is derived mostly from the decomposition of felspathic rocks (especially granite and gneiss) and of

the crystalline; but the materials are so varying that there is clay of several kinds suitable for several uses. The term 'clay' is often applied loosely to 'loam'; of such, for example, is the clay of Egypt and of Palestine, although a bituminous shale, easily convertible into clay, is said to occur at the source of the Jordan and near the Dead Sea; see BITUMEN.

In Palestine, and indeed throughout the E., clay is used chiefly (1) in building, either retained in its natural state (for ceilings and floors) or manufactured into bricks (see BABYLONIA, § 15, BRICK, CHAMBER, HOUSE); (2) in the manufacture of utensils (see POTTERY); (3) in providing a material for documents public and private and a means of safely preserving them. Very many deeds and other records have been found in the form of inscribed clay tablets in Assyria and Babylonia. 'The deed or record was first written on a small tablet, or brick, of clay, with the names of the principals, witnesses, etc., appended. This tablet was then enclosed in an envelope of clay, on which was written, apparently from memory, the contents of the document, the names of the witnesses, etc. (Peters). In Palestine, where, so far as we know, clay tablets were not customary in the historic Israelitish period, clay, instead of wax, was used for sealing. See, besides, Job 38:14 14:17b, where AV's 'sewest up' should rather be 'smears (clay) over'—parallel to 'sealed up' in v. 17a. In Egypt jars, mummy-pits, etc., were frequently sealed with clay.

The Heb. and Gr. words which are rendered 'clay' are (1) הָרֵץ *homer*, Gen. 11:3, etc.; (2) בֶּזֶק *hez*, used of the mire of streets, also of brick (Nah. 3:14) and potter's clay (Is. 41:25); (3) the biblical Aram. representative קִישׁ *hāsārā* (Dan. 2:33); and (4) πηλός, *Rom. 9:21*; see further POTTERY. מֶלֶךְ *melek*, Jer. 48:9 AV (RV 'mortar') is uncertain (ἐν προθροῖς [BAO.] ἐν τῷ κρημνῷ [QMK.]). A possible meaning is 'earth' (Giesebr.); but it may be a corruption for סֵקֶר 'secretly'; see Ges. *Lex.* 33b.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, HOLY AND PROFANE.

Of the Heb. terms which convey the idea of cleanliness

or holiness the most prominent is (1) **1. Meaning** טָהוֹר (טָהוֹר, טָהוֹר, etc.), the original of the Terms.

meaning of which is not clear. Smend in *AT Rel.-gesch.* (1) 334 (cp, however, 2nd ed. 150, 223, 325), expresses the common uncertainty of the moment. The older view of Ges. (*Thez.*), defended now only in a much modified form, is that the root means 'clear,' 'brilliant.' Baudissin,² writing in 1878, finds the fundamental idea in 'separation,' a view which is still widely held.

[Baudissin says: 'A comparison with טָהוֹר makes it natural to conjecture that קָדַשׁ meant from the first "to be separated"—"to be pure"—i.e., that קָדַשׁ was from the beginning synonymous with טָהוֹר; cp קָדַשׁ, "pure," from קָדַשׁ, "to cut" or "cut out." It is certain, too, that Yahweh's holiness and his glory are correlative ideas (as, in the *Avesta*, Ahura Mazda's). In Is. 6:3 this is very clearly indicated, and in v. 5 the thought of Yahweh's holiness suggests to Isaiah that of his own (moral) uncleanness (cp Ps. 15:1 f. 24:3 f.). May there not have been a time when קָדַשׁ suggested the idea of purity without any moral reference? Zimmern, followed by Whitehouse (*Thinker*, July 1892, p. 5), connects קָדַשׁ with Ass. *haddūšū* (*Busspsalmen*, 37, n. 2; *Reitr. zur Assyrl.* 1:105; *Vater, Sohn, Fürsprecher*, 11, n. 3), which means 'bright,' 'pure,' or, more precisely (*ellusus*), 'bright,' 'pure' (very frequently), 'illustrious,' 'holy' (so Sayce, in a private letter). According to Abel (in Baudissin, 38), words which originally denoted 'purity' are used in Coptic to denote the divine or the consecrated. This is quite in accordance with the spirit of the old Egyptian religions and with that of the old Semitic religions. If, however, this tempting comparison be accepted, we must frankly admit that the original meaning had become forgotten, or was but obscurely felt, by the OT writers. Only once is 'the Holy One' distinctly parallel to 'light' (Is. 10:17); but the ideas are, at any rate, implicitly synonymous in Is. 8:18 of 38:14 f. Its usage, as Davidson (*Isak.* xxxix.), remarks, the term 'holy' expresses, not any particular attribute

¹ The Heb. phrase is עִיר סְטִמָּה; cp Ex. 1:11 (AV 'treasure cities'), 2 Ch. 8:46 (L adds τῶν φόρων), 17:12 (EV 'cities of store'). טָהוֹר is omitted in 2 Ch. 32:28 (EV 'storehouses,' πόλεις [BAL]). In 1 K. 9:11 (cp 9:11) 6A renders πόλεις τῶν σκευωμάτων, apparently טָהוֹר; BL (*tride* 10:23) omit. טָהוֹר in 2 Ch. 18:4 is corrupt; see 1 K. 15:20, and cp CHISNEETH.

² For the question of the identity of Chresto, see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 6, iii.

¹ Possibly, however, ἐν προθροῖς represents בְּרִשְׁתִּי, בְּרִשְׁתִּי in 5:10 is omitted by BBAU.

² *Studien zur semit. Rel.-gesch.* 2:20 (in his important dissertation, 'Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament').

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, HOLY AND PROFANE

but rather the general notion, of godhead. In a secondary thought, though still early sense, it is applied to that 'which belongs to the sphere of deity, which has near God's presence or has come into it (Ex. 35 Nu. 16 17 f. [17 2 f.], or which belongs to him, whether as part of himself or as his property.' Davidson also remarks that the root 'probably expressed some physical idea, though the idea is not now reasonable.' See also WRS *Proph.* 9 424, who points out (after Nöldeke) that the Arabic evidence for the supposed root-idea of purity will not hold. In *K35*, 150, the same scholar finds 'some probability' that the original meaning was 'separation' or 'withdrawal.'

Other less prominent terms are *šar* (שָׂר), *šabb* (שָׁב), and *šāhūr* (שָׁהוּר), all of which are rendered indifferently by 'clean' and 'pure.' (2) Of these the most definitely religious in its application is *šāhūr*. No doubt gold may be *šāhūr*, i.e., refined (Ex. 25 11 [Job 28 19]), so also a turban (*Zenb.* 3 3), vessels (Ex. 24 6), etc.; but the levitical sense is specially prominent (Lev. 7 19 24 6), etc. The eyes of God also can be *šāhūr* (Hab. 1 12); therefore he cannot tolerate wickedness. Similarly innocence in man; Job 17 9 Ps. 71 12 [10]. God's promises are *šāhūr*—i.e., perfectly veracious (Is. 12 7 [9]).

(3) *š* *šāb*, also means refined (as oil, Ex. 27 20); incense (Ex. 30 14), morally pure, 'upright': (Job 86 11 [16]), Prov. 20 11 21 6). It is used of a prayer (Job 16 17), of the heart (it is to be made or kept 'pure' or 'clean,' Ps. 73 13 Prov. 20 9 [שָׁבֵר]), or the conduct (Ps. 119 6).

(4) *š* *šar*, 'separated'—i.e., 'pure' (cp 1) above). Some Rabbinists interpret *š* in Ps. 2, 'selected'—שָׁרֵב; but it would be easier (though not the best solution) to read *š* *šāb*. In a physical sense *šar* = spotlessly beautiful (Ant. 69 7). 'Spotless purity belongs to God's commandments (Ps. 19 9). It is used of moral purity (Job 11 4 Ps. 24 4 73 1).

The NT terms which have to be noticed are (5) *ἀγιός* 'pure' (= *šāhūr*), in a physical sense of modesty or chastity (2 Cor. 11 2 Tit. 2 1 Pet. 5 9); sacred, for ceremonial use (2 Macc. 13 8); pure—ethically—of men (2 Cor. 7 11 Phil. 4 8 1 Tim. 5 22), of God (1 Jn. 3 3), and of his wisdom (1 Jn. 3 7).

(6) *ἀγιός*, worthy of veneration, whether of things connected with God (1 K. 14 Heb. 9 1 24, or of persons (e.g., John the Baptist, Mk. 6 21; Christian disciples, Acts 9 13, etc.). Thus the church—like Israel (1 Th. 2 14, see *PECCATORIAL PEOPLE*)—is called *ἅγιος ἄγιος* (cp Ex. 19 9, שָׁרֵב 12). *ἀγιός* stands in the same relation *δίκαιος* as *שָׁרֵב* (see *LOVINGKINDNESS* and cp *ASSIDUOUS*) to *שָׁרֵב* (see Thayer, *Lex. NT*, s.v. *ἀγιός*).

(7) *ἅγιος* corresponds chiefly with *שָׁרֵב*; see (6) above: (so also in 8). It is used of men (Tit. 1 8 Heb. 7 26), of the Messiah (Acts 2 27 13 35), of Messianic blessings (Acts 13 34 74 *ἅγια Δαυὶδ*), and of God (Rev. 13 4 16 5 cp 1 Th. 3 2 4 Heb. 7 26).

(8) *ἱερόσ*, consecrated to the deity, belonging to God, used of the 'sacred' writings (2 Tim. 3 15 RV, AV 'holy'). In 1 Cor. 9 13 *τὰ ἱερά* means all the sacred objects pertaining to the worship of God in the temple. For the negatives of these qualities, see *COMMON, PROFANE*.

Baudissin's view (above [1]) suits many passages: the holiness of the *Kēdēšim* and the *Kēdēšoth*¹ (see *IDOLATRY*, § 6), who were certainly found in Israel very early, can have consisted only in their separation: either they were dedicated to foreign gods, or perhaps they were set apart at puberty from the households in which they grew up, according to a custom which ranges from the Gold Coast to Tahiti (see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 2 225 f.), and never returned to them or entered others. The hire of the 'harlot' Tyre (Is. 23 18) is to be 'holiness unto Yahwē,' not because the reviving trade of Tyre is to be conducted in a better spirit than before, but because it is to be taxed at the new Jerusalem (which is presumably to be a staple town of the wool and spice trade) in a way to absorb all its profits. Again (*Zech.* 14 20 f.), everything in the new Jerusalem after its last great trial is to be so holy, so perfectly the property of God, that the very horse-bells will bear the same motto as the High Priest's mitre; the pots in which the sacrificial flesh is boiled for priests are to be as holy as the bowls which hold the sacrificial blood reserved for God; the common cooking pots of Jerusalem are to be holy enough for pilgrims to boil their sacrifices in. Jerusalem (Joel 3 [4] 17) is to be 'holy'; no stranger is to pass

through. There is to be through the wilderness of Judah a 'holy' way (Is. 55 4) in which no unclean shall walk.

So far it seems as if holiness might be explained as a relation rather than a quality. The flesh and blood of the sacrifice are holy because they belong to God; the pots and bowls have to be holy that they may hold the flesh and blood. So, too, the vessels (the bodies? or the wallets?) of David's followers (1 S. 21 5 [6]) have to be holy that they may receive the shewbread, which is holy because it is set before God. David (whom all the writers who speak of him regard, from their several points of view, as a model of wisdom and piety) vouches for the negative holiness of his men, and any accidental defilement which he does not know will have had time to wear off: he appears to think that the shewbread will sanctify their 'vessels,'¹ and implies that if they had been specially sanctified, as for a holy war or a pilgrimage, they might have eaten the shewbread though they were not priests.

The 'sanctification' of persons and things falls under the same notion. 'Holiness,' as Robertson Smith

2. Contagion observed (*AS*²⁷ 450 f.), is contagious: of holiness. whatever a 'holy' thing or a 'holy' person touches becomes holy.

When Elijah casts his mantle over Elisha, the latter has to follow till Elijah releases him; the worshippers of Baal, whose ordinary dress might 'profane' the house, are provided with special vestments from the stores of the house of Baal; otherwise, when they came outside, their ordinary dress would make whatever it touched 'holy to Baal,' and unavailable to the former owners. The priest on the great Day of Atonement (the rule is older than the day) is to take off the holy linen garments and leave them in the holy place, and to wash his flesh in water lest any of the contagion of holiness should cling to him. In a text which, though belonging to the man stock of P, seems to represent a later state of the law, the consecration of Aaron and his successors seems to consist in their investiture with the (hereditary?) state dress of Ex. 28; cp Nu. 20 25-28. According to another view, which is older than *Zech.* 4 14, the consecration consists in the anointing (cp *ANOINTING*, § 3, c). The doctrine of the contagion of holiness is at its height in Ezek. (46 24), who provides special kitchens where the priests are to cook the most holy things, and special chambers in which they are to eat them, without bringing them forth into the outer court to sanctify the people (who are eating their own sacrifices). Otherwise, they might become the property of the sanctuary, or at least would be subject to the same obligations as the priests. For the same reason, it is expressly stated, they are to leave the holy garments in the holy place, though all the top of the mountain is most holy. So, too, a little later, the profane sacrificers² of Is. 65 5 either threaten to sanctify the poor who approach them, or claim to be too holy to be approached. In Hag. 2 12 f. we find a distinct change. The contagion of uncleanness is stronger than the contagion of holiness. A garment in which holy flesh is carried does not sanctify; a garment which has touched the dead pollutes (cp EGYPT, § 19, and see *DRESS*, § 8). The stricter view is still presupposed, at least for the 'most holy' things; any garment sprinkled with blood has to be washed in the holy place (Lev. 6 27 [20]);³ otherwise it would sanctify. For the same reason the earthen pots used in cooking are to be broken; brass pots (too valuable to break) may be used, but only after having been rinsed and scoured—obviously to remove the last vestige of the

¹ Everybody dedicated a new house (Dt. 20 5): was it ever a custom to dedicate vessels?

² They wish to forsake God's holy mountain and set up a temple of their own; they are rebuked in a way to imply that no temple exists or is needed (cp Is. 66 1 f. and see *ISAIAH*, iii, § 21).

³ Is this the reason why the holy garments are of linen? Woollen garments would naturally be sent to the fuller at long intervals.

¹ [See *Dr. D.* 264 f.; *St. GVI* 1 479 f.; *Movers, Die Phön.* 1 679 ff. *Beninger (JA)*, § 61 remarks: 'It may safely be affirmed that this form of consecration to the deity, and especially the violation of nature combined with it, was unknown to the Israelitish nomads; but also, that with so many other details of Baal-worship, it penetrated into the service of Yahwē, and there spread to a considerable extent.'

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holy food. The rank of the priests is determined by their right to eat of both the holy and the most holy, which are often cited as if they were

3. Holiness of priests. known, and never described; though we are told that the 'sin' and the 'trespass' offering are most holy and must be eaten in the holy place, and hence could not be eaten by the households of the priests. Why these special offerings are specially holy is discussed elsewhere (see SACRIFICE). The scribes, to whom we owe this law, are the fathers of those who decided that a book was or was not canonical according as it did or did not 'defile the hands.' After touching a really holy book, a man had to wash before touching common food lest his hands should sanctify it (cp CANON, § 4). In the oldest practice, it would seem, it is the contact with the holy flesh that is the essence of the consecration of priests: the sacrificer who wishes to institute a priest 'fills his hand.'¹ As sacrifice and slaughter are nearly synonymous (as late as Is. 346; ISAIAH, ii., § 14), we seem to find in one of the stories of the golden calf that the share of the Levites in the slaughter of the worshippers is virtually their consecration. 'They have filled your hand for Yahwè' (*i.e.*, 'Ye have been to-day appointed priests'), 'for every man was against his son and his brother' (Ex. 3229).² In 1 K. 1333 Jeroboam fills the hand for the priests of the high places: in 2 Ch. 139 each candidate brings a bullock and seven rams to fill his hand.³ This seems an echo of old tradition; for in Ex. 29 (P), Moses takes only two rams and a bullock when he fills the hand of Aaron and his sons; the blood of the ram of the 'fill offering' is put on the right ear, the right thumb, the right great toe, of each priest; the pieces, which as a rule are burnt, and one of those which in ordinary sacrifices fell to the priest as his fee, are both laid with cake on the hand of each priest and waved before God (to assert the priest's right to the 'wave-breast' and the 'heave shoulder') and then burnt. There seems to be an afterthought (*v. 26*) in which Moses as the officiating priest takes the wave breast to himself; the priests eat the rest of the sacrifice (which in ordinary cases the worshipper would eat) in the holy place. The idea seems to be that just as the worshipper in the old profession (Dt. 2613) declares 'I have put away the holy out of my house,' so the sacrificer passes on the dangerous holy food to a priest who will take the risk and the privilege of sharing the table of God, and bear the iniquity of the people in their holy things. Possibly the Levites in Ex. 3226 *ff.* may point to a time when the priest was not chosen by the sacrificer, but handed his office by laying hands on the holy flesh.

The question whether 'holiness' to begin with is nothing more than 'separateness' bears very directly

4. Of God. on the 'holiness' of God. If holiness is originally a relation rather than a quality, if things and persons are holy to God as persons and acts are righteous before him, then God himself is holy simply as the centre of the circle of sanctity; if all that belongs to the sanctuary is holy, how much more he who dwelleth between the cherubim, who inhabiteth the praises of Israel (Ps. 223[4])? He is the object of worship whom his worshippers 'sanctify.' He is the 'Holy One': 'I am God and not man, the Holy One

¹ If Micah (Judg. 175) had begun with the Levite we might suppose that the filling of his hand consisted in his salary. He is not likely to have given his son a salary; yet he 'filled his hands.'

² [So Bacon (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 137) who remarks, 'In the story before us the consecration of the bene Levi to the priesthood is explained aetiologicaly by their having filled their hand with the blood of their brethren.' It is doubtful whether 'they have filled your hand' is the meaning of the Heb. The expression, 'Fill your hands' (if this be the meaning), is admitted, however, by Baudissin (*Gesch. des AT Priesterth.*, 60) to be 'very suspicious.' It is always another who fills the new priest's hands. Perhaps in an interpolation (see Kue. *Hex.* 247) the phrase may be conceivable.]

³ Can we suppose that if anybody was allowed to qualify Jeroboam found the qualification for all comers?

of Israel in the midst of thee' (Hos. 119 cited Is. 126: 'Rejoice and shout, O inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee'). Yahwè is the God, the Holy One of the prophet (Hab. 122). So Jacob (Gen. 3153, cp *v. 42* [E]) swears by the fear of his father Isaac—*i.e.*, the God whom his father feared.

There are other texts, however, in which holiness seems to be absolute. The men of Beth-sheshem (1 Sam. 620) ask, 'Who can stand before Yahwè, this holy god?'¹ In Am. 42 Yahwè swears by his holiness. Does that mean his character? or the reverence due to him? The answer will govern the sense in which his name is holy in 27. In Is. 516 (authoritative enough by whomsoever written) God's being exalted through judgment and sanctified through righteousness are closely parallel. The song ascribed to the mother of Samuel (1 S. 2) is an unambiguous echo of the song of the seraphim (Is. 63)—'Holy, holy, holy, holy is Yahwè Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of his glory,—where holiness and glory are clearly parallel. So, too, in Jer. 172, 'a high throne is the place of our sanctuary,' and in Ex. 1511, 'Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?'—the holiness, the praises, the wonders, seem to belong to God's external majesty. Throughout the OT God's worshippers rehearse his acts much oftener than his attributes. We find his 'righteous acts' as early as the song of Deborah (Judg. 511); but not till Jer. 122 do we read, 'righteous art thou, Yahwè, when I plead with thee'; where the sense is still half forensic, as in Ex. 927 (JE) Ps. 514[6]. In Ps. 117 we have 'The righteous Yahwè loveth righteousness.' The parallel between holiness and glory is reinforced by the contrast between holy and profane, for profane certainly seems to mean what is cast down to be trodden under foot (Ezek. 2836, 'Cast thee as profane out of the holy mount'; Ps. 8939[40], 'Thou hast profaned his crown to the ground'; cp 44). Israel, again (Dt. 2619), is made high above all people, that it may be a holy people.

The demand that Israel shall be holy is common to every stage and aspect of the Law. In Ex. 2231[30]

5. Of Israel. (JE) and Dt. 1421, it is the ground on which Israel is to abstain from all meat not killed by men for human food; in Dt. 1417, Israel as a holy people is forbidden to make to the dead blood- or hair-offerings, intended, doubtless, to keep up a physical communion with them (cp ESCHATOLOGY). The spiritual tie between God and his peculiar people who are his children is not to be impaired by a rite the sense of which was still clear when the book which Hilkiyah found was written, though in Jer. 166 the rite seems harmless and unmeaning. Again, the title of the third year is profane if any of it has been 'eaten in mourning' or 'given for the dead' (Dt. 2614). Are we to think of the mere unlikelihood of any thing connected with the dead (Hos. 94)? or of some form of worship, as in Is. 819? Consecration for one mode of worship would be a defilement for another. In Lev. 1927 (cp 213) we have the law against cuttings for the dead preceded by a law against an Arab tonsure, which probably marked consecration to an Arab god. This might go back to Hezekiah, who, according to Sennacherib (*KB* 294), entertained Arab mercenaries. Gattani adopted the dress of his Alan guard. If we suspect with Robertson Smith² an invasion of Arab totemism in the

¹ Holiness in the same sense is ascribed to other gods; Eshmunazar of Sidon on his sarcophagus (*circa* 400 B.C.) speaks of the holy gods in the same way as do Nebuchadrezzar and the queen-mother in the Book of Daniel.

² [Here, therefore, we have a clear case of the re-emergence into the light of day of a cult of the most primitive totem type which had been banished for centuries from public religion, but must have been kept alive in obscure circles of private or local superstition, and sprang up again on the rising of the national faith, like some noxious weed in the courts of a deserted temple' (*KS*², 357). See the context, and cp Che. *intr.* Is. 308 *ff.*]

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time of Ezek. (87-12), Lev. 19²⁸ will forbid the tattooing of totem marks.

In the Book of the Covenant and in Deuteronomy the holiness of the covenant people is demanded, so to speak, incidentally, and without express reference to the holiness of the covenant God. If one were to try to find a keynote for the older book it would be 'Justice'; for Deuteronomy perhaps 'Loving-kindness, *'ahsed,*' the dutiful love of the worshipper to his God, which includes kindness for God's sake to men (see also *LOVINGKINDNESS*). 'Holiness' is certainly the keynote of the oldest stratum of the Levitical law (see *LEVITICUS*).

Deuteronomy is clearly a development, as compared with the Book of the Covenant; a deeper insight into the vocation of the chosen people has been gained. Is the Law of Holiness a development in the same sense, compared with Deuteronomy? The interval between Ezekiel and Jeremiah is shorter than that between Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant; yet Ezekiel is almost as full of the ideas of H (*i.e.*, the Law of Holiness) as Jeremiah of those of D. Has he inherited a relatively old tradition? Short as H is, it is full of variations and repetitions. Would not an elder or a younger contemporary of Ezekiel, giving expression to a new religious movement that had grown out of Josiah's covenant, have imparted more unity to his work? Again, in more than one way H seems to be older. No reader of Frazer (see especially *Golden Bough*, 1279 n. 2) would think the law which forbids the reaping of corners later than the law against gleaning (Lev. 19^{9 f.}). Nor is the holiness required of priests yet extended to the whole people; thus if a layman eats *חֲמֵץ* he is defiled for the day and must wash his clothes; but for priests the prohibition is absolute. There seems, too, to be a recognition of other gods (Dt. 24^{15 f.}): if a man curses his own god he shall bear his iniquity (*i.e.*, he must not come to the priest of the God of Israel to make atonement for him). Certainly in D the demand for 'holiness' is based on the more characteristic demand for monolatry, whilst in H, though the demand for monolatry is not superfluous—Israel, we are told, went after the *Shédim* (see *DEMONS*, § 4) in the wilderness (Lev. 17⁷)—it is not fundamental. The giving of the seed to Moloch is treated as analogous to the moral abominations of the nations, for which the land spewed them out, rather than to turning away to idols or making molten gods. It was a profanation of God's holy name just because those under his wrath (Ezek. 20^{25 f.}) regarded it as part of his service. Upon the whole, the demand for holiness in H seems to be an intensification of the demand that worshippers shall sanctify themselves, which we may suppose the better priests to have insisted upon as long as there were feasts in Israel. In many ways the holiness is still external: 'ye shall be holy, for I Yahvé am holy,' appears (Lev. 20²⁶) as a sanction for the law against abominable food (cp 11^{44 f.}); in 19² 21⁸ the context takes off nothing from the text. These passages mark the culmination, not the starting point, of a line of teaching. Generally the sanction of the precept is, 'I am Yahvé,' 'I am Yahvé your god,' 'I am Yahvé your god who brought you out of Egypt,' 'I am Yahvé who sanctify you.' Logically and theologically God's holiness is the source of all others; he is holy in himself and therefore what he takes for his must be holy too; but possibly, as Robertson Smith held, holiness may in the beginning have been regarded as a mysterious virtue inherent in things external to the worshipper—in trees, in waters, in stones, in the mysterious animal life of well-wooded and well-watered spots,—each of which may have served to suggest a higher power beyond the phenomena in which it was first recognised. Historically, however, the evidence that holiness is an attribute of the object of worship is neither so early nor so copious as the evidence that holiness is a relation

bringing the worshipper and his holy things into a new sphere with something worshipped at its centre.

Obviously 'holy and profane,' 'clean and unclean,' is a cross division; holy things and persons are, or may be, as unavailable for common life as if they were unclean, though, on the other hand, holiness necessarily presupposes and includes cleanness. Again, uncleanness often seems, like holiness, to have something supernatural about it: unclean animals often seem to be 'abominable,' like 'idols'; the uncleanness of the dead, and of women at certain times, is as likely to savour of awe as of disgust.

In historical times clean and unclean beasts are those which are fit or unfit for food rather than for sacrifice! (see however below, § 11); but the law of clean and unclean animals is puzzling.² The law which limited the eatable quadrupeds to the old order of ruminants (with the exception of the camel) was valuable incidentally from the hygienic point of view. If this was the origin of the law, it must have rested rather on instinct than on observation; at most, shepherds and herdsmen may have noticed what beasts they found feeding in the pastures of the wilderness, and decided that these were as fit for food as their own flocks and herds. All the patriarchs have camels, and Rachel (Gen. 31³⁴ [E]) hides the terephim in the camel's furniture: in later, perhaps more historical, times camels seem to belong to aliens (cp *CAMEL*, § 2 *ff.*). In the oldest stratum of the story of Gideon (Judg. 8²⁵) we find the gold rings round the necks of the camels of the Midianites; in the oldest stratum of the story of David (1 S. 30¹⁷) 400 of the Amalekites escape on camels. As far as we know, camel-riders have always killed, eaten, and sacrificed their camels, though the meat is inferior to beef and mutton. Possibly the camel was unclean because it was the domestic animal of alien nomads. If so, the rule 'whatever divideth the hoof and cheweth the cud shall be clean' may have been settled before the question of eating camels became practical. This question was decided by the observation that the camel does not strictly divide the hoof, or at least rests part of its weight on an undivided pad.

The express prohibition of eating hares, rock-badgers, and swine, as food, is curious. No reason except a possible connection with totemism has yet been suggested why the rock-badger was forbidden; and for the prohibition of the hare we have only guesses—perhaps it is worth while to mention the idea that hares' flesh is unhealthy. The uncleanness of swine is at its height when they are kept in sties and left dirty; but in OT and NT times they seem to have fed in herds out of doors. Compared with sheep and goats, they are fond of mud—but so are buffaloes in modern Palestine, which are not regarded with the same horror as swine. On the other hand, tribes of herdsmen and shepherds have much more in common with each other than with swineherds, and if we are to look for a natural explanation of the abhorrence of swine we may look for it here: the droves of swine of the alien were abominable to the flocks and herds of the Hebrew. As for the actual feeling, whatever its cause, it is significant that in Hārān, traditionally the last station of Abraham on his way to Canaan and the land to which Jacob returned, the land where he won his wives and his wealth, swine were sacrificed once a year and eaten only then. A sacrifice which is, for whatever

¹ With regard to sacrifices it is men that are clean or unclean. When men sacrifice of the flock and the herd, only the clean may eat (when Saul misses David at table the first thought that occurs to him is 'he is unclean'); that was the common law till slaughter without sacrifice was allowed in D in the interest of the one sanctuary. Of game, on the other hand, of the roebuck and the hart the clean and the unclean may eat alike—though possibly there is a trace of a blood-offering by hunters in the rule in H (Lev. 17¹³) that the blood is to be not simply poured out but covered with earth—a prescription which might be either a survival or a development.

² [Cp] Dr. Dt. 164 WRS *OT* (2nd) 366; Now. *H. A.* 116 f.]

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reason, rare, is also mysterious, awful, and potent. Dogs too were sacred in Harrân; and both swine and dogs seem to figure in the profane sacrifices of Is. 65 and 66.¹ See *Dogs*, § 4.

Whatever the reason for the express prohibition of camels, hares, rock-badgers, and swine, the prohibition is as old as any part of the law which we can trace; but the list of prohibited animals in Lev. 11 29 ff. (P) has integral relation to the rest of the law; the weasel, the mouse, and different kinds of lizards are 'the uncleanest with you of swarming things': except dry sowing seed, everything that comes into contact with their carcase is unclean.

The rule is meant to work: one of these abominations does not defile a whole cistern or fountain; every earthenware vessel which they touch is to be broken; other vessels are to be washed in water and to be unclean until even; the water which washes the vessels pollutes all meat on which it falls; any drink in the polluted vessels is of course unclean.

Two questions arise: Why should people wish to eat weasels, mice, and different kinds of lizards? and why are these charged with special uncleanness? The traditional answer to the second is that they are in a sense domestic vermin which haunt houses and are always getting into whatever is stored there, and so are worse than vermin out of doors; but, as most commentators think that one of the lizards enumerated is an iguana or a land crocodile 3 or 4 ft. long (see *LIZARD* [1]), the explanation has to bear a heavy strain. If Robertson Smith's theory of totemism is established, much will become clear.² The elders of Israel who worshipped 'creeping things' in 'chambers of imagery' (Ezek. 8 10 ff.) made it necessary to cultivate a special religious horror of their low-class totems: they were at the same stage as the Harrânians, who are said to have worshipped field-mice. Indications of high-class totems, however, are not wanting; see *LEOPARD*, *WOLF*.

There is neither a category nor a list of clean birds: of the unclean, as enumerated, most are uncleanable—

9. Birds. either birds of prey or feeders on carrion. The lapping is especially forbidden: the only possible reason yet discovered is that it haunts marshy places and that its flesh has sometimes a bad smell. Nothing is said one way or other of doves or pigeons,—which is remarkable, as they do not appear at Solomon's table, and, though they are the only birds which, as far as we know, were sacrificed, they were used for sacrifices of which the worshipper at least did not eat. In Syria, at any rate, they were always associated with the worship of Astarte, and, wherever that worship spread to the West, they went with it, and according to Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 14, 54) none of the worshippers at Hierapolis ventured to eat or touch them—they were too holy,—and whoever touched them was *évaγγισ* or 'unclean' for a day, and it was a question whether swine were 'holy' or 'abominable.' Probably the question of clean or unclean birds was only of secondary importance: it was not easy to keep ducks or geese; there were no cocks (see *COCK*) or hens; the 'fowls of heaven' generally appear as feeding on sacrifices or corpses; the 'fowler' (who appears as early as Hos. 9) probably caught small birds for the rich.³

The prohibition of 'flying swarming things that go on all fours' looks as if at first it included locusts, the only insects which anybody could wish to eat;

10. Insects. if so, subsequent scribes discovered that, as they leap on their hind legs and do not strictly go on

¹ [See *WRS Rel. Sem.* (2) 299 ff. Were these sacrificial rites practised by the early Samaritans? Cp *Ch. Ant.* 12, 367.]

² Cp Stade; *Th. LZG* 1896, n. 1, col. 12, who remarks against Nowack that 'W. R. Smith's hypothesis has the special merit of explaining why certain animals are sacred, and why certain kinds of flesh may not be eaten. The theory that these animals were regarded as the property of the Godhead only throws the question back. For how came people to embrace such a remarkable theory?' For Nowack's view see his *HA* 1 115 f.

³ See *FOWL*, § 1. In i S. 23 20, if the text is right, partridge-hunting seems to be beneath the dignity of a king. See *PARTRIDGE*.

all fours, they might be eaten in all stages of their growth.

The law of aquatic food is clear: 'whatever hath fins and scales' is clean; this limits the dietary to true fishes,—

11. Fish. and, among these, excludes eels and shads,—popular and common articles of food in Egypt, Greece, and Italy. According to Pliny (*HN* xxxii. 10 r), Numa thought fish without scales unfit for funeral banquets; Piankhi Meri-Amen thought well of a king of Lower Egypt who ate no fish; according to Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 54), fish in general is forbidden food. The Law knows nothing of sacrificial fish. Perhaps the prohibition of fish was general, and the permission of what had fins and scales an exception; see *FISH*, § 8 ff. There is certainly a tendency to identify what is clean and what is fit for sacrifice. Thus Hosea (9 3) regards food eaten

12. Plants. out of the land of Israel as unclean, because it cannot be purified by acceptable sacrifice to the God of Israel; in Amos 7 17 a foreign land is polluted for the same reason; and in H the fruit of all trees is to be uncircumcised the first three years (*i.e.*, the fruit is to be picked off as fast as it forms while the trees are establishing themselves?); for the fourth year the whole crop is to be holy to praise Yahweh withal (*i.e.*, to be used for sacrificial feasts). There is no distinction anywhere between clean and unclean herbs; the first fruits of all are to be offered, though only corn and wine and oil figure in sacrifice. In P (Gen. 1 29) every herb

13. Different periods. and tree that yieldeth seed is given for meat from the first; so after the flood is all animal food; as sacrifice was instituted

(according to P) for the first time at Sinai, the distinction between clean and unclean animals was still in abeyance. The distinction between clean and sacrificial animals which is presupposed throughout D is perhaps to be explained by the transition from the nomadic state. If Levi the sacred tribe be a metonymic formed from Leah the wild cow, wild animals must have been sacred once (see *LEAH*).

The law of clean and unclean meats obtained special prominence in the Greek period: the first proof of the religious fidelity of Daniel and his companions is their resolution not to defile themselves with the king's meat; when Antiochus Epiphanes resolved to abolish 'Jewish particularism' eating swine's flesh was the test of conformity. If we go back fifty or seventy years, Joseph, the enterprising revenue farmer, whom his namesake idealised (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 4 10) as Machiavelli did Caesar Borgia, had clearly no scruple of the kind;² yet even he, though his kindred in the next generation (*ib.* 5 r) were prominent on the heathen side and he himself fell in love with a pagan (*ib.* 8), was heartily thankful when his own niece was substituted for her in order to save him from polluting his seed among the heathen. A psalmist (see Ps. 141), who still instinctively draws his imagery from a time before the institution or revival of the evening burnt sacrifice, may be an older witness for the view (hardly to be traced in Ezra or Nehemiah) that the law of clean and unclean meats is given to separate Israel from the heathen: he appears to be thinking simply of fellowship at the table, not, like the author of Is. 65, of sacrificial communion. If so, a Maccabean editor may have revived a psalm which suited the times. Probably older psalms from 18 onwards lay the stress rather on cleanness of hands and innocence; in Is. 6 5 the unclean lips of prophets and people are generally explained as relating to sins of speech, after the analogy of Zeph. 3 13. After the destruction of the temple, and still more after Palestine ceased to be the centre of Jewish life, the law of clean and unclean was less zealously observed, though portions of it prove still

¹ Observe that in P's account of the deluge there is no distinction between clean and unclean beasts (*DUPLICATION*, § 12 2).

² His son Hyrcanus (*Jos. Ant.* xii. 4 9) is the first person we know of whom they tell the story of the wise man whose place at the king's board is filled with bones by envious detractors.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, HOLY AND PROFANE

to be of considerable sanitary value. See FOOD, § 10 ff.

Human uncleanness¹ is of two kinds. It may arise from external contact, or from something in the man or woman who is unclean. The uncleanness of death falls under both; the dead is unclean and makes others unclean.

14. Human uncleanness. Diseases like leprosy or issue, natural processes like menstruation and probably copulation, cause uncleanness too. If, as Wellhausen holds (*JH* 151; but cf *JG* 108), Lev. 12 implies Lev. 15 19, the law of uncleanness after childbearing might be an extension by analogy of the older law of the uncleanness of menstruation.² If so, as the Vendidad has much to say respecting the uncleanness of childbed, we might suspect Persian influence—the rather that there is no hint of it in the older Hebrew literature, while the 'menstruous cloth' appears (Is. 30 22) in a passage still generally assigned to the Assyrian period. Cp FAMILY, § 11.

Perhaps a common element in all cases of uncleanness not caused by external contact is that the unclean in some way is disgusting or alarming. The law of leprosy is not to be explained from the risk of contagion; ordinary sickness, even pestilence, does not occasion uncleanness; the leper is 'unclean' because he is smitten of God, just as the madman in Moslem countries is 'holy,' and epilepsy was the *lepa vōsos* in Greece. In general, persons who are in a state to make ordinary people shrink from them, because their neighbourhood is uncomfortable or terrifying, are unclean.

Casual uncleanness, according to P in its final state, does not require an offering for its removal. It is enough to observe the prescribed term

15. Purification. of seclusion, generally 'until the even,' and the prescribed washing; if either

be neglected and the unclean negligently or ignorantly intrude among the clean, a 'sin-offering' is necessary. This is Dillmann's inference from Lev. 5 2. According to Nu. 5 2, the unclean is excluded not only 'the congregation,' but also from 'the camp,'—i.e., not only from the temple, but also from, at any rate, walled towns. No offering is prescribed for the menstruous woman; but after childbed and after issues a 'sin-offering' is prescribed, whilst the leper has also

16. Case of leper. to bring a 'trespass' offering before he can come into 'the congregation,' though he is admitted to 'the camp' after the performance of an (older?) rite with two birds, running water, cedar, hyssop, and scarlet. After he comes into the camp he must still wait several days before he comes to his 'tent.' Here it is hard to doubt that the law has a sanitary purpose: it imposes a short quarantine to make sure that the cure is complete, and not improbably to guard against the hereditary transmission of the disease. The 'trespass' offering of the leper looks like a 'development'; it is necessary to assert expressly that it belongs to the priest (Lev. 14 33); the leper is anointed with the blood and oil of the trespass offering, exactly as Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8 2) are anointed with the blood of the ram of consecration, whose flesh is boiled for Aaron and his sons to eat, while the 'wave breast' falls to Moses as the sacrificer's fee. Possibly the re-consecration of the leper as one of the holy people by sacrificial blood is older than the theory that he was not to eat of the sacrifice. The sin and the burnt-offering prescribed after all the graver kinds of uncleanness are to 'make an atonement,' which may imply that the uncleanness was a penal infliction, though this is nowhere stated. The (older?) rite, which readmits the leper to the camp, is the only one prescribed for the cleansing of a house from the plague of leprosy, whilst

leprosy in a garment, if it ceases to spread, is sufficiently purged by two washings.¹ Much of the rite is still transparent. One of the birds is to be held over an earthen vessel full of living water into which the blood of the dead bird falls; the living bird, the cedar, the scarlet, and the hyssop are to be dipped in the water and blood; the leper who is to be cleansed is to be sprinkled with both; and then the living bird is to fly away with the plague of leprosy, as the women with the wind in their wings (Zech. 5 9) fly away with the wickedness of the land of Israel, or as the goat for Azazel (see AZAZEL) carries away the sin of the congregation into the wilderness. Probably the living bird is dipped in the blood and water to establish a kind of blood brotherhood between it and the leper. If the blood and water were on the leper alone, the release of the living bird might symbolise that he who was hitherto shut up in Israel was now free as the fowls of the air. Living water is, of course, a natural element of all purifications; HYSOOP (*q. v.*), certainly a popular means of purification (Ps. 51 7 [9]), according to Pliny (*JN* xvi. 76) is good for the complexion, and according to others is a saponeous herb.

What are the cedar and the scarlet for? Cedar wood is aromatic; the bright colour of scarlet may betoken strength and splendour. In the ancient domestic rites of India (*SBE* 30 281) children are made to touch gold and *ghee*, that when they grow up they may have riches and food. Remote as the analogy is, we may ask, Is the leper, in virtue of the rite, to dwell in cedar and be clothed with scarlet? See CEDAR.

The cedar, hyssop, and scarlet appear again in the mysterious rite of the Red Heifer whose ashes are used

17. Red Heifer. for the water of Separation. It had a whole treatise to itself in the etc.

Mishna, where its qualifications were elaborated to such a point that at last R. Nisin said that no one since the days of Moses had been able to find one fit to be slain. There is an analogous rite in D (Dt. 21 1 f.). When the land is defiled with blood the ordinary way of putting away bloodguiltiness is to shed the blood of the slayer. If he cannot be found the land is made clean again with the blood of an unyoked heifer killed, either by beheading or by breaking the neck (the meaning of the verb *'drōph* is not clear), in a barren valley with a running stream in it, where the elders of the city nearest the place where the dead man is found wash their hands of bloodguiltiness over the heifer. A barren valley is chosen, according to Dillmann, Ewald, and Keil, in order that the purifying blood may not be uncovered and lose its virtue; according to Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* (2) 371), to avoid all risk of contact with sacrosanct flesh. We might ask, Would running water in a fertile valley used for such a rite pollute the fields of offerings? The goat for Azazel is sent into the wilderness. If the heifer is beheaded, her blood is almost certainly intended to 'cover' the blood of the slain. If not, are we to think of Saul's first muster (1 S. 14 32 ff.)? Do the elders by implication invoke on themselves the doom of the heifer if their prostration is false? What is the meaning of the obviously popular rite (see COVENANT, § 5) of dividing victims when a covenant is made (Gen. 15 10 Jer. 34 18 f.)? The rite of the Red Heifer is more general in its intention. Its principal use is not to do away bloodguiltiness, but to cleanse those who are defiled by contact with the dead. Incidentally we learn that it was required for the purification of the vessels of all spoil which will not abide the fire (Nu. 31 23); and the Levites on their consecration are to be purified by what is probably the same, 'the water of sin' (*ib.* 87). [Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29 4 and parallels) are washed at their consecration with common

¹ [1] WRS *Rel. Sem.* 2 408, 447 f.]

² According to surviving folklore, many things will not 'keep' if made or handled by a person in a state of Levitical 'uncleanness.'

¹ Neither of those laws belongs to the main stock of P, though, if they were later developments, we should expect that the cleansing of a house, at any rate, would have required an offering. In D the destination of a house has all the look of a survival, and was probably accomplished at one time by sacrifice.

water.] Both texts are late, and represent the views of antiquaries rather than the claims of legists with practical interests to satisfy. The tendency to ascribe the whole law to Moses naturally brought with it an increasing zeal for the oldest rites that could be recollected; it does not follow that the water of separation was invented in or after the Exile, because the occasions for its application were prescribed then. Possibly, as the Persians removed the uncleanness of the dead by elaborate ceremonies with *ghom²*, the priests thought that in similar cases water hallowed with the ashes of a cow would be specially efficacious. The law of a purification on the third and the seventh day (Nu. 19:1-13 or 14-16?) looks older than the original law of the Red Heifer, which seems to end at v. 10; in v. 17 *ff.* we have the rule for its application.

The rite itself is as obscure as its history. For one thing, at every stage its ministers must be clean, and they become unclean by their ministry; the priest who superintends the burning is unclean till the even; so is he who burns; he who collects the ashes (though they must be laid up in a clean place) is unclean; so is he who sprinkles or even touches the water, which is the one means which can make those defiled by contact with the dead clean. Naturally, we suppose that those who were 'unclean' at the stage of the law implied in our records were 'sanctified' at an earlier stage. Twice the heifer (7v. 9-17) is called a sin-offering. The ritual has interesting analogies with, and differences from, that of other sin-offerings. Like the sin-offering for the priest's own sin, and that for the sin of the congregation, it is to be burnt outside the camp—hide, dung, and all. Unlike them it is to be killed, not in the place of the burnt offering, but without the camp. There is another contrast. The blood and fat of all sin-offerings, including the sin-offerings for priest and congregation and the bullock offered at the consecration of Aaron, is presented in the sanctuary; the blood seems specially used there, as in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, to rehallow the altar profaned by sin. The heifer's blood is not brought into the sanctuary; it is sprinkled towards it seven times. But for this we might suppose that the uncleanness of death was driven away from the camp or the city and burnt with the heifer; but her blood is hallowing—else why is it sprinkled toward the holy place? Are all these rites compromises between the old custom of worshipping outside the city, which maintained itself as late as David (2 Sam. 15:32), and the new custom of hallowing the city by a sanctuary? As late as the Assyrian period (Is. 33:14, if this be Isaiah's), the close neighbourhood of an ever-burning altar made many uncomfortable.¹ For this reason, among others, the rarer and more solemn sacrifices were still performed outside. Then perhaps the old rite in the old place took on a new meaning. Kings were, as a rule, buried in the city, and it was customary (Jer. 34:5) to make a burning for them.² In 2 Ch. 16:14 we read of a very great burning for Asa; the Chronicler, who may be quoting a relatively old authority, thinks of perfumes, at which Jeremiah does not hint. Were valuables burnt in honour of kings? Have the cedar, the hyssop, and the scarlet burnt with the heifer any analogy to such burnings? Is the putting away of the heifer with something of a royal funeral an almost unconscious reminiscence of a well-nigh forgotten cultus of sacred animals? Is the red heifer the last trace of a cow goddess (see CALF, GOLDEN)? There are, of course, many instances of mortal representations of the Godhead, honoured for a time, and then ceremoniously put away. In any case, the efficacy of the heifer's ashes seems to lie in the fact that they reconsecrate rather than purge the unclean. All Israel were originally hallowed (Ex. 24:8 JE) by the

blood of the covenant; so the priests are hallowed by the blood of the 'fill offering'; so the blood of the atonement rehallows the holy place and the altar that has been profaned; so the leper is rehallowed after his uncleanness with blood, and the ashes of a peculiar sin-offering serve the same end. On the other hand, water and fire (except in Is. 6:5 *ff.*) seem simply to remove external pollutions, not to renew communion with a holy life.

Robertson Smith (*Kinship* [85], *Rel. Sem.* [94]), and Wellhausen (*Reste v. Arab. Heid.* [2] 191) are the best authorities for the Semitic world. The subject is best studied from a comparative point of view, for which Frazer's *Golden Bough* (90) is indispensable. The critical treatment of the subject is of recent growth and is capable of further development. Cp J. C. Matthes, 'De begrippen rein en onrein in het OT,' *Tk. T.* 33:293-318 [199]. The only earlier work of importance is Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (Cambridge 1727)—see Robertson Smith's estimate in *Rel. Sem.* [2] p. vi. G. A. S.

CLEMENT (ΚΛΗΜΗΣ [Tl. Vñ]), a Philippian Christian who had taken an active part in building up the church at Philippi, in which he had the co-operation of Euodia and Syntyche (Phil. 4:3). In the allusion to him there is nothing to imply that he was a companion of Paul in his journeyings, or to justify his traditional identification (in the Western Church) with the Roman Clement.

In the list of the 'seventy disciples' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus he is spoken of as having been the first of the Gentiles and Greeks to believe in Christ, and as having afterwards become bishop of Sardica. The Pseudo-Hippolytus has Sardina, for which, however, we should probably read Sardica.

CLEOPAS (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΣ [Tl. Vñ]), abbrev. from ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ, according to Lk. 24:18 the name of one of the two disciples who accompanied the risen Jesus to Emmaus. The narrative in question, however, is one of the latest of those which attached themselves to the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus. Paul, who had spent fifteen days in the society of Peter (Gal. 1:18) and was strongly interested in establishing the fact of the resurrection, knows nothing of it. By εἶτα . . . ἐπειτα . . . ἐπειτα . . . εἶτα . . . ἐσχάρον¹ of 1 Cor. 15:8 he unquestionably intends to enumerate exhaustively all the appearances of the risen Lord which were known to him; and he had the most urgent occasion to do so, for the resurrection of Jesus had been brought in question at Corinth. The narrative of the third evangelist conveys in a highly concrete form the thought that it is from Jesus himself we receive the knowledge that his Passion and Resurrection had been foretold by Moses and all the prophets (24:25-27). In reality, however, this conviction must have been gradually reached as the result of a prolonged and ever-deepening study of the OT by the whole church. That it is in the Eucharist that his presence is made known to his church is, in like manner, an experience still repeated in every renewal of the act. Here too, accordingly, the thought, that in the nearness of Christ as experienced in the sacrament which commemorates his death we have our most convincing assurance that he truly lives, finds concrete expression.

After what has been said, it becomes a question whether Cleopas is a historical person at all, though there is nothing in the mere name to suggest that he is not. There is no sufficient ground, philological or other, for regarding him as a veiled representation of the apostle Paul.

Several MSS of the Itala and Vg., as also the Coptic and the Armenian versions, read Κλεώπας or Κλεώπας in Jn. 19:25 also; but if this were the original reading, the substitution of the more difficult form Κλωπας would be incomprehensible. For the evidence that different persons are intended in Jn. and in Lk., and that the confusion of the two is due to later writers, see CLOPAS, § 5 f. F. W. S.

CLEOPATRA (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ [ANV]), i. sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometor, Est. 11:2.

¹ RV 'then . . . then . . . then . . . then . . . last of all,' and AV 'then . . . after that . . . after that . . . then . . . last of all.'

¹ Have we a trace of the same feeling in Is. 32:19? Is not a fenced city on God's Holy Hill at once superfluous when God delivers his people, and also in some sense profane?

² Cp *Abotah Zarah*, 13 and the Gemara.

2. Daughter of no. 1 (1 Mac. 10:37) : see PROLEMIES.

CLEOPHAS (ΚΛΩΠΑΣ [Ti.WH]), Jn. 19:25 AV†, AV^{98e} and RV CLOPAS (J.R.).

CLOAK (CLOKE).

For ἵματιον, ἱμάτιον in Is. 49:17 see TUNIC. In this passage the ἵματιον was a military over-garment, and cloak well expresses this.

For ἵματιον (see especially Mt. 5:40; in Jn. 19:25, AV 'robe,' RV 'garment'), the outside mantle (*palium*, as distinguished from the χιτών or *tunica*), representing the Hebrew *kuttoneth*, see MANTLE.

Other garments rendered cloak are the Macedonian χλαμύς, or military cloak of a Maced. 12:18 RV (Voc. 1.1), and the φέλιππος, or travelling cloak of 2 Tim. 4:13. See MANTLE.

CLOPAS (ΚΛΩΠΑΣ [Ti.WH]). This name cannot be derived from the same Hebrew (Aramaic) word as ΑΛΦΑΙΟΣ.

In the first place, the vocalisation is not the same: Clopas would require some such form as 'κλωπ', while Alphaeus pre-

1. **Name** supposes 'κλωπ' or 'κλωπ' (see ALPHAEUS). In the second place, as regards κ, all that is certainly known is that it becomes κ at the end and in the middle of certain words (e.g. Mt. 301 Νελ. 3, φημιος, Gen. 22:24 [ραβελ], Josh. 10:5 [ατασκωλ]). Thus, it has been assumed that the same holds good at the beginning of words (H. Lewy, *Die Sem. Fremdwörter im Griech.*, 1895, pp. 17-27 25 110-119 137; add, conversely, κλωπρη as transliteration of κλωφίρα). This hardly comes into consideration, however, in the present case, for a Hebrew (or Aramaic) derivation is never probable in the case of a word beginning with two consonants.

In Greek transliteration of Hebrew names, initial *sheth* is always represented by a full vowel (e.g., Σαμουήλ); the opposite instances given by Lewy (11:7, 34, 45, 54, 59, 69, 98, 105, 115, 122 f., 129, 206, 211, 246 f.) are more or less doubtful, and relate to words which were susceptible of such a modification in the transliteration as was hardly possible in the case of biblical proper names. Further, the Syriac versions of the NT betray no consciousness that both names are derived from a common Semitic source: with them the initial letter of 'αλφαιος is always η (or κ), of κλωπας invariably ρ.

It is not likely that κλωπας is derived by metathesis from κλωπ ('club'); nor is there the least certainty that κλωπας is a contraction from κλωπας.

On purely Greek soil, at any rate, κλω- when contracted would become either κλω- (e.g., κλωπας, especially in Doric) or κλω- (as θεόδωρος becomes θωδωρος); see Meisterhans, *Griechisch. d. antiken Inschr.* § 19, and cp. THEODAS. At the same time, the contraction of κλωπας into κλωπας must be admitted to be at least possible, inasmuch as we know of no Greek word from which the syllable κλω- can come. In this case the original form of the name will be κλωπας. For this reason, the accentuation κλωπας is preferable to κλωπας, especially as the accent is allowed to retain its original place in κλωπας.

In Jn. 19:25, the only place where the name occurs in NT, Clopas is mentioned as somehow related to a certain Mary. Hegerstraps (*Leus. III.* iii. 11 321-6 iv. 224) informs us that Clopas was the brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Whether this is the Clopas referred to in Jn. 19:25 depends, in the first instance, on the answer to the question, who is intended by the 'Mary of Clopas' there. As there is no 'and' before her name, she would seem to be

2. **Mary of Clopas probably not = Jesus' mother's sister.**

identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus who has been referred to immediately before; but it is quite improbable that two sisters alike at the same time should have borne the same name, at least in a plebeian family.

With a royal house the case is somewhat different. Of the sons of Herod the Great, two who never attained royal dignity bore the name of their father: one by his marriage with the second Mariamme, and one by his marriage with Cleopatra of Jerusalem (*Jos. Ant. xvii. 17 1184, § 202*). THOMASUS, besides, his second son by Malthake, who, however, as far as we know, took the name only as a reigning prince (see Lk. 3:1 and frequently), whilst before his accession he is in Josephus invariably designated by his other name, Antipas. His first son by Malthake, too, whom Josephus always names Archelaus, is called Herodion sometimes in *Caesaria Philippi* (2:12 Solim. 4:7 1375, ETI. 2:35). Thus the name Herod seems already, to some extent, to have acquired the character of a family name.

If φιλαιππος be the correct reading in Mk. 6:17 (so also in Mt. 14:3, though not according to the western group), the son of Mariamme just mentioned, who, in point of fact, was the first husband of Herodias, must have borne the name Philip also, in addition to that of Herod, while at the same time this name, Philip, was borne by his brother, who is known to us from Lk. 3:1 as the tetrarch of N.E. Palestine. As we are without evidence that the former Herod was called Philip, doubtless we must here conclude that Mk. and Mt. have fallen into an error, which, however, has been avoided by Lk. (3:12).

Again, according to Jos. (*Ant. xiii. 51 xv. 31 xix. 62*), not only ONIAS II (high priest till 174 B.C., died 171 B.C.) and Jesus (Jason) his successor (high priest 174-171 B.C.), but also ONIAS (usually known as Menelaus) who came after Jason, were sons of the high priest Simon II. 2 Macc. (8:4 23), however, which is here very detailed, expressly speaks of Menelaus as brother of a Benjaminite named Simon, whilst the high priest Simon II. was of the tribe of Levi.

If, accordingly, one is determined to hold by the identity of Mary of Clopas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, this must be on the assumption not only that she and the mother of Jesus were not children of the same marriage, but also that they had neither father nor mother in common—that, in fact, each spouse had brought into the new household a daughter by a former marriage, named Mary.

It is no argument for the identity of the two to allege that we are not at liberty to find more women mentioned in Jn. 19:25 than in Mt. 27:56 Mk. 15:40 (16:1) and Lk. 24:10-3 for John mentions the mother of Jesus, though she does not appear in any of the synoptists. In other words, he did not hold himself bound by what they said, though, according to all scholars, their narratives lay before him. The only point on which he is distinctly in agreement with them is as to the presence of Mary Magdalene. If we will have it that he enumerates also the Salomé of Mark (whose identity with the mother of James and John the sons of Zebedee cannot seriously be doubted), we can find her only in the sister of the mother of Jesus. Mary of Clopas must in that case be distinct from the latter, and may possibly be identified with the Mary who in Mt. is called the mother of James and Joses (or Joseph), in Mk. the mother of James the Less and Joses, or, more briefly, Mary [the mother] of Joses (so 15:47) or Mary of James (so 16:1 and Lk. 24:10). In this case, however, not only is it remarkable that the relationship of the apostles, James the Greater and John, with Jesus—as children of sisters—is nowhere mentioned

¹ [The name is possibly the same as the Palm. κλωπης (Chabot, no. 12). In MH the name 'Cleopatra' usually appears under the form κλωπης.] ² For a somewhat different account of these relations, see ONIAS.

Mt. 27:56.	Mk. 15:40.	Mk. 16:1.	Lk. 23:49.	Lk. 24:10.	Jn. 19:25.
(At the cross.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)
Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene.	παῖρες οἱ γυνῶται αὐτῆς.	Mary Magdalene.	Mary the mother of Jesus.
Mary, the mother of James and Joses (or Joseph).	Mary, the mother of James the Less and of Joses.	Mary of James.	καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ ἀδελφαὶ τῆς Ἰακώβου.	Joanna.	The sister of the mother of Jesus.
The mother of the sons of Zebedee.	Salome.	Salome.	..	Mary of James.	Mary of Clopas. } Mary Magdalene.

or in any way alluded to; but also it is almost unthinkable that the fourth evangelist presupposes the presence of the mother of John when in 1926 he proceeds: 'when Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith, etc.' As far as the fourth evangelist is concerned, this scene furnishes a clear motive for thinking not only of the mother of Jesus as present, but also of the mother of John as absent. Lk. 2410 (at the sepulchre) puts in the place of the mother of John a certain Joanna. If, as he often does, the fourth evangelist is here taking Lk. rather than Mt. or Mk for his guide, it would be impossible to identify Mary of Clopas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, whose name on this assumption must be taken to be Joanna. It is certain, however, that in Lk. this Joanna is identical with the Joanna who is mentioned in 83 as the wife of a certain Chuzza and not stated to have been related to the mother of Jesus. Thus we may take it that it was not she, any more than any of the others, that was intended by the fourth evangelist, and that most probably his reason for mentioning the sister of the mother of Jesus is that, according to Lk. 2349, 'all his acquaintance' (γνωστοί) are standing by the cross. There is no evidence of any allegorising intention that he could have had in the enumeration of these four (or three) women. Apart from the mother of Jesus and her sister, therefore, the names of the women seem simply to have been taken over from the Synoptists.

Who was the mother of James and Joses, with whom, according to this view, Mary of Clopas would have to be identified? The James in question is often supposed to be the second James in the list of the apostles. With this it seems to agree that Mk. calls him James the Less. Now, this James was a son of Alphaeus. Thus Alphaeus would appear to be the husband of the Mary mentioned by the Synoptists as present at the cross. From this it is not unusual to proceed to the further combination that in Jn. Clopas is named as the husband of Mary and that he is identical with Alphaeus. Philologically the names are distinct (see above, § 1); but the identification is possible if, according to a not uncommon Jewish custom (Acts 123 1225 1319 Col. 411), Clopas had two names. A further step is to bring in at this point the statement of Hegesippus that Clopas was a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Over and above this, many proceed to the assumption—shown above (§ 2) to be untenable—that his wife Mary was identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus.

In this case two brothers would have married two sisters, and the second James in the list of apostles would be a cousin of Jesus, and that both on the father's and on the mother's side. Even, however, if we regard Mary of Clopas as a different person from the sister of the mother of Jesus, her son, the second James, as long as he is regarded as the son of Clopas, the uncle of Jesus, remains a cousin of Jesus, whilst, according to the identification of the sister of the mother of Jesus with the wife of Zebedee (spoken of above, § 2), this honour would belong rather to the first James and John the sons of Zebedee as being sons of the aunt of Jesus.

The next question that arises is, Who was Joses, the second son of Mary, according to the Synoptists? In Mk. 63 a Joses is named, along with James, Judas, and Simon, amongst the brethren of Jesus. This has given occasion for crowning the series of combinations which has been already explained, and completing it with a hypothesis whereby it becomes possible to deny the existence of literal brethren of Jesus, and to affirm the perpetual virginity of his mother. Once it is admitted that James and Joses were sons of Clopas (= Alphaeus) and of Mary his wife, the same seems to hold good of all the 'brethren of Jesus.' In that case they would be 'brethren of Jesus' only in the sense in which 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) is used instead of ἀνεψιοί (children of two brothers or two sisters) in 2 S. 209 (cp 1725).

4. The sons of Mary = Brethren of Jesus?

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Finally, to this is added, not as a necessary but as a welcome completion of the hypothesis, the suggestion that of the 'brethren of Jesus' not only James but also Simon and Judas were among the apostles.

Both names, in point of fact, occur, at least in Lk. 615f. Acts 113 (Simon alone in Mk. 318 Mt. 1037.). With regard to Joses, the fourth of the 'brethren of Jesus,' some have conjectured (carrying out the same hypothesis) that it was he who, according to Acts 123-26, was nominated (though not chosen) as successor to the vacant place of Judas Iscariot. It is true that all the better authorities here read Joseph, not Joses (see BARSBABAS); but, on the other hand, this reading being accepted, it can be pointed out that according to the better MSS (at least in Mt. 1355) Joseph, not as in Mk. 63 Joses, is the name of the fourth 'brother' of Jesus.

This whole identification of the 'brethren of Jesus' with apostles or aspirants to the apostleship, however, is quite untenable. According to Mk. 321 31 Mt. 1246f. Lk. 819 Jn. 75, the brethren of Jesus disbelieved his Messiahship while he was alive, and in Acts 114 1 Cor. 95 they are distinctly separated from the apostles.

Even if we give up the identification with apostles, Mary cannot be the mother of the cousins of Jesus.

Had she been so related to Jesus, Mt. and Mk., in seeking to indicate her with precision, would have named not two sons but four; or rather they would have mentioned no names at all, but simply said 'the mother of the cousins of Jesus.' Moreover, it is only of Symeon, the second 'bishop' of Jerusalem, that Hegesippus says he was son of Clopas and cousin of Jesus. If Hegesippus had regarded the four 'brethren of Jesus' as his cousins, he would surely have designated Symeon's predecessor also (James the 'brother' of Jesus) as son of Clopas, and Symeon himself, by whom in this case the Simon of Mk. 613 Mt. 1355 would be meant, he would have designated as brother of James. This, however, is what he does not do: he calls James simply 'the Just' (ὁ δίκαιος), and says (Eus. HE II. 326) that men 'of the race of the Lord' (ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου) had presided over the church (in Palestine) in peace until Symeon the son of Clopas, the uncle of Jesus, was arraigned and crucified; cp iii. 206.¹

Lastly, it is idle to deny the existence of actual 'brethren of Jesus': that is distinctly vouched for by the πρωτότοκον of Lk. 27—an expression all the weightier because it has been already suppressed in Mt. 125.

If James and Joses, the sons of Mary according to the synoptists, are thus no cousins of Jesus, we could all

5. Conclusion.

we more readily believe that they were really apostles or at least constant companions (Acts 122) of Jesus. Such an assumption, however, is not borne out by a single hint, and at the stage of the discussion we have now reached it has no more interest than the other which makes Clopas identical with Alphaeus and regards him as the husband of Mary. The Mary in question, we are forced to conclude, was simply a woman not known otherwise than as the mother of a James and a Joses. Why is it, then, that the fourth evangelist designates her, not by reference to these sons of hers, but by calling her 'of Clopas'? That he here intends the Cleopas of Lk. 2418 is quite improbable (see CLEOPAS); but neither is it likely that he can have meant a man named Clopas who was wholly unknown to his readers. His allusion must rather have been to the Clopas whom we know from Hegesippus as the brother of Joseph. There is no trace of any allegorising intention in this; we may take it that the evangelist is following tradition. It is possible, therefore, that Clopas was the husband of Mary, in which case James and Joses are cousins of Jesus, but not to be identified with his brothers of the same name, nor yet with the apostle James and the Joseph (or Joses) Barsabas of Acts 123. It is more probable, however, if the prevailing

¹ In Eus. HE II. 301 Hegesippus speaks of οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου γίνονται. Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ; and in IV. 224 he says that ὁ δὲ θεῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ [Jesus] Σωμῆδός τῷ Κλάσῳ τῶν ἀνεψιῶν τοῦ κυρίου δευτέρως. Inasmuch as he does not regard James as ἀνεψιῶν πρώτως, as has been shown, the words δευτέρως and λεγομένου can mean only that he regards Symeon as 'cousin' and Jude as 'brother' of Jesus in a modified sense. He appears, then, to favour the assumption of the παρθενία of Mary at Jesus' birth. All the more remarkable is it that he does not yet seem to have drawn the further consequence of denying other sons to her. His statement that Clopas was the uncle of Jesus, therefore, does not proceed upon any such theory as that in favour of which it has (as we have seen) been applied, and therefore in respect of trustworthiness is open to no suspicion.

iusu loquendi is to be taken as a guide, that Clopas is designated as the *father* of Mary. In this case it is Mary herself who is the cousin of Jesus. In either case it is remarkable that in the synoptists she should be characterised not by her relationship to Jesus, but simply by mention of her sons; and this on the assumption that it is the uncle of Jesus who is intended, suggests a doubt as to whether the mention of Clopas in this connection is correct.

The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, following the combination mentioned above (§ 4), for the most part identify Symeon, son of Clopas, the second bishop of Jerusalem spoken of by Hegesippus, with the apostle Simon the Cananean (AV 'the Zealot'); some

give him in addition the name of Judas, and some make the name of his father his own proper name also, but in the form Cleopas or Cleophas, but he is identified also with the disciple mentioned in Lk. 24.18. He is at the same time enumerated among 'the Seventy' of Lk. 10.1 (Lipsius, *Apokr. Act. apoc. h.* 2.142f.). According to the *Trisagion* (*Synaxaristika*, ed. Benzold, 1888, p. 267, § 1; see *Theol. Syr.*, ed. Payne-Smith, col. 369a), a Syriac collection of legends dating from the sixth century, he was brother not only of Nicodemus (a statement made of the apostle Judas also in a Latin list of apostles given in Lipsius, 1913), but also of Joseph of Arimathea. P. W. S.

CLOTH, CLOTHING. On these and similar words see, generally, DRESS, § 1.

The words are used with considerable looseness and frequently interchange with others of similar meaning. 'Cloth' (and 'clothes') occasionally render כְּנָת (DRESS, § 11), and מְנִיָּה (MAN-TEXT), also מְנִיָּה כְּנָת (K. 8.15, AV (BHD, § 3); for מְנִיָּה, Mt. 27.59, see LINES. 'Cloth' to denote material or fabric is found only in Esth. 16, RV^{mg}. For 'cloths of service' (Ex. 31.30, etc., AV; for תְּרָקִים see DRESS, § 3 n. For 'striped cloths' (Pr. 7.16 RV, תְּרָקִים) see LINES. RV prefers 'cloths' in Ezek. 27.20 (וְרִגְמֵי) Lk. 24.12 (δὲσμοι), where AV has 'clothes', and 'clothes' otherwise recurs in Gen. 49.15 AV (כִּתְרֵי, RV 'vesture'), 1 S. 4.12, EV (כִּתְרֵי), Ezek. 27.24 AV (כִּימֵי, RV 'wrappings': see DRESS, § 1 [2]). 'Clothing' is used to render the general terms לְבִישׁ לְבַשׁ (Job 24.7), כְּנָת (ib. 22.16), כְּסָבָה (1 S. 23.18), תְּרָקִים (ib. 50.17), as well as the specific תְּרָקִים, Is. 3.6 (MANTEL).

CLOUD, PILLAR OF THE CLOUD. Exod. 13.21; see PILLAR OF CLOUD.

CLUB (תֹּחֶלֶת, *tōhālēt*; σφῦρα Job 41.29 [21], AV 'dart'). Read *terahā* 'javelin,' and see WEAPONS.

CNIDUS (ΚΝΙΔΟΣ [ANV: Ti. WH]), a city on Cape Crio (anc. Triopium) in the extreme SW. of Asia Minor, between Cos and Rhodes. It was originally built upon the rocky island (ἡ ἄστυς ὑψηλὴ θησαυροδότης, Strabo, 656) forming the cape, united to the mainland by a causeway, —thus making two harbours, one on the N. and the other on the S. of the isthmus (cp Mitylene and Myndus).

The inhabitants soon spread eastwards over the neighbouring part of the peninsula. The moles of the large southern port are still in existence, as well as much of the ancient city. The situation of Cnidus was eminently favourable to its development as a commercial and naval power; but, curiously like Cos in this respect, it played no part as a naval station—probably owing to the repressive influence of Rhodes.

The commercial importance of the city was inevitable. It lies upon the maritime highway (cp Thuc. 835, *περὶ Τριόπιον τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁδὰς ἀναβάσας προσβαλλούσας ξυλλαμβάνουσαν*). Very early it had trade with Egypt and shared in the Hellenism at Naucratis (Herod. 2.178). At least as early as the second century B.C. Cnidus had attracted Jewish settlers, for in 1 Macc. 15.23 it appears in the list of places to which the circular letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (*circa* 139-8 B.C.) is said to have been addressed. Paul must have passed the city on his way to Caesarea (Acts 21.1 f.); but its name occurs only in Acts 27.7 (*βραχὺν Κοοῦδης καὶ μάλιστα γεόμενος κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον*) after Myra had been

passed, on the voyage to Rome. The continuous NW. (Etesian) winds had made the voyage over the 130 m. between Myra and Cnidus tedious; and rendered the direct course from Cnidus, by the N. side of Crete, impossible (*μη προσεσώτως ἦν αὐτὸ ἀνέυαι*).

The wines of Cnidus, especially the kind called Protopos, excelled any produced in Asia (Str. 637). The best claim of the city to renown lies in the intellectual activity of its inhabitants and their encouragement of art. They possessed, at the Lesche at Delphi, two pictures by Polygnōtos (middle of fifth century; Paus. x. 25.1 f.). They bought the Aphrodite of Praxiteles (his masterpiece, *quam ut viderent nulli navigaverant Cnidum*; Plin. *HN* xxviii. 54; the Cnidians especially worshipped Aphrodite; Paus. i. 33). In addition, they had works by Bryaxis and Scopas. Eudoxus the astronomer, Ctesias the physician and historian, Agatharchides, and Sostratus the architect who built the Pharos of Alexandria, all belonged to Cnidus (cp Str. 119, 656).

For plan and views of the remains see Newton's *Hist. of Discoveries at Hadrian's-mausoleum, etc., 1894-95: Iuvavos and Discoveries in the Lycian 2197 f.* W. J. W.

COACH (כָּסֵף). Is. 66.20 AV^{mg}. See LITFER.

COAL. The coal of OT and NT is undoubtedly charcoal. A piece of black charcoal was termed פְּחָמִים (*pehāmim*;

1. Terms. cp perh. Ass. *pēntu* [or *pēmlu*] 'fire'; Prov. 26.21 (*עֹשֶׂה אֵשׁ*, Is. 44.15, 54.16 [*ἀνθραξ*]; *carbō*); pieces in process of combustion, 'live coals,' נְחָלִים, נְחָלִים (*gahhēlith, gehhēlim*; cp Ar. *jahima* to glow, and perh. Ass. *guhlu*, a shining precious stone; *δύσθαλα*; *prunae*), and often, more precisely, 'live coals' (coals of fire), Lev. 16.12, etc. In this distinction, which is not uniformly observed (cp Is. 44.12 54.16), lies the point of the vivid comparison Prov. 26.21 (RV 'as coals are to hot embers,' etc.).

Of the other words rendered by 'coal' in the OT it is sufficient to say that רִצְפָּח (*riṣpāh* (Is. 66) is rather a 'hot stone' (so RV^{mg}; *ἀσπράξ*, and the רִצְפָּח (*riṣpāh*), *riṣpāhām*, of 1 K. 19. *ἀσπράξ* (*riṣpāh*) being, in like manner, the hot stones on which Elijah's cake was baked (see BROAD, § 3 [1]); that רִצְפָּח, *riṣpāh*, identified by the Rabbins with רִצְפָּח, *riṣpāh*, and twice rendered 'coals' (Ct. 86 AV, Hab. 85 AV, RV^{mg}; AV^{mg} 'burning diseases'), is rather 'flame' or fire-hot (cp RV); and that רִצְפָּח, *riṣpāh* (Lam. 4.8; *ἀσβόαξ*; *carbomes*; EV, 'their visage is blacker than a coal'), is properly 'blackness' (so the margins; others 'soot' [*fuligo*]).

The Hebrews doubtless used for fuel as great a variety of woods as the modern Syrians now use (see Post in *PEFQ*, 91, pp. 118 ff.). Several

2. Fuel. are named in Is. 44.14-16. Ps. 120.4 (RV^{mg}) mentions 'coals of broom (רִתְּם), a desert shrub which, when reduced to charcoal, throws out an intense heat (on the text see JUNIPER). The references to thorns as fuel (סִרְיִם, סִרְיִים) are many; particular mention is made of the buckthorn or perhaps bramble (אֶשֶׁר, Ps. 58.9 [10]; of chaff—chopped straw (*tibn*), the refuse of the threshing-floor (Mt. 3.12),—and of withered herbage (Mt. 6.30 Lk. 12.28). At the present time the favourite fuel of the Bedouin is the dung of camels, cows (cp Ezek. 4.15), asses, etc., which is carefully collected, and, after being mixed with *tibn* or chopped straw, is made into flat cakes, which are dried and stored for the winter's use. We may assume that this sort of fuel was not so much required before the comparative denudation of the country, though Ezek. 4.12-15 certainly suggests that it was not altogether unknown.

The charcoal was burned in a brasier (חָר, Jer. 36.22 ff.; AV 'hearth,' RV 'brasier') or chafing-dish (אֶשֶׁר, פִּינֵי אֵשׁ,

3. The hearth. Zech. 12.6, RV 'pan of fire'),—at least in the houses of the wealthy. The 'fire of coals' (*ἀνθρακίδ*) at which Peter warmed himself in the high priest's palace was no doubt a fire of charcoal (so RV^{mg}; in a brasier² [Jn. 18.18 21.9].

¹ רִצְפָּח, *riṣpāh*, 'coal' (= Ar. *riṣpāh*) is to be kept distinct from רִצְפָּח, 'pavement' (cp verb in Cant. 3.10), which corresponds to Ar. *riṣpāh*, 'to arrange side by side'; see Dr. Tenses², 231.
² See Dr. T's elaborate note on Dh. 32.24.
For the arrangement of a modern Syrian 'hearth,' see Landberg's *Precourses et Dictons*, 73 f., 155 (with illustration).

¹ For פְּחָמִים (Grā. reads רִצְפָּח; but we should more probably emend to כְּנָת 'with young shuir's' (cp HORSE, MIZRAIM, § 2 a end); רִצְפָּח became כְּנָת, and from the transposition and confusion of letters רִצְפָּח easily arose (Che.).

In the houses of the humbler classes, the hearth (מִקְרָה, only of altar-hearth Lev. 6:2 [9]; mod. Ar. *marōkhida*) was probably a mere depression in the floor, the smoke escaping, as best it could, through the door or the latticed window (מִקְרָה, Hos. 13:3, EV 'chimney'). See LATTICE. Chimneys there were none; the AV rendering, 'ere ever the chimneys in Zion were hot' in 4 Esd. 6:4, is based on a corruption of the Latin text (RV 'or ever the footstool of Zion was established').

Coal and coals supply a variety of metaphors. Thus 'to quench one's coal' (מִקְרָה 2 S. 14:7; cp the classical

4. Metaphors. ἄνθρωπος, and see Dr. *ad loc.*) is a pathetic figure for depriving a person of the privilege of posterity, otherwise expressed as a putting out of one's candle (rather, 'lamp')—Prov. 13:9 etc. To heap 'coals of fire,' or glowing charcoal, on an enemy's head must, it would seem, be to adopt a mode of revenge calculated to awaken the pains of remorse in his breast (Prov. 25:22) (MT), Rom. 12:20). Again, 'kindle not the coals of a sinner'—that is, do not stir up his evil passions—is the sage advice of the son of Sirach (Ecclus. 8:10); cp Ecclus. 11:34, 'from a spark of fire a heap of many coals (ἀνθρώπων) is kindled,' which finds an echo in Ja. 3:5. A. R. S. K.

COASTLAND (Is. 20:6 RV; Is. 11:23 26:24 35:50 48 Jer. 25:22 Ezek. 39:8 Dan. 11:18 Zeph. 2:11; RVmg, in Jer. 47:4 'sea coast'); a rendering of 'ἄκρος; EV usually 'isle' or 'island,' AVmg occasionally 'country' or 'region'). See ISL.

COAT, an inexact rendering:

(1) Of מִכְתָּן (see TUNIC) in Gen. 37:3 EV (RVmg, 'long garment'), Ex. 28:4, etc.; (2) of מִכְתָּן in 1 S. 2:19 AV (RV 'robe'; see TUNIC); (3) of מִכְתָּן in Dan. 3:21 AV (AVmg 'mantle,' RV 'hosen'; see BREECHES); (4) of χιτών in Mt. 5:40 EV (see TUNIC); (5) of κάλυψ in 2 Mac. 12:35 AV (see MANTLE). For 'broadened coat' see EMBROIDERY, § 1.

COAT OF MAIL occurs as a rendering of מִקְרָה, *tahrī* (Ex. 28:32 39:23 RV; AV 'habergeon'), מִכְתָּן, *miryān* (Is. 59:17 RVmg, EV 'breastplate'), and מִכְתָּן מִכְתָּן, 1 S. 17:5 EV; see BREASTPLATE.

COCK (ἀλεκτωρ). Mt. 26:34 74 Mk. 13:35 14:30 72 Lk. 22:34 60 Jn. 13:38 18:27. On the 'cock-crowing' (ἀλεκτοροφωνία) spoken of in Mk. 13:35 information is given elsewhere (see DAY, § 4). Mt., Lk., and Jn. speak of only this cock-crowing. The tradition preserved in Mark, on the other hand (though the text in the MSS differs), refers to a second. Thus the cock had completed its journey to Palestine. Its home was in India; thence it came to Babylonia² and Persia. Homer indeed gives ἀλεκτωρ as the name of a man; but Aristophanes (*Av.* 438) considers the cock the 'Persian bird.' To the Jews, too, as well as (presumably) to the Egyptians, it was a Persian bird, even though the Targumic and Talmudic word for cock (תרנגול) may have a Babylonian origin.³

Not improbably we have in Prov. 30:31 a reference to the impression which it produced not so long after its introduction into Palestine. The evidence of the versions⁴ in favour of the rendering 'cock' cannot be regarded lightly, and there is no proof whatever of the sense of 'well girt up' for מִקְרָה, or for the application of the term to the greyhound. The Talmudic מִקְרָה also certainly means some bird (a kind of raven).⁵ The

¹ For another view of this passage, involving an emendation of the text, see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 149, who follows Bickell.

² There is said to be a representation of a cock on a cylinder seal of the reign of Nabu-na'id.

³ So, at least, Hommel, *Hastings' DB* 1:24.

⁴ ἄλεκτωρ (246) ἀλεκτωρ ἰνδερπασταῖος θηλαϊκῆς εὐρυπύγος; similarly Aq., Theod., Quinta, Pesh. {حجج}; *gallus succinctus lumbos* (Vg.). Wildeboer (97) speaks inconsistently, but favours the rendering 'cock,' if מִכְתָּן may be altered. For 'greyhound' he has nothing to say.

⁵ See the Dicts. of Levy and Jastrow; Rashi here renders 'starling' (cp Syr. {مقرا} Ar. *amra*).

key to the difference of usage is supplied by Ar. *ḡarḡara*, 'to make a shrill noise'; hence *ḡarḡar* is used in Arabic for both the cricket and the cock. The kindred Hebrew word also might be widely used: (1) for the cock, (2) for the starling. The second element in the phrase מִקְרָה מִקְרָה is seemingly a difficulty. The word is no doubt corrupt. Dyserinck and Grätz would read מִקְרָה; cp ἔνερπασταῖος. To keep nearer to the Hebrew and to find a more striking phrase, it is better to read מִקְרָה and render 'the cock who loves to take up a quarrel.' EV rather uncritically gives GREYHOUND (Vg.); cp FOWL, § 2.

There is a word in Job 38:36 (מִקְרָה) which Vg., the two Targs., and Delitzsch render 'cock' (AV 'basilisk,' RV 'mind,' mg. 'meteor'). As, however, it is evident that some sky-phenomenon is meant, we should almost certainly read for מִקְרָה, קשת, 'the bow star,' to correspond to מרחק (so read for מרחק) 'the lance star.' The bow star is Sirius, the lance star Antares. See Che. *JBL*, 1898. T. K. C.

COCKATRICE is an archaic English word, derived or corrupted from the mediæval Lat. *calatrix* [see the *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v.], but often confounded with 'crocodile'; the form of the word suggested the fable that the animal was hatched by a cock from the egg of a viper. For Pr. 23:32 AV (EVmg ADDER; RVmg 'basilisk') and Is. 11:8 59:5 Jer. 8:17 AV (RV 'basilisk,' EVmg 'or adder'; מִקְרָה, *siphōni*) see SERPENT, § 1 (7). For Is. 14:29 (מִקְרָה, *sēphā*), EV as before, Vg. *regulus* see SERPENT, § 1 (10). Ἐχίς ἡσασαῖος in Is. 59:5 (EV VIPER, Heb. 'ephrah) and in Ps. 90[91] 13 (EV ADDER, Heb. *peheth*). Herapollon (1) identifies the basilisk with the Egyptian uræus, a golden image of which is the usual ornament of the divine or royal head-dress. Probably this was the kind of serpent meant by Ἐχίς; the uræus, being divine, had of course extraordinary powers (see SERPENT, § 1, nos. 6 and 7).

According to Furetierre, the cocatrix (cockatrice) is a kind of basilisk which haunts caverns and pits. The name *calatrix*, however, properly means the ichneumon. Under the form Chalcadri, we find it in the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch* (12:15 1), where, however, the writer may be thinking of the crocodile. See CROCODILE. T. K. C.

COCKLE, EVmg, better 'noisome weeds' (מִקְרָה, *ḡarḡāh*; בִּטּוֹחַ [BNAQ], Job 31:40). The cognate verb means in Hebrew 'to stink'; but the primary sense of the root, according to Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 40:727 [86]), is the more general one of badness or worthlessness. A kindred substantive is בִּטּוֹחַ, 'wild grapes' (Is. 5:2 4). As מִקְרָה occurs only once in Hebrew and is unknown to the cognate languages, there is no evidence to justify the identification with a particular plant, such as the 'cockle' of EV; still, as etymology seems to point to some 'stinking weed,' there is something to be said for the suggestion of Sir Joseph Hooker, that perhaps the reference is to the stinking arums.

Several of the arums are plentiful in Syria—e.g., *Arum Dioscoridis*, Sibth., *Arum Palestinianum*, Boiss., and species of *Helicophyllum* (cp Tristram, *NHB* 436). The ancient versions, in supposing that a thorny plant is intended, were no doubt guided by the parallelism of the verse. The older English Versions use 'cockle' as the rendering of ζῆλῶνια in Mt. 13. See TARBS. N. M.—W. T. T. D.

CELESYRIA (κοιλία κυρία [BAL])—i. e., 'hollow Syria,' first mentioned in 1 Esdras, where (κοιλία)²

Συρία κ. Φωνικία represents the Heb. עֵבֶר הַיָּבֵשׁ. **1. Name.** Aram. equivalent of the Heb. עֵבֶר הַיָּבֵשׁ (cp Ezra 8:36 Neh. 3:7).

The name occurs in 1 Esd. 2:19 24 f. 27—Ezra 4:16 f. 20; 1 Esd. 6:27 27:20—Ezra 5:2 6:6 8; 1 Esd. 7:1 8:9—Ezra 6:13 8:36. It's version of the canonical Ezra regularly renders by שְׁמֵרָא (but שְׁמֵרָא Ezra 9:67 21:25 [BA]) τὸν ποταμὸν; once, however,

¹ So Ἐθναῖοι renders מִקְרָה by ἀκαρπῆς in Is. 5:24. Pesh., however, 'carobs' (see HUSKS).

² κ. is a few times omitted—e.g., 1 Esd. 2:5 6:3, etc.

κόρη τ. κορ. in Ezra 4:20 [BA]. With this we may compare the *kepar* *keparan*, which, with *ra koru rhu koru aserpa* (Asia Minor, N.W. of Taurus) appears in the famous Gadatas inscription of Darius I. (*Bull. Epigr. Hell.* 13:22 [G], 14:2, 8; cp Meyer, *Inst.* 127). The same Aramaic designation is found upon a coin of the Persian period: 'Maada . . . who is over *koru rhu*' (cp Hal. *Mit. Epigr. Hell.* 4:1), and seems to be the origin of the name of the Persian province *Korasa* (for another well-supported view, see ARABIA, § 2). *Korasa* and *Arachia* occur together as one archaism in the epilogue to the *Synonyma* (see Marq. *Fund.* 20:3). That the Mosaic *קָרָן* *kor* is to be connected with *קָרָן* *korasa*, though affirmed by Hartman (*J. A. S.* 11:1) Meyer (*ib.* 3:7), and Marq. (*op. cit.* 74:2, cp *Lebanon*, 1), is strenuously denied in Glasser (*op. cit.* 117:2, 3:2 ff.; see Hommel, *Mit. Epigr. Hell.* 4:1), who is, however, perhaps too strongly prejudiced in favour of an exceedingly remote date for the inscriptions in question.

Cœsæryia is, strictly, the designation applied since the time of the Seleucidae to the depression between the two Lebanons, otherwise known as the **2. Extent** *arg'ah* of Lebanon (cp Josh. 11:17 12:7), the mod. *Bekâ'*; cp *LEBANON*. In the Grecian period the term includes all E. Palestine. Thus, according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11 5), the seats of the Ammonites and Moabites were in it, and among its towns he mentions Scythopolis and Gadara (*ib.* xiii. 13 2 f.). In its widest sense it included Raphia (so Polyb. 5:8), and stretched 'as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt' (*Ant.* xiv. 4 5). In 1 Esd. and Maccabees (see below) these are its limits; and, roughly used, rather in a political than in a geographical sense, it and Phœnicia constitute the more southerly part of the kingdom of the Seleucidae. At this period the districts referred to appear as one fiscal domain, under the suzerainty of one governor (viz., Apollonius [2 Macc. 35] Ptolemy [8] Lysias [10 11]). Under the Romans the term was again restricted, and Cœsæryia (with Damascus as its capital; cp *Ant.* xiii. 15 2 *B. I.* 48) was officially separated from Phœnicia and Judæa (*Ant.* xii. 4 1 and 4; Pliny, 5:7). When, therefore, in 47 and 43 B.C., Herod was in command of Cœsæryia, he seems to have possessed no authority over the southern province. S. A. C.

COFFER (קָרָן). I. N. 631115 f.

Q has: in *תָּרַם* *or* *תְּמַסֵּהוּ* *Derachthau* [P], *רָשַׁע* [Babel], *or* *רָשַׁע* [A], *or* *רָשַׁע* [L]; in *תָּרַם* *or* *תְּמַסֵּהוּ* [B], *רָשַׁע* [A], *or* *תְּמַסֵּהוּ* [B], *רָשַׁע* [L]. *Av.* *אֲרָמֶיךָ* (*or* *יְהוּדֶיךָ*); *Sym.* *אֲרָמֶיךָ*; *Jos.* *גְּלִיבֵי* *קֹרָן*. Vg. *always* *אֲרָמֶיךָ*.

The foreign-looking but really correct word *arg'ah* illustrates the need of a more correct Hebrew text (see *TEXT*, § 44 f.).

We cannot accept the far-fetched etymologies of Lag. (*Ussur.* 23) and Kis. (*Ussur.* 23). The probably sprang out of a 'final nûn' (ן), which was attached as a correction to an ordinary nûn—thus קָרָן (cp *av* [B]). In this case the 'coffer' was really not distinguished in name from the ark (קָרָן). *Or* *רָשַׁע* (*or* *רָשַׁע*) *or* *רָשַׁע* *or* *רָשַׁע* 'in a pile,' may represent the true text; but more probably *תְּמַסֵּהוּ* *or* *תְּמַסֵּהוּ* *or* *תְּמַסֵּהוּ*. See *Uss.* *Ussur.* *f.* 100 (cp *Ussur.* 23), and on the narrative which contains the word, see Budge (*SHO*), who carefully separates the interpolations. T. K. C.

COFFIN (קָרָן. coroc). Gen. 50:26; also Lk. 7:14 AV^{mg}. See *DEAD*, § 1.

COHORT (στειρα). Acts 10:1. See *ARMY*, § 10; CORNELIUS, § 1.

COLA, RV CHOLA (χολα [H]. κω. [A]. κεφαλα [N^o]).—*om.* Vg. *SVEI* (mentioned with *BETHOMESTHAM*, *BEBAI*, and *Chohai* (see *CHOHA*),² as places to which orders were sent to follow up the pursuit of the

¹ It is mentioned in the Belistun Inscription of Darius Hytaspas between Babylonia and Assyria. In another inscription of the class, however, this position is occupied by *Arachia* (cp *Josus. R. ep.* 23:2, 3; see *ARABIA*, § 2).

² On the supposed reference to this valley (rich in heathen remains) in Am. 1:5 ('valley of Aven'—*i.e.*, of *Sin*), see *AVEN*, 3. This district is also called *Μασσονα* (Strabo, 2:16 17, ed. Meineke [166]), or *Μασσονα* (Polyb. 5:45), a name which may be derived from a hypothetical *מַסְסִין*, 'depression'; cp *וְסִי* *חַסֵּהוּ*, 'to sink.'

³ Considerable confusion appears in the treatment of this and the preceding names in the Greek Versions.

enemy after the death of Holofernes (Judith 15:4). Possibly the *Holofer* of Josh 15:31 may be intended (Zuckler). *Q*^{no} identifies the place with *KEBAH*; cp Josh. 15:44.

COLHOZE (חֹלְזֵי), § 23, as if 'he seeth all'), a Jerusalemite of Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:15; *om.* *BA*, *χολοζει* [1:]; 11:8. *χολοζα* [BN]. *λαζα* [A]. *χολ.* [1:]). As misleading a name as *Paahath-moab* or as *Hallohesh*. A clan of 'seers' at this period would of course be interesting; but the name is miswritten for *חֹלְזֵי* (*EV* 'Hallohesh'), probably under the influence of the name *Hazaiah*, which follows in Neh. 11:5. *חֹלְזֵי* itself is miswritten. See *HALLOHESH*. T. K. C.

COLIUS (κωλιος [A]). 1 Esd. 9:24 = Ezra 4:10. *KELAIAH* (*q. v.*).

COLLAR. 1. 'Collars' in AV Judg. 8:26 become in RV 'pendants' (תְּלִמְוֹת). See *RING*, § 2.

2. 'Collar' is also applied, inappropriately, to the round hole (קָרָן) for the head and neck in a garment. So in Job 30:18, 'It bindeth me about as the collar of my coat' (*EV*), and in Ps. 133:2 (*RV^{mg}*), 'that flows down to the collar of his robes' (*Kay*). 'Collar' here should be 'opening.'

In *Ps. l.c.*, however, it is thought that the border of the opening, rather than the opening itself, must be intended. *Q* *Sym.* have *עֵרֵי* *תְּלִמְוֹת*—*i.e.*, the lambskin trimming or edging on the neck-opening (cp *Tg.* *רַמְזֵי* 'fringe'). *EV*, however, ventures on 'skirts (skirt) of his garments'; the revisers felt that, even if *AV* gave an improbable rendering, they had nothing better to set in its place. The text can perhaps be corrected (see *Ch.* *Tg.* 20); it is certainly not right as it stands. In *Job l.c.*, *Budde* and *Duhm* prefer to render 'even as my tunic'; but this does not make the passage clear. There is reason to think (*Ch.* *h. s. p.* *Times*, 10 June [May 20]) that we should read *עֵרֵי* *in* *רְגָלֵי* (*Q* *ἐκκαταίετο*) and *עֵרֵי* and *עֵרֵי* *in* *רְגָלֵי*, and render

By (his) great power he takes hold of my garment,
By the opening of my tunic he grasps me.

The word rendered in these two passages 'collar' becomes 'hole' in *EV* of Ex. 28:22; the context suggested this. The 'hole for the head' (*RV*) in the priestly *me'il* (robe) was to have a 'binding (lit. lip) round about'; the material cut out was to be folded over, and so to make what might fairly be called a collar. In later Heb. we find the terms *קָרָן* (opening) or *רְגָלֵי* *בֵּית* (receptacle of the neck).

3. *RV^{mg}* gives 'collar' for a certain instrument of punishment (צַנָּה, *zinah*, Jer. 29:26, AV 'stocks,' RV 'shackles'). The root (like *צַנַּן*) in Aramaic and Talmudic means to bind, to confine. *Kimhi* takes it to be a manacle for hands, not a collar. *Orelli*, on the other hand, compares *Arab.* *zinâh* (necklace). *Q*^{no} *ἐἰς τὸν καταράκτην* represents *צַנָּה* and can scarcely be correct.

COLLEGE, RV SECOND QUARTER (כִּנְסֵתָהּ; Vg. *Secunda*), as if the 'new town' of Jerusalem (2 K. 22:14 = 2 Ch. 34:22; Zeph. 1:10). The rendering 'college' is due to *Tg.* *Jon.* 2 K. 22:14 *חֹלְפָנָה* *בְּבֵית* 'in the house of instruction.' See *JERUSALEM*.

The text is, however, plainly corrupt. In Zeph. 1:10 the natural parallel to the 'fish gate' is the 'gate of the old' (see *Neh.* 12:39, where these gates are mentioned together). For *חֹלְפָנָה*, therefore, read *חֹלְפָנָה* 'from the gate of the old city.' Similarly in 2 K. and 2 Ch. *l.c.* (see *HULDAH*). See also *HASSENBAUM*. In 2 K. 22:14, *מַסְסִינָה* [BA], *מַסְסִינָה* [L], AV^{mg} 'second part,' RV^{mg} *Heb.* *Mishneh*. In 2 Ch. 34:22, *מַסְסִינָה* [B], *מַסְסִינָה* [A], *מַסְסִינָה* [L], AV^{mg} 'in the school,' or 'in the second part,' RV^{mg} 'Heb. *Mishneh*.' In Zeph. 1:10, *תְּלִי* *דְּעֵרֵי* [BAQ]; AV 'the second.'

COLONNADE (עֹלָמִים), Ezek. 40:16. RV^{mg} See *PORCH*, *TEMPLE*.

COLONY (κολωνια [Ti. WH]), Acts 18:2. † See *PHILIPPI*.

COLOSSE, better *Colossæ* (κολοσσαί [Ti. WH, and coins and inscrip.]; *κολακκα*, later MSS, Byz.

writers, and some mod. edd.: the latter form was possibly the native pronunciation¹).

1. Description. A town on the S. bank of the Lycus (*Charuk Snu*), a tributary of the Maeander, in that part of the Roman province of Asia which the Greeks called Phrygia. In the neighbourhood of Colossæ were Hierapolis and Laodicea (cp Col. 21 413 15 f.). As those two cities rose in importance, Colossæ seems to have continuously declined (cp Rev. 111 314, where the church in Laodicea ranks among the seven great churches of Asia). Herodotus (730; cp Xen. *Anab.* i. 26) speaks of Colossæ as 'a city of great size': but in Strabo's time Laodicea is numbered among the greatest of the Phrygian cities, whilst Colossæ, although it had some trade, is only a *πόλισμα* (Strabo, 576, 578). In Paul's time Pliny (*HN* 541) enumerates it among the *celeberrima oppida* of the district; but that is merely historical retrospect. Its geographical position, on the great route leading from Ephesus to the Euphrates (it was passed, e.g., by Xerxes in his march through Asia Minor, Herod. *l.c.*), was important. Hence arises the question as to whether the place was ever visited by Paul.

On his third journey Paul 'went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order' (Acts 1823), and, 'having passed through the upper coasts (τὰ ἄνω περικὰ μέρη) came to Ephesus' (Acts 191).

2. Paul's connection with it. The natural route would certainly be that followed by commerce, which would pass through Colossæ, though travellers might, as Ramsay suggests (*Ch. in R. Emp.* 94), take a road to the northward, avoiding the Lycus valley entirely. It is, however, open to us to admit that the apostle may have passed through the town without making any stay. It seems distinctly to follow from Col. 21 ('as many as have not seen my face in the flesh') that at the date of writing Paul was not personally acquainted with the Colossian church; but it would be unsafe to argue that he had not seen the town itself. If he did no missionary work there on his third journey through Asia Minor, it is impossible to assign his assumed activity at Colossæ to the second journey on the strength of the expression 'gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia' (Acts 166): on that occasion he diverged northwards from the eastern trade route leading by way of Colossæ to Ephesus, and ultimately reached Troas (v. 7 f.). Further, although ethnologically Colossæ ranked as a Phrygian town, politically it belonged to Asia, a province which was altogether barred to missionary effort on the occasion of the second journey (Acts 166; see ASIA, PHRYGIA).

It would still be possible to argue that Paul established the Colossian church on an unrecorded visit made from Ephesus during his three years' stay there (cp Acts 1910, 'so that all they which dwell in Asia heard the word'). Nevertheless, Col. 14 ('since we heard of your faith') 18 21 are opposed to the idea of personal effort on his part, especially when contrasted with such passages as Gal. 16 1 Cor. 311-10, where we have positive claim to the foundation of the churches addressed. Nor is it allowable to insist that Epaphras and Philemon, who were certainly Colossians (Col. 412), must necessarily have been converted by Paul at Colossæ itself. The Colossian church was an indirect product of the apostle's activity at Ephesus. To whom, then, must the actual foundation be ascribed? Probably to Epaphras, who is called 'a faithful minister of Christ' for the Colossians (ἵπέρ ὑμῶν, so AV: better ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, 'on our behalf', RV), and their teacher (Col. 17, cp 412 13), although the honour has been claimed for Timothy, on the ground that his name is joined with that of Paul in the Salutation (Col. 11).

¹ The name is probably connected with Koloe (lake near Sardis, Str. 626), the form being grecized to suggest a connection with *κόλασσις*. The more educated ethnic was *Κολοσσαῖος*, the illiterate form *Κολασσαῖος* being perhaps nearer the native word. See Rams. *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, 122.

It is clear from Philem. 22 that Paul looked forward to visiting Colossæ after his first imprisonment at Rome: whether he effected his purpose is not known (but cp 2 Tim. 424).

3. The Colossian Church. Philemon with his wife ΑΡΡΗΙΑ and slave Onesimus (Philem. 2 101), we hear of Archippus, perhaps son of Epaphras (Philem. 2 Col. 417). With regard to the composition of the church, we may say that it consisted chiefly of Gentiles, in this case the descendants of Greek settlers and native Phrygians, deeply imbued with that tendency to mystical fanaticism which was characteristic of the Phrygian race. Very soon, therefore, they fell away to angel-worship and a misdirected asceticism (Col. 216-18 21-23). The former heresy is illustrated by the famous ναὸς ἀρχαγγελικὸς οὐ ναὸς τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου (church dedicated to Michael), mentioned by Nicetas Chōniates as standing at the chasm of the Lycus. The tradition is that the archangel opened the chasm and so saved the Christians of Chonas from destruction by an inundation. In the fourth century a Council at Laodicea condemned this angel-worship. Theodoret also speaks of the existence of the heresy in this region. Cp ANGELO, § 9.

The construction of a strong castle at Chōnai (mod. *Chōnas*), 3 m. S. of Colossæ, was perhaps the work of Justinian. During the seventh or eighth century A.D., under the pressure of Arab incursions, the town in the plain was gradually deserted and forgotten. Hence Nicetas says that Chōnai (his own birthplace) and Colossæ were one and the same place (ed. Bonn, 403). The idea even arose that the Colossians of the epistle were the Rhodians (cp Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* 1214). The Colossians of Cedr. 1758 are the Paulicians of the Church of Argaou in Armenia.

[Authorities: besides Lightfoot, *Colossians*, see Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* vol. 1, with map; id. *Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. 19 with map of the Lycus valley.] W. J. W.

COLOSSIANS² AND EPHESIANS,³ Epistles to the.

These two epistles are related so closely that they cannot without disadvantage be considered separately.

Colossians consists of two distinct portions: the one didactic and polemical, the other practical and hortatory, the whole being rounded off by 1. Contents of Col. the superscription (11 f.) at the beginning, and by commendations of the bearer, greetings and other messages, and the writer's autograph greeting at the close (47-18).

In the introduction, 13 ff., Paul, as his custom is, gives thanks for the conversion of those whom he is addressing, and expresses the wish that they may continue to grow in all wisdom.

At 21, by a gentle transition, he passes over into a Christological discourse setting forth the transcendent glory of the Son, and how he is head of the universe and of the Church, in whom all heaven and the whole earth are reconciled to God (vv. 14-20); in vv. 21-23 the readers' personal interest in Christ's work of reconciliation is affirmed, and in vv. 24-29 Paul goes on to say that he has had it committed to his special charge to proclaim the great secret of the universality of salvation, whence it is that he labours and cares so specially for the interests of his readers. In 21-23 the main business of the epistle is entered upon—an earnest warning against false teachers, who, holding out hopes of an illusory perfection, wish to substitute all sorts of Gentile and Jewish religious observances in the place of 'Christ alone.'

With the exhortation (314) to live their lives in the heavenly manner, and conformably to the new life, the epistle passes to the practical portion of the epistle. Here in the first instance (35-17) the sins of the old man that are to be laid aside and the virtues of the new man that are to be put on are indicated somewhat generally; then (318-41) the duties of wives and husbands, children and parents, servants and masters are specially described, with (42-6) an urgent call to continual prayer (including prayer for the success of his own mission) and to wise and discreet employment of speech in their dealings with the unconverted.

The contents of Ephesians are, on the whole, similar to those of Colossians; but the polemical part and epistolary accessories are given much more briefly

2. Contents of Eph. (only a superscription 1 f., and in 621-24, a sentence devoted to the bearer of the epistle, with parting good wishes), whilst all the rest is

¹ Cp Ἀπφιαδὶ . . . γένη Κολοσσαῖη, CIG 34380 k; and Wolfe *Επιθολ.* 482, Οὐλαῖμος Μφία γυναικί.

² πρὸς Κολασσαῖαις [WH.] πρὸς Κολασσαῖαις [Ti.].

³ πρὸς Ἐφεσῖταις [Ti. WH].

treated with greater amplitude. The doctrinal portion extends from 13 to 321. Here it cannot be said that any one has as yet quite succeeded in pointing out any very clear and consecutive process of thought, or methodical elaboration of definite themes. To find, for example, in 13-14 'the operations of divine grace,' and, more explicitly, in *vv.* 3 *ff.* 'what God the Father,' in *vv.* 7 *ff.* 'what God the Son,' and in *vv.* 13 *ff.* 'what God the Spirit has done,' is to force the text into moulds of thought that are foreign to it. Strictly, this part of the epistle is simply a parallel, carried out with unwonted fullness, to the thanksgivings with which Paul is accustomed to introduce all his letters:—an act of praise to God who has wrought for all mankind deliverance from sin and misery through Christ and his gospel, and who has made the Church, of which Christ is the head, to be the centre of a new and glorious world.

In 13-14 Paul begins, then, with praise to God who from all eternity has graciously chosen his people to salvation; in 15-23 he expresses his special joy that his readers are among those who have thus been chosen. 24-30 brings into a strong and vivid light the absoluteness of the contrast between the former and their present state, and the fact that the happy change is due to divine grace alone; further, it is taught that the distinction between the uncircumcised and the circumcised people of the promise has been obliterated by the blood of Christ (24:13), and that, in the new spiritual building, where Christ is the chief corner stone, those who were afar off are incorporated as well as those who were near. To proclaim the full and unimpaired interest of the Gentiles in the gospel has been the noble function divinely assigned to Paul (31-12); his readers must not allow his present tribulations to shake their confidence in any way (31:3). His prayer (31:4 *ff.*), closing with a doxology (30:1), is that they may ever go on growing in faith, in love, and in knowledge, until at last nothing more is wanting in them of all the fullness of God.

4:1-16, at the beginning of the practical section, urges the readers to give practical effect to the union that has thus been brought about, to walk worthily of the Christian vocation, and each to take his part in the common task according to the measure of his power, so that the whole may ever grow up more fully into Christ. What yet remains of the old man and heathen life must be sedulously put away (4:17-24); truthfulness, firmness, and kindness of speech and act must be cultivated as the true bases of social life (4:25-32); of these we have the best examples in the love of God and Christ (5:1 *f.*). In 5:2-21 personal holiness and the walk of believers as wise and pure children of light are further described. In 5:22-6:9 the duties of members of households in their several places and relations are treated in the same order as in Col. 3:18 *ff.*; and the very elaborate figure of the Christian panoply in 6:10-20 with the exhortation to carry on the warfare against the powers of evil with courage and boldness—a warfare in which he too would be so glad to join them as a free man—forms a fine close.

COLOSSE (*q.v.*) lay not far from the larger cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis, with the churches of which the Colossian Christians, it is clear, had

3. Church of Colosse. kept up intimate relations from the first (Col. 2:14:113 *ff.*). These churches were not among those which had been directly founded by Paul; according to 21 (123) they had not yet seen him personally; their founder, according to 4:12 *f.* 17, had been a certain Epaphras. The fact that at the time when the epistle is being written Epaphras is with Paul of itself goes far to prove that he stood to him in the relation of a disciple; in any case Paul recognises the gospel proclaimed by him as the true one and not requiring correction. When these churches were founded is not said; but they do not seem to have had a long history; we may venture to fix the date somewhere between the years 55 and 60 A.D. As, according to 4:11 *f.*, their founder was a Gentile Christian, we may take it that the great majority of the members also were Gentile Christians, an inference that is enforced by 12:27 *f.* 213. Thus Paul had a double right to regard them as belonging to his missionary field.

EPHESUS (*q.v.*) is the city in which, according to Acts 19:810 (cp 20:31), Paul for more than two years—

4. Of Ephesus. approximately between 55 and 58 A.D. (see CHRONOLOGY, § 68 *f.*)—in the teeth of great hindrances (see 1 Cor. 16:32), had laboured with unwonted success in the cause of the gospel, which,

until his arrival, had been practically unheard of there. At last the riot stirred up by Demetrius the silversmith, described in Acts 19:23 *ff.*, exposed his life to such serious danger (2 Cor. 18 *ff.*) that he was compelled to abandon the city for good, and betake himself elsewhere—to Macedonia, in the first instance (Acts 20:1). The events of that period did not prove fatal to the church at Ephesus: in Rev. 2:1-7 it stands at the head of the churches in Asia, and it is highly probable that Rom. 16 is a fragment of a letter addressed to it by Paul (Aquila and Prisca, *v.* 3 *f.*, as well as Epenetus, 'who is the first-fruits of Asia unto Christ,' *v.* 5, are among the saluted). In any case the apostle kept up a lively interest in this church, and maintained intimate relations with it. The writer of the 'we-source,' however, in Acts 20:17-30, describes a most affecting leave-taking between Paul and the elders of Ephesus, whom the former had asked to meet him at Miletus as he was on his way to Jerusalem, and plainly he regards it as having been final. Of what elements the Ephesian church was composed we have no means of judging, apart from Rom. 16; the probability is that the majority were converted pagans; but it is nevertheless certain that the Jews in Ephesus were numerous, and we can well suppose that others of their number besides Aquila and Prisca had joined themselves to the company of believers in Jesus as the risen Messiah. In fact, when Paul, in Acts 20:29 *ff.*, in looking forward to the time after his departure, speaks of the appearance of false teachers and ravening wolves in Ephesus, Judaisers may very well have been meant. Unfortunately the references to Ephesus in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 1:3 2 Tim. 1:15 18 4:12) throw no light on the subsequent history of Christianity there. All we can be sure of is that the apostle, after so long a residence, must have become acquainted in a very special manner with the peculiarities of the situation.

Even without any special occasion, perhaps, Paul might very well have written an epistle to the church of Colosse at the time he did. Its

5. Occasion of Col. founder had informed him of the orderly walk and steadfastness in the faith of its

members, and doubtless also of their sympathy with himself. It was natural enough, therefore, that he should at least assure them of his gladness over the good beginnings they had made, all the more as a suitable opportunity had offered itself for communicating with them. Onesimus (49) was being sent back to his master, Philemon, with a short letter; Tychicus, a member of the Pauline circle, was accompanying him, and it was almost a matter of course that he should be entrusted with letters of introduction to the churches whose hospitality he expected to enjoy. The epistle to the Colossians, however, is more than a mere occasional writing. The probability is that Paul's determination to write it was formed immediately on receiving the communication from Epaphras as to the condition of Christianity in the Lycus valley; false teachers had made their appearance in Colosse, and Epaphras himself felt unable, single-handed, to cope with their sophistries. To deal with these is the writer's main object; even where he is not expressly polemical, as in chaps. 1 and 3, his aim is to establish a correct understanding of the gospel as against their wisdom, falsely so called.

If the picture of the Colossian false teachers does not present such well-marked features as that of the Galatian false apostles, there is no occasion for sur-

6. False teachers. prise, for Paul knew the latter personally, the others only by hearsay. That the

Colossian agitators must have belonged to the same class as others that we read of in other places is too much to assume. Many of the observations of Paul would apply well to Judaisers—as for example the marked emphasis with which it is said (2:11 *f.*) that the Colossians are circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands,

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and (214) that the handwriting against us has been nailed to the cross and so cancelled. In particular the exhortation of 216, 'Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day,' seems decisive as to the Jewish character of the new teachers; in this connection the question of 220 (cp 28) cannot fail to suggest Gal. 4.3-9, and one is strongly inclined to presume the condition of matters in Colossae to have been similar to that in Galatia. Only, it is commands and precepts of men that are being imposed with a 'touch not, taste not, handle not' (2822), it is an 'arbitrary religion,' (*ἰθελόθρησκια*) that is being thrust upon the Colossians (223)—in such terms Paul could hardly have described a return to compliance with the injunctions of the OT law.

As the ascetic interest (223, 'severity towards the body'; 21823, 'humility') has a foremost place with the false teachers, many take them to have been Christian Essenes or ascetics of an Essene character (cp *ESSENES*, § 3*f.*). But it has to be remembered that ascetic tendencies were very widely spread at that time, and that they first came into Judaism from without.

According to 28 the agitators gave themselves out to be philosophers. Paul indeed regards their wisdom as 'vain deceit'—according to 218 they 'are vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind,' and with deceiving speeches seek to lead their hearers astray—and when he so strikingly emphasises that in Christ Christians already possess the 'truth' ('all wisdom and spiritual understanding,' 'all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,' 1691026 *ff.* 23), and so zealously points out what is the right way to perfection (128 314 412), all that we can infer from this is, that the innovators in Colossae came forward with a claim to be able to lead their followers from faith to knowledge, true wisdom, and a perfect Christianity.

In doing so they appealed to visions they had seen (218); their knowledge of the celestial world entitled them, they contended, formally to set up a worship of angels, by which, however, Christ was thrust out from his central position as the only redeemer (219). Paul supplies no details of their speculations as to the powers and functions of these celestial spirits; but any such theosophy as this cannot be called Jewish in any specific sense. How far a religiously objectionable dualistic view of the universe lay at the bottom of the peculiar doctrines and precepts of these men will probably never be known; but that Paul should raise his voice so earnestly against them while taking up an attitude so different towards the 'Essenising' weak brethren in Rome (Rom. 14 *f.*)—although they do not appear to have attacked him personally at all—shows that he, for his part, discerned in them a spirit that was foreign to Christianity and hostile to it.

As their philosophical tendencies and their worship of angels do not fit in with the theory that they were Jews (here Alexandrianism helps us no better than Essenism), it will doubtless be best to regard these Colossian false teachers as baptised 'mysteriosophists,' who sought to bring their ascetic tendencies with them into the new religion, and had found means to satisfy their polytheistic instincts by the forms of a newly-invented worship of angels. In doing so they prided themselves on their compliance with all the demands of the OT, though in detail they of course interpreted these in an absolutely arbitrary way. It was this method of an affected interpretation of the OT, claimed by them to be a guarantee of wisdom, that gave them something of a Judaising appearance; but in so far as their ideas had any individuality (as, for example, the notion that between man and the extra-mundane God there is a series of intermediate beings, and that the thing of essential importance is to secure the favour of these mediators or to know how to avoid their evil influences) they were of heathen not Jewish origin.

The Pauline authorship of Colossians has been denied in various quarters since Mayerhoff (1838), and, in particular, by the Tübingen School *en masse*. The

external testimony to its genuineness is the best possible

—ever since a collection of Pauline letters existed at all, Colossians seems to have been invariably included. In form, nevertheless, the epistle presents

many striking peculiarities. It contains a large number of words which Paul nowhere else uses—amongst them, especially, long composites such as *πιθανολογία* (24), *ἐμπαθεύειν* (218); and on the other hand many of the apostle's most current expressions, such as *ἐτι, διό, ἄρα*, are absent, and in the structure of the sentences there are fewer anacoloutha than elsewhere in Paul, as well as a greater number of long periods built up of participial and relative clauses.

These difficulties, however, apply only to the first half of the epistle, and even here the genuine Pauline element is still more in evidence than the peculiarities just indicated; the difficulty and obscurity of the style, so far as old age or passing ill-health may not be regarded as sufficient explanation, can be accounted for on the ground that Paul had not so lively and vivid a realisation of the exact opponents with whom he had to do, as in the case of those of Galatia or Corinth. But in substance also the

8. Ideas. Epistle has been held to be un-Pauline. It has been held to represent the transition stage between the Pauline and the Johannine theology—a further development of the Pauline conception of the dignity of Christ (115 *ff.*), in the direction of the Alexandrian Logos-doctrine, according to which he is regarded as the centre of the cosmos, the first-born of all creation (115), no longer as the first-born among many brethren only (Rom. 8.29). Formulate like that in 29, 'in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,' it is urged, have a somewhat gnostic ring; the representation of the Church as being the body of Christ (124 219), further, is said to be post-Pauline, whilst Paul himself never gave ethical precepts in such detail as we find in 313 *ff.*

In answer to all this, it can hardly be denied that Colossians exhibits a new development of Pauline

9. Genuineness not disproved. Christology; but why should not Paul himself have carried it on to this development in view of new errors, which demanded new statements of truth? The fact is, that in some cases, probably, he has simply appropriated and applied to Christ formulae (as, say, in 29) which the false teachers had employed with reference to their mediating beings; and his theology as a whole never became fully rounded and complete in such a sense as to exclude fresh points of view or new expressions.

Unmistakable traces of an undoubtedly later age cannot be shown in the epistle, while whole sections, such as chap. 4, can hardly be understood as the work even of the most gifted imitator. None of the gnostic systems of the second century known to us can be shown to be present in Colossians, whilst the false teachers with whom the epistle makes us acquainted could have made their appearance within the Christian Church in the year 60 A. D. just as easily as in 120.

There seems no cogent reason even for the invention of a mediating hypothesis—whether that of Ewald, which makes Timothy, joint-writer of Colossians, responsible for certain un-Pauline expressions, or that of Holtzmann, according to which an epistle of Paul was gone over in the second century by the author of Ephesians. With the one hypothesis it is impossible to figure clearly to oneself how the work of writing the letter was gone about; and the other it is impossible to accept unless we choose to admit irreconcilable traits in the picture of the false teachers—as, perhaps, that Paul himself wrote only against 'Essenising' ascetics, whilst the theosophic angelology was due entirely to the interpolator, who had other opponents in his mind. Even in its most difficult parts, however, the connection in the epistle is not so loose as ever to force upon one the impression that there must have been interpolation;

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and, as regards certain of the difficulties raised by criticism, it is to be remarked that caution is always necessary in dealing with literary productions of a period so obscure. Colossians may be Pauline quite as well as Philippians or 1 Thessalonians. The number of those who doubt its genuineness does not grow.

Colossians was written in captivity (43-108), at the same time as Philemon, probably from Rome (not from

10. Date. Caesarea), about 63 A.D. The apostle is surrounded by friends—Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, Jesus Justus. Whether Philippians was written before Colossians and Philemon, or whether Philippians should be regarded as the apostle's last writing is difficult to decide, quite apart from the question of a second captivity. The Christological portion of Philippians (24 ff.) has much in common with Colossians.

If Ephesians also is really the work of Paul (see below, § 15 f.), it must have been written almost contemporaneously with Colossians. It is true, indeed, that in Col. 11, as in Phil. 11,

11. Relation to Eph. Timothy is named as joint-writer, while he is not mentioned in Ephesians. From this, however, it cannot be argued that the situations were materially different, any more than it could be argued that Colossians and Philemon must be of different date because in the list of those who send greetings in Philem. 23 f. we do not find the Jesus Justus named in Col. 411, or because, in Philem. 23 f., Epaphras is called a fellow-prisoner and Aristarchus a fellow-worker, whilst in Col. 410 ff. Aristarchus, as a fellow-prisoner, heads the list of those who send greetings, and Epaphras seems to be regarded as one of the fellow-workers. In Eph. 3113 620 also Paul is a prisoner, yet as much burdened with work as in Col. 124-29 43 f. Tychicus is introduced in Eph. 621 f., as bearer of the letter, and as one who will be able to give further particulars as to the apostle's state, in almost the same words as in Col. 47 f.; and although there is no mention of Onesimus in Ephesians, we must hold that both epistles refer to the same mission.

The frequent verbal coincidences between Colossians and Ephesians even in points in which the phraseology is a matter of indifference (cp. for example, Eph. 115 f. and Col. 113 f. 93 Eph. 21 and Col. 321 21; Eph. 600 and Col. 434), unless we have here a case of deliberate imitation by a later writer, are intelligible only if we assume the one letter to have been written when Paul's mind was still full of the thoughts and expressions of the other. Of Colossians are the only portions not finding a parallel in Ephesians are: the polemical section, 21-34 (although indeed 210-14 is again an exception), and the greetings in 410-13a; of Ephesians, on the other hand, the only portions not finding a parallel in Colossians are: the introduction (13-14), the liturgically-phrased section (313-21), the exhortation to peaceful co-operation (41-16), and the figure of the spiritual armour, although in this case also some reminiscences are not wholly wanting in Colossians.

That the one letter is a pedantic reproduction of the other cannot be said. If we possessed only one of them it could not be called a mere compilation or paraphrase. The parallel passages to Col. 1, for example, lie scattered up and down Eph. 1-4 (or 5) in a wholly different order, and there is no trace of any definite method according to which the one writing has been used for the other. There is no sort of agreement among critics on the question as to which of the two is the original form; but the present writer inclines to consider Ephesians the later, partly because in Colossians the various details and peculiarities are better accounted for by the needs of a church not yet far advanced ethically, and exposed to danger from false teaching, and it would have been rather contrary to what might have been expected if Paul had first sought to meet these very special needs by means of a letter of a more general character.

Of all Paul's epistles addressed to churches, Ephesians

is certainly the least epistolary in character. One

12. Character vainly examines the circumstances of those to whom it is addressed to find occasion for its composition. The

epistle, which has a personal tinge in only a few places, could have been written equally well to almost any other church; it is more of a sermon than of a letter—a sermon on the greatness of that Gospel which is able to bridge over all the old contradictions in humanity, and on the grandeur of that one Church of Christ by which salvation is made sure, and on the precepts by which the members of this Church ought to regulate their lives. One commentator indeed goes so far as to say that in Ephesians 'we have the most mature and sustained of all the statements of Christian doctrine which have come down to us from the hand of the great apostle.' Other students may perhaps think Galatians and Corinthians more vivid and powerful, Romans richer, Philippians more sympathetic, but certainly so far as the thing can be done at all within the compass of one short letter, Paul has laid down in Ephesians something like an exhaustive outline of his Gospel. Viewed on its anti-Jewish or supra-Jewish side, however, it is much too slightly wrought out.

With regard to the question, to whom Ephesians was addressed, the only thing quite certain is, that if the epistle was written by Paul it cannot have been addressed to Ephesus. Even

13. To whom addressed. after all has been said by the apologists

it remains incredible that he should have written to a church to which he had devoted three years of his life and to which, even after his final parting, his heart still yearned so tenderly, in so cold a tone as here,—without a word of greeting to anybody, without reference to any of their common memories, in short without a single individualising note of any kind. Even apart from 115 and 324 no one could suspect that the apostle is here speaking to a church with which his acquaintance was so intimate as it was with the Ephesians. If his acquaintance with the Colossians was formed only by report, every reader of the present epistle must hold the same to be true of this. If the words 'in Ephesus' in 11 are to be held to be original, we have here no composition of Paul the prisoner, writing in 63 A.D., but the work of a later hand who has artificially adapted himself to the part of the apostle but who wholly failed to realise how grossly improbable were the relations between Paul and the Ephesians as indicated by him.

But these decisive words—*ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*—are critically open to the gravest suspicion. It is true that from the date of the Muratorian Canon (about 180) onwards they are attested by witnesses innumerable; but an older authority—Marcion—about 140, cannot have read them where they now stand, since he took the epistle to be addressed to the Laodiceans; they are absent also from both of the oldest extant MSS. (A and B); and learned Church fathers, such as Origen in the third century and Basil in the fourth, agree in their omission. Not till the fifth century do we find the words regularly established in the recognised texts. But it is highly improbable that an original reading *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* should ever have come to be deleted (let us suppose) on critical grounds; for the exercise of criticism in this sense was unknown in the second century, and, if it had been, its exercise here would not have been content with a mere negative, but would have gone on to substitute the reading that was considered to be more appropriate. It is absolutely impossible that the oldest text should not have contained the name of some place; a name is rendered quite indispensable by the context 'to the saints which are . . .'

The only remaining alternative is that we should **14. A 'Catholic'** suppose the original name to have accidentally disappeared and that *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* was conjecturally inserted in its place, the determining consideration being that

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Paul must surely, once at least in his life, have written a letter to his beloved Ephesians. If Marcion read *ἔν Λαοδικείᾳ* instead of *ἔν Ἐφεσῶν*, it was only because he thought this a preferable conjecture; what he had in his mind was Col. 4.6, where an epistle to the Laodiceans is spoken of, which the Colossians also are bidden obtain a reading of. The letter alluded to must have been nearly contemporaneous with that to the Colossians; we may venture to conjecture that the then conditions in Laodicea were very similar to those in Colossæ, so that on the present assumption the correspondences between the two letters become easily explicable. Tychicus then also will become the bearer of both letters. Only, on the other side again, it is not easy to understand in this case how it is that Paul treats the Colossians with so much greater intimacy and cordiality than he treats their neighbours the Laodiceans; how, further, he should invite comparisons by bidding the churches exchange letters with each other; and, lastly, how in spite of the labour expended in behalf of the Laodiceans by Epaphras (Col. 4.13), Paul should not think it necessary to enclose a greeting to him.

The attitude of Ephesians, with its absence of explicit and detailed reference to the circumstances and stage of growth of its readers, is, on the assumption of its being a Pauline letter, intelligible only if its destination excluded such individual reference; in other words, if it was really not addressed to any one church, but was a circular intended for a number of Gentile Christian churches in the present case in Asia Minor, or, more precisely, in Phrygia¹—which Tychicus on the occasion of his journey to Colossæ was to visit, conveying to them at the same time also a direct message from the great apostle of the Gentiles.

It is not, after all, beyond possibility, however, that Ephesians may be the epistle referred to in Col. 4.6; for there it is called, not the epistle to Laodicea, but the epistle from Laodicea, by which expression may have been intended nothing more than a copy of Ephesians to be obtained at Laodicea. In the original superscription, if this be so, we may suppose Paul to have named the province or provinces to the churches of which he wished to address himself (cp. 1 Pet. 1.2); the epistle would then have an almost 'catholic' character, and, in point of fact, next to Colossians, 1 Peter, of all the other NT epistles, is the one that comes nearest Ephesians in substance.

The whole preceding discussion (§ 13 f.) falls to the ground if, as was done by the Tübingen school and still is done by many recent writers, the

15. Genuine-ness.

Pauline authorship is denied. The external testimony is the best possible: from Marcion's time onwards the epistle is included in all lists of Paul's writings, and from the second century onwards the citations from it are exceptionally frequent. On the other hand, in form and style it is removed still further than Colossians from the manner of the earlier epistles of Paul; the number of *ἄραξ λεγόμενα* is astonishingly great; whilst in Paul the devil is called Satan, here (Eph. 4.27 6.11) he is called *διάβολος* or (2.2) 'prince of the kingdom of the air';² the structure of the sentences is strikingly lumbering; substantives closely allied in meaning are constantly linked together by prepositions—especially *ἐν*—or by the use of the genitive, an expedient that conduces neither to freedom nor to clearness of style. At the same time the epistle has a number of characteristically Pauline expressions, including some that do not occur in Colossians, and at every step genuinely Pauline turns of thought are recalled.

The absence of concrete details in Ephesians has already been noted; but, if it be true that we have here a circular letter, the standards which we might apply to Corinthians or Philippians cease to be applicable.

Peculiarities in statement of individual doctrines or in theological outlook generally, indifference of attitude upon controverted points of the Pauline period, and a preference for the ideas of the old Catholicism that was beginning to take shape cannot be denied; but here again, as with Colossians, the case is met if we postulate a growth in the apostle himself, under the influence of new conditions. We fail to find in the epistle any direct evidence that the writer is a man of the second Christian generation, addressing men who have been born Christians; on the contrary, the readers are addressed as persons who had formerly been heathens.

The main obstacle to the traditional view of the authorship of the epistle is found in 4.11 2.20 3.5.

16. Uncertain. 4.11, in the enumeration of church officers, the peculiar spiritual gifts to which so great prominence is given in 1 Cor. 12 f. are almost entirely passed over; in 2.20 it is the glory of the Church that she is 'built on the foundation of apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone,' and in 3.5, as if there had never been any such thing as a dispute in Jerusalem or in Antioch, the present time is spoken of as that in which the Gentiles' equality in privilege has been 'spiritually revealed to his holy apostles and prophets.' In the mouth of the apostle who has devoted the unremitting efforts of a lifetime to the establishment of this equality of privilege, this last expression has a peculiar sound. In a disciple of the apostle, on the other hand,—one who has in view the accomplished fact, the one and indivisible Church for which all the apostles and prophets are equally sacred authorities—the phrases quoted are natural enough; and on the whole the hypothesis that a Pauline Christian, intimately familiar with the Pauline epistles, especially with Colossians, writing about 90 A.D., has in Ephesians sought to put in a plea for the true catholicism in the meaning of Paul, and in his name, is free from any serious difficulty. It is very hard to decide; perhaps the question ought to be left open as not yet ripe for settlement, and Ephesians in the meantime used only with caution when the Pauline system is being construed.

Like the Pauline epistles in general, Colossians and Ephesians are among the best preserved parts of the NT.

17. Text of Col. and Eph.

They have hardly at all been subjected to 'smoothing' revision; the majority of the variants (which, it must be said, are very numerous) are clearly mere copyists' errors. At the same time the readings vacillate at several important points—e.g., (Eph. 3.9) between *κοινωνία* and *οικονομία*, (Col. 2.18) between *ἀ μή ἐώρακεν* and *ἄ ἐώρακεν*, (Col. 3.13) between *χριστός* and *κύριος*. Influence of the text of Ephesians upon Colossians can be sometimes traced—e.g., Col. 3.6, has been supplied from Eph. 5.6. The obscurity of many of the sentences may have helped to protect them from gratuitous change; in any case the exegete of either epistle has a much harder task than the text-critic.

H. J. Holtzmann, *Texte der Epheser u. Kolosserbriefe*, (72), a most careful comparison of the two letters with each other and with those Pauline epistles of

18. Literature. which the genuineness may be regarded as certain. Holtzmann's hypothesis is that in Colossians we have a genuine epistle of Paul to Colossæ, which has been expanded by later interpolations; the interpolator is the author of the epistle to the Ephesians,—a Gentile, or of Pauline training, who belonged to the post-apostolic age. Alb. Klöpffer, *Der Brief an die Colosser* (88), and *Der Brief an die Epheser* (92), a very thorough if somewhat stiff exposition: Colossians is held to be genuine, Ephesians not. H. v. Soden in *JH¹*, 1895, pp. 320 ff., 407 ff., 672 ff. and 1897, 102 ff., 439 ff. substantially accepted Holtzmann's hypothesis, and in the *JH²* (91) has given a luminous commentary. H. Oltmanns, *Comme sur les Epîtres de St. Paul aux Colossiens, aux Eph. et Phil.*, 3 vols., 1891-92, maintains the genuineness of both epistles. In the case of Colossians this had already been argued most brilliantly by J. B. Lightfoot (*St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1875, 8th ed. 1886). J. Macpherson in *Commentary on St. Paul's Ep. to the Ephesians*, (92), has sought with a painstaking care, worthy of Lightfoot

¹ See, long ago, Usher; and, recently, Lightfoot.

² In Paul he is called *ἀσάς*, however, *Βεσαρ* (2 Cor. 6.13) and 'the god of this world' (*θεὸς αἰ. 4*). See BELLIAR.

himself, to vindicate tradition and solve the difficulties of the epistle. Ex. Haupt (*Die theologisch-historische*, 1899, an entirely new recast of the *Krit. u. poet. Komm.* of H. A. W. Meyer) takes, as regards the genuineness, a position similar to that of the present article, but decides against the Roman origin and in favour of Cassarea. Some new points of view are offered in Zahn's *Einl. z. d. N.T.*, 1897, 370-399, both on the question of introduction and on details of exegesis. The once justly popular commentaries of Ellicott ('55) and Harless (2nd ed. '58) on Ephesians are now somewhat out of date. See also the (justly famous) *Prolegomena to the Study of the Romans and Ephesians* ('95) by Prof. J. A. Hort; and T. K. Abbott, *Comm. on Ephesians and Colossians* (1897).

COLOURS. If in certain branches of art the ancient Hebrews fell far behind their contemporaries, they were

not without artistic feeling; if they had no drama, they were not devoid of dramatic instinct. CANONICAL LITERATURE, § 5; and, if, through no inherent fault of their own, they were unable to attain any degree of competency in the highest form of art, yet they had, as their poetry shows, a very real appreciation of the sublime and beautiful. The neglect to cultivate this taste was a necessary consequence of the effort to fulfil the ancient command in Ex. 20.4, — a command which would of course apply as much to painting as to sculpture — and of the monotheism to which they subsequently attained. (See Ruskin, *Two Paths*, 7 f.; Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judaea, etc.*, 1891, 1; and cf. *ARTEFACTS*, § 1.3.)

A simple style of decoration and the use of some of the dyes and dyed stuffs they may indeed have learned

at an early date.² When, however, the post-exilic writers wish to describe the decorations of an ideal sanctuary, they are obliged to borrow their ideas of ornament from Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, or Greece. (See Wornum, *Analysis of Ornament*, 51, and cf. ISRAEL, § 67.) Characteristic of this style of decoration was a love of costly display combined with brilliancy of colour (*Analysis of Ornament*, 53, and BABYLONIA, § 18; ASSYRIA, § 10; EGYPT, § 36). From these countries, then, in which art was the ally, if not the offspring, of idolatry, came the practice of decorating sculpture in the round with bold colours and costly raiment,³ a practice condemned by Ezekiel 22.13 as being an abomination to Yahweh. In such cases, however, were exceptional among the Hebrews appears probable from the fact that their language contains no words for 'paint,' 'painting,' and 'painter' (see PAINT). Nor does this striking phenomenon stand alone. It is also noteworthy that in the original texts no term is found to express that property of light known to us as *colour*.

When a Hebrew writer wishes to compare one object with another in respect to its colour he finds it necessary to use the word 'ayin (עַיִן 'eye') in the

3. Colour vocabulary. sense of *appearance*. So in Lev. 15.15 the plague is described as being 'like the appearance' (EV, here and in the following examples, 'colour'), and in Nu. 11.7 the appearance of manna is described as being like the appearance (so here RV) of bellium. The same word is used of the appearance of wine (Prov. 23.31), of amber (Ez. 1.4, 2.8), of burnished brass (Ez. 1.10-100), of a beryl (Ez. 1.16-10), and of crystal (Ez. 1.22). Certainly the term *colour* occurs frequently in the EV; but in such cases the translation is seldom warranted by the original text. In the Apocrypha, on the other hand, a word does once occur (χρῶμα, Wisd. 15.4) with reference to a painted

image; but in this instance the term denotes rather the paint or pigment used.

Just as the want of a word to express the idea of 'painting' tends to prove that the art was very little cultivated, so also the want of a word for *colour* (found in SYRIAC, ARABIC, ARABIC DIALECTS, EGYPTIAN) naturally suggests that colours were not much talked about by the Hebrews. This inference could indeed be shown to be unwarranted if we found many names

for different colours, and could prove **4. Colour sense.** archeologically that many colours were in use. When, however, we come to examine the Hebrew colour-terms — and this applies also to those in use among the Greeks and the Romans⁴ — at any rate in biblical times, we find that very few of them are real colour-terms at all, such terms being used as denote rather a contrast between light and darkness, brightness and dimness, than what we commonly understand by *colour*. Still, if colours are not sharply distinguished in the languages of the ancient world it does not follow that the Hebrews and other primitive races were unable to distinguish shades of colour for which their language possessed no distinct terms, or that they were, at least with respect to certain colours, colour-blind.⁵

It is not so much a question of deficiency of colour-sense (as was contended some years ago) as of an undeveloped colour-vocabulary. (See Del. *Arts*, 20, and Benzinger, *Arts*, under 'Fashion'; also, for instance, Allen, *Arts*, 20, 21, 22.) If colour-blind people are in common life able to use correctly the names of colours that they do not see, so conversely a people may be able to discriminate colours for which their language has not set apart names.⁶ Besides, it now seems clear that even the lower animals are sensitive to colour (see Grant Allen, *Arts*, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

From the use of the terms which the Hebrews did possess, we are led to conclude that one and the same

5. Scarcity of real colour names. word was used to denote several shades of one colour; the context or object to which the colour was applied providing the clue as to the particular shade intended. Sometimes, however, in order to distinguish the shade of colour quite unmistakably, the thing described is compared with another object of which the colour in question is peculiarly characteristic (cp Eng. salmon-pink, emerald-green, etc.).

It is indeed remarkable how few real colour-terms occur in the OT. Only three of the natural colours are distinguished by names, while for blue and yellow distinct terms are entirely wanting. The deficiency, however, is made up for by the use of the terms expressing degrees of light or dark; and in addition to these are found artificial colours with the name of the object from which they were derived like our crimson, cochineal, indigo, etc. Substances, too, of which a particular colour was characteristic, may have been used to represent the colour itself (like Eng. orange, etc.).

It will be convenient to group and examine the words employed under the following headings; terms ex-

6. Classification. pressing (1) light and degrees of light, (2) darkness and degrees of dark, (3) natural colours, (4) variegated surfaces, (5) pigments, (6) objects. Finally, it will be necessary to point out instances in which the EV expresses or implies a reference to colour where no such reference

¹ Cp *innu*, which means originally 'skin,' 'complexion.'

² Cp the *Quintessence*, according to some, sometimes kept on *lucumine*: 'The truth is, colours were as loosely and latitudinarily distinguished by the Greeks and Romans as degrees of affinity and consanguinity are everywhere.' See further Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiqu.*, s.v. 'colores,' and Robertson Smith in *Nature*, Dec. 6th, 1877.

³ Broadly speaking we may say that all people see alike. Where, however, as in the case of artists, the colour-sense has been specially trained, colours are seen differently. Colour-blindness can only be regarded as a disease. (Cp Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1, in small form, p. 7.)

⁴ Even the modern Englishman does not see more than half a dozen colour-names (red, yellow, green, blue, pink, gray, brown, white, and black), though he is quite able to distinguish many other shades of colour for which the English dictionary has names, as well as probably others for which it has none.

¹ On the natural stages of the 'expression of the imagination,' see Shilleto's *Definition of Poetry*, part 1, § 3.

² Already the poet who sang of the glorious victory over Sisera knew of dyed stuffs (צִבְצִיץ 'purple'), and seems to assume that Israel could be expected to provide its enemies with booty of this kind (Judg. 5.30). Of what colours, however, this stuff was composed is not stated; nor is it said what colours the needlework (צִבְצִיץ) cp 1 Ch. 29.2 Ex. 17.3 mentioned in the same passage was embroidered. See *Exposition*.

³ For specimens of early Gr. coloured figures see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Tafel-Band, lxxviii; and cp the notes in Text-Band, 317, 418.

necessarily exists. Except in the case of (5) and (6) it is impossible to arrive at very definite conclusions, the interpretation being based mainly on philological considerations.

(1) *Light and degrees of light.*—The word קָדַח , *qāḥ*, (from קָדַח , Syr. *qāḥ*, 'to shine'), used in Cant. 5:10 to denote the glow of a healthy complexion and translated 'white' in the EV, means primarily *glowing* or *glistering* (cp its use in Jer. 4:11, if the text is correct, of a wind [AV 'dry,' RV 'hot'], in Is. 18:4 of heat [EV 'clear'], and in 32:4 as an adverb [חָרָה EV 'plainly']). קָדַח represents it in Cant. by λευκός , a word which originally contained a similar idea, as is shown by its use in Mt. 17:2 Mk. 9:4 and Lk. 9:20.

7. Degrees of light.

Similarly קָדַח , *qāḥ*, seems to mean literally 'dazzling,' though in Judg. 5:10 it is applied to asses of a light colour, perhaps reddish-white (cp Ass. col. 344, n. 2). What particular shade of colour the word denotes in this passage is doubtful; but Moore may be right when, following A. Müller (*Das Lied der Deborah*), he supposes it to be 'gray or tawny inclining to red.' קָדַח 's rendering, μεσμβρίας , is a mere guess, intended to connect the word with קָדַח (cp Jer. 20:10 קָדַח). A derivative (קָדַח) from the same root is traditionally found in Ez. 27:18 (קָדַח , EV 'white wool'; but see JAVAN), and probably also the name Zohar (Gen. 46:10 קָדַח ; see NAMES, § 66) is to be derived from the same root.

The term קָדַח , *qāḥ* (from קָדַח , Ar. *qāḥiba*), 'glittering like gold,' starts with the same idea. It is used of leprous hair in Lev. 13:30-32, where the EV represents it by 'yellow,' and in Ezr. 8:27 the Hophal participle of the same root is applied to 'brass' (AV 'fine copper,' RV 'bright brass'). In Lev. 13:30-32 קָדַח translates it by ξανθίζων , and in 13:36 by ξανθός , whereas in Ezra 8:27 (= 1 Esd. 8:57) it would seem to render by στίλβων [BAL].¹ To express 'brilliant,' as contrasted with 'white,' the NT employs λαμπρὸς in Lk. 23:11 (EV 'gorgeous'), Acts 10:30 (EV 'bright'), Ja. 2:2 (AV 'goodly,' RV 'fine'), Rev. 15:6 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'), and Rev. 19:8 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'). In Acts 10:30 Ja. 2:2 Rev. 15:6 the Vulgate translates the word by *candidus*.

(2) *Darkness and degrees of dark.*—To express the idea of darkness the term שָׁחֹר , *śāḥōr* (from שָׁחַר , Syr. šāḥar , 'to be black') is employed. It is used of the dark hair in a leprous skin or complexion (Job 30:40, ἐσκότωται [BN], μεμελανωται [A]; Cant. 1:5), and of dark horses (Zech. 6:2); and a diminutive form שָׁחֹרֶת , *śāḥōrēṭ*, is applied in Cant. 1:6 (μεμελανωμένη) to dark ringlets. When it is desired to express a particularly dark colour another substantive is sometimes added, as 'oven-black,' Lam. 5:10 (of skin); $\text{ὡς κλιβανὸς ἐπελιώθη}$, 'raven-black,' Cant. 5:11 (of hair), and in the NT 'sackcloth-black,' (Rev. 6:12). In the EV *śāḥōr* is represented by 'black,' and in שָׁחֹר and NT by μέλας . From the same root are derived שָׁחַר , *śāḥār* (Lam. 4:8; see COAL, § 1), and probably שִׁחֹר , *śīḥōr* (Josh. 13:3), another name for the Nile (see SHIHOR).

Another word חֹמ , *hūm* (from חֹמ =חָמַם), applied to sheep whose wool has been scorched by the sun, though really meaning simply 'dark,' may be translated 'brown,' as is done by AV in Gen. 30:32, 35-40. In חֹמ it is rendered by φαῖδός and once (v. 40) by ποικίλος .² To express the idea of gloom and sorrow

¹ The Heb. has $\text{בָּרָקָה שְׁחֹרֶת שְׁחֹרֶת שְׁחֹרֶת שְׁחֹרֶת}$ $\text{bārāqā śāḥōrēṭ śāḥōrēṭ śāḥōrēṭ śāḥōrēṭ}$. For this 1 Esd. has $\text{καὶ σκεῖθι χαλκὸν ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ χρῆσθῶσι στίλβουσι σκεῖθι ὄκα}$ [Ewald] κ. σ. χ. ἀπὸ χ. χρῆσθῶσι στίλβουσι χρυσοῦσι δέκα ὄκα [L].

² There is also a form חֹמֵר , *hūmēr* (Job 3:3 plur. constr. [B. 0 m.]) which occurs in Job (AV blackness), and has often been connected with an Aram. root חֹמ , 'to be black.' BDB,

we meet with the root קָדַח , *qāḥar*, which has the primary meaning 'to be dirty.' Thus it can be applied to the turbid water of a brook (Job 6:16), to a sorrowful countenance (Jer. 8:21), to mourning garments (14:2), and even to gates of a mourning city (Jer. 14:2) and to the heavens (Jer. 4:8 1 K. 18:45). In Is. 50:3 a derivative (קָדַח) from the same root is used of the mourning garb of the heavens (EV 'blackness'). To the same root also probably belong the names Kedar (קָדַר Gen. 25:13) and Kadmon (קָדְמוֹן 2 S. 15:21; see NAMES, § 102). Further, קָדַח , *qāḥak*, 'to be dark,' a word generally used of the darkness of approaching night (cp Job 18:6 Is. 5:30), is used in Lam. 5:17 of the eyes becoming dim, in Ps. 69:24 of their becoming blind; and in Lam. 4:8 the same term is applied to a dark complexion. This root gives us the common word for 'darkness' (קָדַח). Both קָדַח and קָדַח are represented in ש by σκούρευον , σκούρευον , σκούρευον ; and קָדַח also by σκούρευον .

Finally, to this class belong also apparently קָדַח , *qāḥāḥ* (Gen. 49:12), קָדַח , *qāḥāḥ* (*hakhilāth* (Prov. 23:29 קָדַח , correctly קָדַח); both of them seem to refer to the dull (EV 'red') appearance of the eyes after excessive drinking (cp the name Hachilah [שָׁחִילָה 1 S. 23:14], and see NAMES, § 102).

(3) *Natural colours.*—Under this heading are included those Hebrew words which more closely resemble our natural colour-terms.

9. Natural colour-terms. There are three classes: (a) white, (β) red, (γ) green. **white.** It is doubtless true that primarily white denoted simply purity, green paleness, and red depth of light; but the use to which the words are applied shows that the Hebrews attached to them fairly definite ideas of colour.

(a) White is commonly represented by לָבָן , *lāḇān*. Thus it is used of the colour of goats (Gen. 30:35-37), of teeth (49:12), of manna (Ex. 16:31), of leprous hair (Lev. 13:30-32), of the leprous spot (Lev. 13:24-38 f.), of garments (Eccl. 9:8), and of horses (Zech. 18:6-6). Here also, as with the shades of dark, different shades of colour seem to be clearly distinguished, as 'milk-white' (Gen. 49:12), 'coriander-seed white' (Ex. 16:31), 'snow-white' (Nu. 12:10 2 K. 5:27 Ps. 68:14 Is. 1:18), and in the NT 'wool-white' (Rev. 1:14), 'bright-white' (Mt. 17:2 Lk. 9:29), and 'harvest-white' (Jn. 4:35). We even find in Lev. 13:39 a compound expression (קָדַח לָבָן) used to describe a shade of white (AV 'darkish white,' RV 'dull white').

From the same Hebrew root is to be derived the names Laban (לָבָן Gen. 29:25), Labi (לָבִי Ex. 6:17), Labanah (לָבָנָה Josh. 10:20); but see LABAN, Labanah (לָבָנָה Isa. 2:24), and Lebanon (לְבָנוֹן 1 K. 5:20 [6]), so-called either on account of its snow-capped peak or from the colour of its stone, as well as the substantives לָבָן , *lāḇānāḥ* 'moon' (Cant. 6:10), לָבָן , *lāḇānāḥ*, 'white-poplar' (Gen. 30:37), and, possibly, לָבָן , *lāḇānāḥ*, 'brick' (Ec. 1:14; see, however, BRICK, § 1, n.). See NAMES, §§ 67, 102.

The corresponding root in Aramaic is חֹר , *hūr*, which in Is. 29:22 is used (as a verb) of the face becoming pale with shame, and in Dan. 7:9 of a snow-white garment.¹ Both these words are usually represented in ש by λευκός (cp, however, Gen. 30:37 where χλωρός [לבן], and, moreover, there occurs in the Apocrypha a word λευκώμα which is used of a disease of the eyes (Tob. 2:10 3:17 6:8 11:8 13, but in Ecclus. 43:18 λευκότης , Heb. לָבָן).

To the same class, perhaps, belongs also חֹר , *hūr*. Gen. 40:16. In the RV it is translated 'white bread'; but from what follows in the context the word would seem to refer, not to the contents of the baskets, but to the baskets themselves (AV 'white baskets'). Finally, to express the idea of the hair becoming grayish-white through old age, there is the root שָׁב , *śāḇ* (1 S. 12:2 Job 15:10),

however, appends a query, and Che. denies the existence of a root שָׁב in OT (*Expositor*, June 1897, p. 406; *JQR*, July 1897, p. 575). Cp. שָׁב , *śāḇ*, שָׁב , *śāḇ*.

¹ Robes of state seem to have been of white, as well as of purple (see below, § 12). Cp. *Jos. Ant.* xvii. 8.3, viii. 7.2, xix. 8.2; *Bf. J.* 1:1; see Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazareth*, 3 380 [$\text{Ἰ. 2} \theta$ 104].

whence the derivative יֵבֶהֱהָ, *yēbhāh*, 'gray hair' (Gen. 42:38 44:29 31 Deut. 32:25 Hos. 7:9 Prov. 20:29) or 'old age' (Is. 46:4). In *EV* it is usually represented correctly by πάλαι or γήγας.

(3) Perhaps the most clearly distinguished of the natural colours, as being the colour of blood, was *red*, to express which the Hebrews commonly used the root אָדָם, *ādām*. That it denoted a brilliant hue is evident from the fact that Isaiah uses the verb אָדָם in the sense of becoming like scarlet (יִתְאָדָם, see below, § 14), and the Priestly Code speaks of skins dyed red (אָדָם). The adjective אָדָם, *ādām*, is applied to blood in 2 K. 3:22, to blood-stained apparel in Is. 63:2; and verbal forms, to a blood-besmeared shield (אָדָם) in Nah. 2:4 [3], and to wine (אָדָם) in Prov. 23:31. That the root, however, was also employed to describe other colours of a reddish hue is apparent from its use as applied to a heifer (Nu. 19:2) or a horse (Zech. 1:8), to a reddish-brown (אָדָם), Gen. 25:25 1 S. 16:12; cp Lam. 4:7, Cant. 5:10, and see GOLIATH, § 2, n. 1.) skin, as well as to reddish or brownish-yellow lentils (Gen. 25:30).² The Priestly Code uses also a diminutive form (אָדָם) to express merely 'reddish', applying it to the colour of the leprous spot (Lev. 13:19 24) or sore (Lev. 13:40 f.).

From the same root are derived the names Edom (אָדָם, Gen. 25:30), Admah (אָדָם, Gen. 10:19), and Adumim (אָדָם, Josh. 15:7 18:17; see NAMES, § 102) as well as the precious stone called אָדָם (see RUBY and PRECIOUS STONES). To אָדָם, *ādām*, corresponds ῥυπαρός (lit. 'having the colour of fire') in *EV* and NT; and in Mt. 19:23 we find the verb ῥυπαρεύω used of the sky.

Other roots, however, besides this are occasionally employed to designate this colour. Thus the root יָסַד, *yāsād*, which usually conveys the idea of 'acidity, fermentation,' seems to be used in Is. 63:1 to denote a colour; and the context requires a blood- or wine-like appearance (cp Eng. sorrel), (1) אָדָם אָדָם and (2) from אָדָם—reddish-brown. אָדָם in Zech. 6:7 is also, from the context, possibly to be read אָדָם (Che.); cp Ges. Buhl, s.v. אָדָם. The root חָמַר, *ḥamar* 'to be red,' is traced by some in Ps. 75:9, and, with more justice, in Job 16:16 (P^ual form). To this class we may also probably assign יָסַד, *yāsād*, 'reddish-brown' (cp Ar. *asfarā*, 'a sorrel-horse,' and Heb. יָסַד)—a term used in Zech. 1:8 of a horse.

(γ) The third natural colour term describes those uncertain hues—colours which it has, in all ages, been found difficult to distinguish—that

11. Green hues. In Hebrew the adjective employed (from יָרַק, 'to be pale,' cp Assy. *arāku*, 'to grow pale' [of the face], *arḫu*, 'yellow,' and Aram. יָרַק, 'to be pale') can be applied to the colour of vegetation (Job 39:8 2 K. 19:26 Is. 37:27); and a substantive יָרַק, *yerēk*, derived from the same root denotes vegetable produce in general. As, moreover, the root idea of the word was originally, like that of *χλωρός* its Greek equivalent, merely *pale*ness or faintness of colour, a derivative (יָרַק) can be used to describe a panic-stricken countenance (Jer. 30:6) or the fading colour of decaying vegetation (Deut. 28:22 Amos 4:9 Hag. 2:17). Further, to express simply 'pale,' a diminutive form (יָרַק) can be used of plague spots (Lev. 13:49 14:27) or of the appearance of gold (Ps. 68:13).⁴ On the word יָרַק, *yārūq* (√ יָרַק 'to be yellow?'; cp NAMES, § 66) which is applied to gold (Ps. 68:14, etc.) and seems to denote a shade of *yellow*, see GOLD.

(4) *Variegated surfaces.*—A few words occur which, though their precise meaning is uncertain, undoubtedly

¹ Che., אָדָם; cp Lam. 4:7 (Ev. T., Aug. 1789a). If, however, 1 S. 16:12 refers, not to David's complexion, but to the colour of his hair, the word will then mean 'reddish.'

² Unless we point אָדָם (see ESAU, § 1).

³ From this root some derive יָסַד, *yāsād*, 'asphalt,' יָסַד, *yāsād*, 'clay,' יָסַד, *yāsād*, 'reobuck.'

⁴ Cp ME-JARCON (a doubtful place-name in Josh. 19:46).

denote a parti-coloured appearance of some kind; their employment being for the most part restricted to the description of animals. Of these the term rendered in *AV* by 'ringstraked' and applied to goats (קָרָה, *qārāh*, Gen. 30:35 39 f. 31 8 10 12), probably has reference to white stripes on an otherwise dark skin; that translated 'speckled' (קָרָה, *qārāh*, Gen. 30:37 f. 35 22 31 10 12) to light spots on a dark skin; and that represented by 'grised' (קָרָה, *qārāh*) and used of both goats (Gen. 31 10 12) and horses (Zech. 6:3 6) to light patches on a dark skin. The last word would, therefore, probably correspond to our *picbad*.

In Jer. 12:9 (RV) we meet with the phrase 'a speckled (קָרָה) bird of prey.' The commentators have sought to justify and explain it; but it remains improbable.¹ A combination of different colours is expressed in Gen. 30:32 f. by קָרָה, *qārāh*, probably 'besprinkled,' 'flecked' (cp *zpharus*). The same term is used in Ezek. 16:16 of the dyed stuffs of many colours with which other peoples were wont to decorate their shrines.

(5) *Pigments.*—The Hebrews knew and made use of several pigments, three of which were derived from

13. Pigments. animals. These three dyes were all manufactured by the Phœnicians: the one 'scarlet' or 'crimson' (whence its Gr. name *φουνίκου* and Lat. *phœnicium*), from an insect (*coccus*) which gave its name to a species of oak on which it was found (*Ilex coccifera*); the other two from a slimy secretion found in a special gland of a species of shell-fish called *Murex trunculus* and *Murex brandaris*. By infusing the insect (*coccus*) in boiling water a beautiful red dye was produced, superior in effect and durability to cochineal; the other dyes when applied to articles became at first of a whitish colour, but under the influence of sunlight changed to yellowish greenish and finally to purple, the purple being red or blue according to the species of shell-fish employed. These three colours were held in high estimation by the ancients on account of both their brilliancy and their costliness. The purple-blue is translated 'blue' in the *EV*, but must have corresponded rather to our *violet*, by which it is once rendered in the *AV* (Esth. 1:6 and in the margin 8:15). The Hebrews knew no blue colour with which to compare it, and hence it is said in *Berachoth* 1:2 that 'purple-blue is like the sea, and the sea is like the plants, and the plants are like the firmament of heaven' (see also *Menach. 4*, and cp Del. in *PALESTINE*, i. 488, 173, 18 f., and the articles PURPLE, SCARLET, II. 12, 4, 1000-1).

(a) To designate the first of the dyes mentioned above, the Hebrews sometimes used simply יָוֵק, *yōvāq*,

14. Scarlet. 'worm,' just as we speak of crimson (fr. Arab. *krumiz*; Sansk. *krūmiz*; and cochineal (really a term denoting the insect *Coccus cacti* found in Mexico). Thus it is used in Is. 1:18 as the most natural example of a glaring and indelible dye, and in Lam. 4:5 (where *EV* gives the simple term *kōkcos*, 'berry' [A. *κόκκων*], the insect being regarded in early times as a species of berry) of princely raiment. It even occurs as a verbal derivative (תְּיָוֵק, Nah. 2:3 [4]; *EV* *εμαίωστρος*) with the meaning 'to be clothed in scarlet' (see, however, DRESS, § 3, n.). More often, however, the form יָוֵק, *yōvāq*, is found with the addition, either before or after it, of the word יָנִי, *yāni*—a word which has been derived from the root יָנַק, *yānāq* (cp Assy. *yānūtu*, possibly fr. *yanāh*), supposed to mean 'to glitter,' and is thought to refer to the brilliant colour derived from the יָוֵק. In this form it is mentioned as a costly possession (Ex. 35:23) and as being, therefore, suitable for an offering (Ex. 25:3 35:6 Lev. 14:4 [יָנִי 17] 6:49 51 52 [יָנִי 17]) Nu. 19:6 [יָנִי 17] for the hangings (Ex. 26:36

¹ *EV* *σπεκλαιου* *αίματος* (BHQ; but *λατρίων* [A]). *EV* seems to be an old word for hyena (see ZEBROM). יָוֵק, which may have been miswritten יָוֵק, out of which we may deduce a false reading יָוֵק (see Siegf.-Sta., s.v. יָוֵק).

27 16 36 37 38 18), for the ephod (Ex. 28 5 6 39 28), for the priests' girdle (Ex. 28 8 39 29), for the breastplate (Ex. 28 15 39 8), and for the embroidered pomegranates (Ex. 28 33 39 24), etc. In Ecclus. 45 11, also, it is used of some kind of embroidered work (Gr. *κελευσμένη κόκκη*; vet. Lat. *torlo cocco*). A thread of this colour—expressed by *šāni* alone—was commonly used in the times of the Jahvist as a mark (Gen. 38 28 30; Josh. 2 21, JE), and the single term is employed in two poetical passages (2 S. 1 24, where the maidens of Israel are called upon to lament Saul, who used to clothe them in scarlet; and Ca. 4 3) as equivalent to the longer expression. In the acrostic on the 'Capable Woman' the same word is used in the plural (עֲשֵׂי, *šānim*¹) to describe the warm clothing provided against the cold of winter (Prov. 31 21), and in Is. 1 8 to denote probably scarlet-stuff as distinguished from the dye itself (עֲשֵׂי). As a substitute for these expressions we find the Chronicler using a word עֲשֵׂי, *šānim* 1 2 Ch. 2 7 14 3 14, cp. Ex. 36 11, derived from the Persian (*šārm*, 'a worm', see CRIMSON, and cp. above). In *ἑ κόκκινος* is chosen to represent all these expressions, and there can be no doubt that where the same word occurs in the NT it denotes this dye (Mt. 27 28 Heb. 9 19 Rev. 17 34 18 16).

Later OT writers knew of another pigment of a like shade of colour, called עֲשֵׂי, *šāšer* (EV 'vermilion')—perhaps oxide of lead (cp. *ἑ μίλτος* and see Riehm, *Hilf* 'Mennig'). It was used for painting ceilings (Jer. 22 14, *ἑ ἄλσος*) and images (Ezek. 27 14, *ἑ ἄλσος*). (3) The Purple-blue (תְּכֵלֶת, *tekkheleth*, Assy. *tu-kil-tu*) and Purple-red (אַרְגָּמָן, *'argamān*, Bib. Aram. אַרְגָּן, *argamānu*) dyed stuffs also figure largely in the decoration of the Tabernacle and the priestly robes; but they can hardly have been known as early as the scarlet (cp. CANTICLES, § 15), their employment being characteristic of P and later writers. They also can be used for an offering (Ex. 25 35 6), as being a valuable possession (Ex. 35 23), as well as for the curtains (Ex. 26 1 36 8), for the veil (Ex. 26 31 36 35), for the hangings (Ex. 26 36 27 16 36 37 38 18), for the priest's ephod (Ex. 28 6 39 2), for the girdle (Ex. 28 8 39 29), and for the breastplate (Ex. 28 15 39 8), etc. A late prophet knows both colours as part of the splendour of heathen worship (Jer. 10 9). It seems natural also to another late writer to assume that the Midianitish chiefs would wear robes of purple-red (Judg. 8 26); and Ezekiel tells how the robes of purple-blue worn by the Assyrians had struck the imagination of the women of Israel (23 6), whilst he also knows (27 7) of purple-blue and purple-red on ELISHAH (*q. v.*). In Ecclus., too, both dyes are mentioned (45 10) as occupying a prominent place in the raiment of Moses, and in 6 30 ribbons of purple-blue are said to form part of the adornment of Wisdom. On the defeat of Gorgias dyed stuffs of both colours were taken by Judas Maccabaeus among the spoil (1 Macc. 4 23). Of the two purples red seems to have been preferred. Solomon's 'seat of purple' (Cant. 3 10) is perhaps due to error (see PURPLE); but purple robes of office were common. Judas was struck by the fact that the Romans, notwithstanding their power and riches, were not clothed in purple (1 Macc. 8 14). When, however, Alexander appoints Jonathan high priest, he sends him a purple-red robe (10 20 26 64 [RV]); so likewise Antiochus when he confirms him in the office (11 58). On the other hand, when the treachery of Andronicus is discovered, he is at once deprived of the purple robe (2 Macc. 4 38). Similarly in the NT in Mt. 27 28 (χλωμὸς ἐσθίου) Mk. 15 17 (πορφύρα) and Ju. 19 2 (ἱμάτιον πορφύρεον), the red-purple robe is used as a mock image of majesty; while in Lk. 16 19 (πορφύρα) it is one of the characteristics of a rich man. In Rev. 17 4

(πορφύρεον καὶ κόκκινον) it is part of the attire of the great harlot, and in 18 12 (πορφύρας) is referred to as valuable merchandise (cp. also v. 16 πορφύρεον). It is also worthy of note that one of Paul's converts made her living by selling this dye (πορφύροπώλις, Acts 16 14). In Cant. 7 6 the hair of the bride seems to be compared with purple (אַרְגָּמָן), and Greek parallels for this are quoted. The comparison, however, can hardly be trusted, for הַרְבֵּי אֲרָגָן כְּאֲרָגָן הַרְבֵּי אֲרָגָן כְּאֲרָגָן which precedes. Each form of the clause seems to be more correct in one half than the other. Read, perhaps, with Cheyne 'The locks of thy head are like Carmel (כְּרִמְלֵי); they are pleasant (נִפְתָּח) as an orchard of pomegranates' (see GALLERY, 2). כְּרִמְלֵי is plainly some word which should follow כְּרִמְלֵי; probably נִפְתָּח (written נִפְתָּח, and corrupted to נִפְתָּח; cp. HAIR, § 1). In the Gr. ἑ κόκκινος is commonly represented by *βάκκινος* and *ὀβάκκινος*,¹ and ἑ ἀργάμηνον by πορφύρεος in both OT and NT (see Rev. 9 17 21 20).

(6) *Objects*.—The words included under this heading denote objects of which a particular shade of colour was characteristic. Thus בָּוִי, *būy* (2 Ch. 5 12, *ἑ βύσσινος*) was the fine cotton or linen manufactured by the Egyptians, and called elsewhere (Ex. 26 1 Gen. 41 42, etc.) עֲשֵׂי, *šēš* (see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 448, and the articles EGYPT, § 35, COTTON, and LINEN). הוּר, *hūr*, in Esth. 1 6 probably means 'white-stuff' (whence הוּר in Is. 19 9), and כְּרָפָם (Pers. *kārpas*) 'white cotton.' Three more rare words occur in the same verse which have been thought to denote different species of valuable stone or plaster: עֲשֵׂי, *šēš*, (also in Ca. 5 15) which has been supposed to be identical with עֲשֵׂי, *šayif* (1 Ch. 29 2), and to mean 'white marble' or 'alabaster'; כְּבָב, *bahat* (*ἑ ἰσθμαραγίδης*, *ἑ ἰσθμαραγίδος*) denoting perhaps 'porphyry' (so BDB; EV 'red marble'; RVmg 'porphyry'; רָב, *dūr*, meaning possibly 'pearl' or 'pearl-like stone'); *ἑ σόηρεθ* (*šōhereth* EV 'black marble'; RVmg 'stone of blue colour'), which has been derived from כְּהָר=כְּהָר, and taken to mean 'black marble' (see, however, MARBLE).

Lastly it remains to notice a few passages in which the EV unnecessarily implies a reference to colour. 17. *Ambiguities of EV*. Thus the colour 'green' is sometimes used in the EV to represent words denoting not colour but a healthy and flourishing condition. Of such words is עֲרֵב, *ra'dānān*, which means rather 'luxuriant,' is correctly translated in *ἑ* by various words expressive of *luxuriance* (*βαρύς* Dt. 12 12 Is. 57 5; *σφόδρισ* 3 K. 14 23 Ca. 1 16 Ez. 6 13; *ἀλωδών* 4 K. 16 4 17 13 2 Ch. 28 4 Jer. 36 13 17 8 Ez. 27 6). Very similar is the use of הָלֵב, *lah*, 'fresh, moist' (*χλωρός* Gen. 30 17 Ez. 17 24 20 17 [21]; *ἑ ἰγρός* Judg. 16 7 8) and בָּרֵב, *ra'bāb* 'juicy' (*ἑ ἰγρός* Job 8 10). Again אֲשֵׁיבָה, *asēvābā*, denotes 'fresh, juicy ears of corn' (Lev. 2 14), and עֲרֵב, *ēbā*, can be used of 'fresh young plants' (Job 8 12 Cant. 6 11); whilst עֲרֵב, *paggim*, seems to denote tender young fruits (Ca. 2 13, see Del. *ad loc.*), and כֶּרְמֵל, *karmel*, (Lev. 23 14) applies to 'garden fruit' in general. To this category belong also such compound expressions as אֲשֵׁי עֲרֵב, 'grassy pastures' (Ps. 23 2), and עֲרֵב עֲרֵב, 'sprouts of the field' (Ecclus. 40 22). In all these cases the term 'green,' used in AV, might indeed serve as a paraphrase; but it is otherwise with the following examples:—In Job 6 6 the word עֲרֵב translated 'white' (of an egg) is thought by many to mean 'the juice of pearsain' (so RVmg *ἑ ἰσθμαραγίδος* but see Frowd); but whichever interpretation be adopted it will be admitted that the Hebrew word contains no idea of colour. Similarly עֲרֵב, the reading adopted by EV in Is. 27 2 (AV 'red wine'; RV 'wine') instead of עֲרֵב (RVmg 'a pleasant vineyard'; see SBOT), means really 'foaming wine' (Driver on Dt. 32 14); and

¹ *ἑ δισσός* (*v. 22*) however suggests עֲשֵׂי 'double.' So Vg. Schlessner, GrL., Che.

¹ *ἑ* also gives *ὀβάκκινος* for עֲשֵׂי (Ex. 25 5 26 14 85 7 22, etc.), taking it as the equivalent of עֲשֵׂי.

עָרַב in the expression עָרַבְתָּם (Ex. 10. 16, etc., Wisd. 10. 18 βάλλασαν ἑαυτοῖς), meaning 'mixed', contains no reference to colour. Moreover, in the expressions אָרַב אָרַב (AV 'black night', RV 'blackness of night') in Pr. 7. 9 and אָרַב אָרַב (AV 'blackness') in Job 26. Nah. 2. 10 the English renderings are purely paraphrastic. In the same way the long robe (perhaps white with a blue border) worn by Joseph (Gen. 37. 3) and by Tamar (2 S. 13. 18) is transformed in the EV into 'a coat of many colours'. In Pr. 20. 30 (רִיחַן AV 'blueness' and Ecclus. 23. 10 (κόκκιον AV 'blue mark') the words mean literally 'bruisse'.
Literature.—Riehm, *HWB* 'Farben', 1. 436; Benzinger, *Arch. 269. 7*, 'Farben-namen'; Nowack, *HA 263. 7*, 'Malerei'; Del., *Irish*, and 'Farben' in *IRREB*; Perrot and Chipiez (W. Armstrong), *Hist. of Art in Palestine, Judaea, Syria, and Asia Minor*, 1. 109-30; and, since the above was written, an article by G. W. Thatcher in Hastings' *DB*. M. A. C.

COMFORTER (ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ [Ti. WH]), Jn. 14. 16. See PARACLETE.

COMMENTARY (מִצְוָה). 2 Ch. 13. 22. RV, AV¹⁹⁰⁸. See CHRONICLES, § 6 [2]; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 14.

COMMERCE. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

COMMON. The negatives of the qualities 'clean,' 'holy' (see CLEAN, § 14. 470—

1. 'Common,' a synonym for 'unclean' (see CLEAN), constantly in RV for שָׁן, *šān* (properly, 'that which is open,' *šān*), *šān* (2. 20); AV, however, only twice (מְשֻׁבָּשׂים מִשְׁכָּן הַשָּׁן this 2 S. 21. 4. 1); elsewhere it has 'unholy' (Ezek. 10. 12) or 'profane' (Ezek. 22. 26. 42. 20. 44. 23. 48. 15). In NT, the RV is less strict with κοινός, which is almost indefinitely rendered 'common,' 'unclean,' 'unholy,' 'defiled,' 'polluted.' So in 1 Macc. 1. 47 the RV (with AV) gives 'unholy' for κοινός. No injury is done to the sense; cp Acts 10. 15, 'what God hath cleansed (= pronounced clean), that call not thou common'; 2. 11 'common and profane'; 13 'that which is'; 20 'common'; 21 'any rate is treated as if free, from ceremonial restrictions'; it can be used in the common life—the life of the ἱερατικὸν βίον, the unintelligent 'people of the Land' (ὁ ἄλλος αἶμας ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὴν πίστιν, ib. 7. 20). And those who use what is only treated as if 'common' or open, when it has no right to be so treated, become 'common'—i.e., unclean—themselves. 'Common,' therefore, becomes a wide term, dangerously wide from a truly religious point of view. What an irony in the evangelist's expression with common (EV defiled), that is, unwashed hands!

2. 'Unclean,' the strict rendering of ἀκάθαρτος in NT, of *šān*, *šān*, in OT (ὁ ἀκάθαρτος). Both 'common' and 'unclean' can be used (1) of forbidden foods or of animals which may not be eaten (Acts 10. 14. 118. Rev. 18. 2). (2) Of persons who are not Jews, or who do not belong to the Christian community (Acts 10. 28. 1 Cor. 7. 14. 2 Cor. 6. 17; cp *šān*, Mk. 7. 15 and *šān*, Heb. 9. 13. Rev. 21. 27 [RT and RV]).

3. 'Unholy,' given in AV of Lev. 10. 10 (*šān*) becomes 'common' in RV. In Ezek. 22. 26. 42. 20. 44. 23 (same formula), AV renders *šān*, 'profane.' The influence of *šān* and *šān* may be suspected; these versions respectively give βέβηλον, ἁγροφανία, so also in Ezek. 48. 15, AV profane, Vg. ἁγροφάνια. 'Profane' is best reserved, however, for other Heb. words (see PROFANE). RV of NT retains 'unholy' in 1 Tim. 1. 9. 2 Tim. 3. 2 (ἀνόσιος), Heb. 10. 29 (κοινός).

4. On the peculiar technical term *šān*, 'to be polluted,' see HYPOCRISY.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS. in the widest sense of that expression, is usually considered (on the authority of Acts 2. 42-47. 4. 32-5. 11. 6. 1-6) to have been one of the established institutions of the earliest Christian society at Jerusalem. This opinion requires strict limitation; but that limitation is not to be based, as it has been, either on the intrinsic improbability of the institution itself, or on a vague conjecture that the writer of Acts has idealised the facts. It arises from an investigation of the sources of his narrative (cp ACTS, § 11)—a method which has to record one of its most assured results in connection with the subject of the present article.

We have in Acts not one account of the institution but three. (a) One account comprehensively records the sale of all lands and houses (χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν: Acts 4. 34. f.); according to 2. 45 the sale was of all possessions and goods whatsoever (τὰ κτήνητα καὶ τὰς ὑμᾶρεις), a common fund being thus formed, out of which all were supplied according as any man had need. (b) According to another account, the sale of property (κτῆμα, 5. 1; χωρίων, 5. 3) cannot have been universally prescribed, or

even generally customary; for Peter (5. 4) expressly declares that Ananias was free to retain in his private possession either his property or the money for which it was sold. Moreover, although there is no hint of there being anything to mark out the act of Barnabas (4. 36. f.) from the universal practice assumed in (a)—such as that the estate was his only one, or was particularly valuable—it is thought worthy of special honourable mention. In 4. 36. f., therefore, it is not assumed, as it is in 4. 34. f., that the sale of property was expected of all. (c) In 4. 32, however, where we find 'said' (ἐλεγεν) and not some word implying 'retained as private property,' there is no idea of any sale of property at all. The idea simply is that the owners placed their property in a general way at the disposal of the community at large. There is no assumption of a common fund.

(d) A fourth account may possibly be distinguished in Acts 2. 44.

The statement in 2. 44 b—that they had all things common—by itself alone agrees well enough with the last-mentioned and simplest account of the institution (that there

2. **Possibly a** was no actual sale), and 2. 44 a, which declares fourth account, that all that believed were together in one place,¹ might by itself be taken, like 1. 15. 2. 1. 1 Cor. 11. 20. 14. 23, to refer merely to the exigencies of social worship;² but the connection of the clause with the statement that follows (that they had all things in common) appears to imply that the entire community lived in common, dwelling in the same house and having common meals.

This inference, however, may safely be set aside, as it may well be doubted whether the collocation in Acts 2. 44 has not arisen from the author's having inadvertently combined two heterogeneous ideas without perceiving the possible misleading effect.

A social institution of the nature indicated would scarcely have been practicable in a community of 120 persons (Acts 1. 15)—much less in one of 3000 (2. 41) or more (2. 47). The other statements in Acts do not preclude the supposition that the meals, even love-feasts and the observance of the Lord's Supper associated with them, were held in different houses at the same time. Kar' οἶκον (AV 'from house to house,' AV¹⁹⁰⁸ and RV 'at home') in 2. 46 (cp 5. 42) need not be intended to convey that the whole community assembled on one occasion in one house and on another occasion in another; it may have a distributive meaning like κατὰ πόλιν ('in every city') in 15. 21 (and κατ' οἶκον, that is 'in every house,' in 20. 20). In Rom. 16. 5. 14. f., we find several household churches in the same city; cp also 1 Cor. 16. 19. Col. 4. 15. The complaint about the neglect of certain widows in the daily ministration (Acts 6. 1), which the word καθήκοντιν proves to have referred to their sustenance, could not have arisen if there had been no common meals (although indeed the expression 'tables' [τραπέζαις] might seem to point to these). It could have arisen only if the widows' share of provisions was brought to their houses.

A misrepresentation of the original idea, similar to that which, as has just been shown, may be present in

3. **Acts 5. 2. 244.** is unquestionably to be found in 5. 2. 19. 19. Col. 4. 15. The complaint about the neglect of certain widows in the daily ministration (Acts 6. 1), which the word καθήκοντιν proves to have referred to their sustenance, could not have arisen if there had been no common meals (although indeed the expression 'tables' [τραπέζαις] might seem to point to these). It could have arisen only if the widows' share of provisions was brought to their houses.

The hypothesis that the narratives are based on various sources receives material support 4. **Acts 4. 32-5. 11 not coherent.** from the impossibility of discovering any real coherence within the passages themselves.

Acts 4. 32 treats of a subject quite different from the matters

¹ This will also be the sense if we accept the reading of WH, which omits ὅπου and the following καὶ; they are retained in their marginal reading.

² 4. 32, το ἀπὸ in the NT always refers to place; AV 'into one place.'

dealt with in the preceding and the following verses. Nor can 4.34 be connected with 4.32. It could be connected with it only if the absence of poor persons were the reason (ὡς) why all property was common (2); 32 instead of being the result of the community of goods. Further, according to 4.34 f., the absence of poor is due not to community of goods, but to the sale of all property in land and houses and the establishment of a common fund, whereas, in 4.35-5.11 again, the sale of any property appears as a voluntary act of certain individuals. In like manner 2.42 is so definitely repeated in 2.46 that the narrative can hardly be an independent composition. It must be a compilation. Even more marked is the repetition of the first clause of 2.43, εὐχέμενοι ἕνα ὄψιν φάσθαι, in the third ὡς ἡμετερον κείνην. But even if this last clause be omitted, with WH (though it is difficult to explain how it could have arisen as a variant to the first clause), 2.44, with the reading καὶ πάντες ὅε, cannot be connected with what precedes. The opening, 'but, also all that believed (were) together, implies that others were together as well. The omission of the καὶ sanctioned by WH is clearly an attempt to remove the difficulty.

An attempt to prove that all these passages have been compiled by an editor from various sources, could be based only on an examination of the whole book. Such proof is not needful to our present purpose. It will be sufficient to have shown that the book presents three different views on the subject of community of goods.

If it be asked which of the three is the most likely to be the true view, it will be safe to answer that, if any one is to be preferred, it is that which is simplest (§ 1 c). An account of any institution of the kind, clothed with the glamour of the ideal, is sure to have been exaggerated by writers with incomplete information.

It is certain, however, that the general idea of community of goods was not strange to the primitive Christian society.¹

It is indicated in such sayings of Jesus as those recorded in Mt. 6.19 f. 10.9 19.21-24, and in such information about his own life as we find in Lk. 8.3. Besides, we know there was a distinctly Ebionite tendency which applied a literal interpretation to the blessings pronounced on the poor and hungry (Lk. 6.20 f. 22 f.), and saw the path of salvation in giving away all property in alms (Lk. 6.34 f. 11.41 12.33 19.9). It is not certain indeed that this Ebionite tendency was dominant in the period immediately following the death of Jesus. (The passages cited were taken up by the Third Evangelist from a document which itself rests upon an older written collection of sayings of Jesus. This is proved by the remodelled words in Lk. 6.20-26, which, not having any reference to the disposition of the persons addressed, certainly did not come in their present form from the lips of Jesus. Besides, what is here recommended is not so much community of goods as almsgiving.) The epistles of Paul, which are our most trustworthy authority, only show that in his time (20-30 years after the death of Jesus), the community at Jerusalem was poor, and, at least, contained a good many poor members, and stood in need of assistance from the Gentile-Christian churches (εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, 1 Cor. 16.2 2 Cor. 8.3, 9.1; but τῶν πτωχῶν alone, Gal. 2.10); εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου, Rom. 15.26 ff.).

The Gospels prove that many poor people had already attached themselves to Jesus in his lifetime. An active care for these, and consequently a more or less organised *διακονία*, must be assumed in the original church at Jerusalem. We may well suppose that, in as far as this ministrations took the form of a community of goods, it led, according to the usual lesson taught by other attempts of the kind, to the increase of poverty. It may, moreover, be conjectured that in the earliest Christian times the institution of community of goods increased the tendency to forego the pursuit of wealth, which, even without that institution, was occasioned, according to 1 Thess. 4.11-18 2 Thess. 2.1 f. 3.6-13, by the belief that the end of the world was near at hand and by the unrest to which this belief gave rise. We may suppose that wealthy members of the community in Jerusalem allowed their property to become available for the use of poor brethren; and this does not preclude the belief that of their own free will certain persons, such as Barnabas and Ananias, went further and sold their belongings for the benefit of the community.

Still, it is certainly not true that communism was prescribed as obligatory.

The uncertainty of the subject is shown also by Acts 6.1-6. It

¹ We can here only mention the possible influence of Essenism. See ESSENIEN, § 3.

would be very remarkable if there were no necessitous persons whose support could be neglected but widows. The phrase seems to be due to a usage of the author's own (comparatively late) period, in which, according to 1 Tim. 5.3-16, the 'widows' had an official position in the community. It is strange also that, although the mention of the names of the seven men appointed to 'serve tables' (διακονοῦντες τραπέζαις) points to a genuine tradition, their function—they are nowhere styled *διακονοί*—is never referred to afterwards (they are not to be identified with the *πρεσβυτέροι* of 11.30), and that only the Hellenists had to complain of the neglect of their widows. Just as in Acts 15.36-39 a less serious dispute is narrated in place of that, although the mention of the names of the seven men, § 3), so here, at the bottom of the narrative before us, there really lies, we may conjecture, some dissension occasioned by different conceptions of Christianity entertained by the natives of Palestine and by the Christian Jews who had come in from abroad.

In any case, the community of goods did not last long, though the view that it came to an end when the society was dispersed by the persecution (Acts 8.1-4) is no more than a conjecture.

The subsequent influence of the idealised picture in Acts is very noteworthy. In the exhortation to works

6. Subsequent influence of the idea. of charity in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (198), and similarly in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (48), the statement of Acts 4.32 is repeated as a command:

'Say not, "It is private property" (οὐκ ἐπέσι θία εἶναι). Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, 13, states that the Christians supported those in need from a common fund (ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινῆς), and ridicules the credulity with which they allowed themselves to be cheated by impostors in so doing. The influence of the same idea on the monastic life is obvious. P. W. S.

CONPASS. For כֹּחֲמָה, *m'hūgāh* (περὶ γυναικῶνα [Q mg. ?] BNAQI om.), RV COMPASSES, Is. 44.13 f. cp HANDICRAFTS, § 2. For כֶּרֶבֶת, *karkōbēh*, Ex. 27.5 38.4 f. AV 'ledge,' see ALTAR, § 9 (d).

CONANIAH (כֹּנַנְיָהוּ, Kt., פִּנְנְיָהוּ, Kr., according to Baer in 2 Ch. 31.13 כִּנְנְיָהוּ; cp CHENANIAH, חֲנַנְיָהוּ; § 31: "God hath established," ΧΩΝΕΝΙΑC [BL]). 1. Chief of the temple overseers, temp. Hezekiah, in conjunction with his brother Shimei, according to the Chronicler, 2 Ch. 31.12 f. (AV CONONIAH) (Χωχενιας [-], -ωνας [B. v. 12]).

2. A 'chief of the Levites' (Ch.) or 'captain over thousands' (1 Esd.), temp. Josiah; 2 Ch. 35.9 (χωχενιας [A¹], -ωνας [A²]) = 1 Esd. 1.9 (χωχενιας [BA], βανιας [B., EV JERONIAS]).

CONCUBINE (בִּזְיָהוּ, Gen. 22.24; Bibl. Aram. חֲתָנָה, Dan. 5.2). See MARRIAGE, § 5. FAMILY, § 5 a. and SLAVERY.

CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS. In a country where the rain-supply is small and irregular, which possesses scarcely more than one perennial stream (נָחַל אֶקָּי; cp Am. 5.24), and is not rich in springs, the preservation of water in cisterns and reservoirs, and the employment of trenches or conduits to convey it to the place where it was most needed, must have been of paramount importance. Hence the indispensability of rain and the trust placed in the continuance of its supply form the basis of some of the best-known and most beautiful metaphors in OT.

Leaving to the article SPRINGS [q.v.] what needs to be said upon the natural supply of water, we propose here to notice the artificial means by which it was stored and conveyed.

The ordinary method of preserving water was to dig (כָּדַר, חָפַר) or hew (חָצַב) out of the living rock a reservoir, varying in size from a small pit to an

1. Cisterns. extensive subterranean vault lined with masonry. Such cisterns go back to pre-Israelite times (Dt. 6.11 Neh. 9.25). To dig them was the work of a benefactor and deserving of special mention (e.g., 2 Ch. 26.10), and the opening ceremony, on one occasion at least, becomes the subject of a song (see BEER).

The ordinary Heb. term is בְּיָר, *byr* (for variant forms cp *BIBL* s.v.; *λάκκος* [BAL]),

CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS

properly an artificial excavation, and thus distinct from **באר** *ba'ar*, a natural well (see **SHRIMM**). When dry the *ba'ar* is a pit (cp Gen. 37 20) which can be used as a prison (Jer. 38 Gen. 40 15, etc.); **בית** *bet* Ex. 12 20. In poetical language *ba'ar* is applied to the pit of the graves (Ps. 20 7) or to Sheol (Ps. 69 14). In only two cases does *ba'ar* occur as part of a place-name: see **BORASIAN**, **SIRAH**.

Other terms are:—

2. **מַעַיִן**, *ma'ayan* (cp Ar. *ma'ayan* 'watering trough'), Is. 30 14 (AV 'pit'; in Ezek. 47 11 EV 'marish' [morass]), and

3. **בְּרֵית**, Jer. 14 3 K. 316 (AV 'ditch', RV 'trench'), perhaps used for purposes of irrigation (cp 2 K. 25 12; Jer. 52 19, 39 13 after Klo.); see **AGRICULTURE**, § 5.

4. **בְּרֵית**, *berith* (cp Gr. *καταβήθρα*) is used of an artificial pool, Eccl. 2 6 (with **מַעַיִן**), but elsewhere appears to refer to natural springs. Several pools were found in and around Jerusalem (cp below, and see **JERUSALEM**), also in Gibeon (2 S. 2 13), Hebron (Gen. 35 7), and Samaria (1 K. 22 39); for Cant. 7 13, see **BATH-RABIM**.

5. **מִקְוֵה**, *miqveh*, Is. 22 11, AV 'ditch', RV 'reservoir.'

It was of the utmost importance that citadels should be well supplied with tanks for collecting the rain-water (so at Masada and Machabees, Jos. *ant.* xiv. 116. *BJ* vi. 62, *ἐκδοχείων*). A cistern in the temple is mentioned in Eccl. 5 3 (ἀποδοχείων): cp below, and see **SEA**, **BRAZEN**. In the towns it seems to have been customary for every house to possess a cistern¹ (cp 2 K. 18 31 Prov. 5 15). The best example of this is found in Meshah's stele (*II. 24 f.*): 'there was no cistern (בַּר) in the midst of the city in קָרָה, and I said to all the people, "Make ye every man a cistern in the midst of his house." The same king records that he made יְאֵשָׁהוּעַ לְמִן 'reservoirs'; but whether the **הַבְּרֵיתָה** [the cutting] (L. 25) which Meshah made with the help of his Israelite prisoners was a conduit which fed these reservoirs is uncertain. The view is not improbable, however, since the art of forming channels to convey water was common to all the Semitic races and was not due to foreign influence.

Remains of conduits (מִקְוֵה, ὀμαγωγός [**BAQ**], *aqueductus*²), connected as a rule with pools, are to be found in many places in Palestine;

2. Conduits. they are usually mere trenches running along the surface of the ground, subterranean channels being somewhat rarer. Certain of the rock-cut channels and cisterns in Jerusalem (as well as the Siloam conduit) may be pre-exilic; in many cases, however, they have been enlarged or repaired to such an extent as to make it extremely difficult to tell to what period they belong.

Jerusalem was well supplied with water. Perhaps the most important of its pools was that which came from the so-called Pools of Solomon beyond **3. Pools of Solomon.** Bethlehem (13½ m. distant). These pools (situated close by the *Kalat el-Burak*) are near 'Atān and Artās, and must have been devised for a more important work than that of merely irrigating gardens⁴ (Eccles. 26 Eccl. 24 30 f., see **BATH-RABIM**).

There are three of them, partly hewn and partly enclosed by masonry. The lowest seems to have been used at one time as an amphitheatre for naval displays.

The pools are fed by two large conduits. The one, after cutting through the valley of 'Atān (Etām) by a tunnel, runs through the Wady Dēr el-Benāt, along the Wady el-Biār (Valley of Springs), and ultimately enters

¹ As Robinson remarks (*BR* 1 480 ff.), 'the main dependence of Jerusalem at the present day is on its cisterns, and this has probably always been the case.'

² The meaning is not certain: perhaps it is 'two reservoirs.'

³ The Heb. מִקְוֵה, *miqveh*, is used of ditches for irrigating trees (Ezek. 31 4 אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים בְּאֵרֵי [BAQ]), of a trench round an altar (1 K. 18 25 26; in these passages *ba'ara* [L.] *ba'ara* [BA]), and of conduits or aqueducts in the ordinary sense of the word (Job 38 25, ἕρσις [BMA] Is. 7 3 [om. **BAQ**] 2 K. 18 17 Is. 38 2 K. 20 20).

⁴ The name 'Solomon's Pools' is based solely upon Eccles. 2 6, and notwithstanding the statement of Josephus, we have no evidence that the gardens of Solomon were situated in the *W. Ajlūs* (= *hortus*, garden?); Baed. (9) 129 f.

the Bir el-Derej (Spring of Steps). The other is much longer and full of windings. Starting from a large reservoir, the Birket el-Arrib (now converted into a garden), it leaves the Wady of the same name, and after crossing the plateau of Tekū flows into the middle pool. Conduits connect also the Sealed Spring (mod. *'Ain Sāliḥ*), identified by a modern tradition with the **בְּרֵית** in Cant. 4 12, and the *'Ain 'Atān*¹ with this water-system.

From the Pools of Solomon the water is led into the city by two conduits. The higher goes along the N. slope of the valley of Burak, descending near Rachel's tomb and rising again. (A syphon was used and remnants of the pipes may still be seen.) It then proceeds towards the hill of Tanṭūr and the W. er-Rabābī (see **HINNOU**, **VALLEY OF**). It is partly rock-hewn and partly made of masonry. The lower conduit (still complete) goes with many windings from the lowest pool, E. along the slope of the valley, and then W. above Artās. One arm of the conduit was connected (probably under Herod's government) with the spring of Artās and ran to the Frank mountain. The main arm passes Bethlehem and Rachel's tomb on the S., proceeding sometimes above ground in a channel about 1 ft. square, and sometimes underground in earthen pipes. It then crosses the Hinnou valley by a bridge of nine low arches and meets the other conduit hard by the Birket es-Sultān. It finally runs SE. and E. along the valley over the causeway, under the Bāb es-Silselch (Chain-gate), and supplies the 'Elkas' and the king's cistern in the Haram.² These conduits were repaired by the Sultan Mohammad ibn Kalān of Egypt about 1300 A.D. Their date is unknown. The upper conduit is more artificial, and probably the older. Some refer them to the golden age of Judah, and tradition (oral and Rabbinical) ascribes them to Solomon. It has also been pointed out that they exactly resemble the conduits which were made by the Arabs in Spain.³

The well-known Siloam conduit runs from the Virgin's Spring (*'Ain Sitti Maryam*) to the Pool of Siloam (see **JERUSALEM**). It runs underground in a circuitous course and is 586 yds. in length⁴

4. The Siloam Conduit. (the direct distance between the two pools is 368 yds.). At its lower end it has a height of 16 ft.; but this gradually decreases to 3½ ft., and then to 2½ ft. This low part, however, is near the surface, and perhaps was originally an open channel. It is a dangerous conduit to explore, as the water is apt to enter unexpectedly and fill the passage. In various places false-cuttings and set-backs are found, indicating subsequent changes in the direction taken by the workmen. About 19 ft. from the Siloam end, on the right-hand side as one enters, is an artificial niche which contained a

5. Siloam Inscription. tablet bearing on its lower face an inscription. This was first observed in 1880, and was brought under the notice of Schick.

The tablet was about 27 inches square, and its top only one yard above the bottom of the channel. The inscription, known as the Siloam inscription, is the oldest

¹ In the Jer. Talmud it is stated, moreover, that a conduit led from 'Atān (Etām) to the temple (cp *Yoma*, iii. fol. 41; cp Lightfoot, *Devores Temp.*, chap. 20).

² Many subterranean passages and structures have been found under the Haram. Cp Jos. *BJ* vi. 7 3 84 94, and Tacitus: 'Templum in modum arcis . . . fons perennis aque, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus' (*Hist.* 5 12). Many of these were for removing the water and blood of the sacrifices, or for flushing the blood-channels (cp *Yoma*, 56, *Pesachim*, 22, *Me'ila*, 33, *Midot*, 32).

³ Jos., indeed, speaks of a conduit which Pilate began to build, taking funds for the purpose from the temple treasury and thereby causing grave disturbances (Jos. *ant.* xviii. 32, *BJ* ii. 94), and in one place gives the length as 400 stadia—a measure which would suit the conduit which leads from the Wady Arrib. It is more probable, however, that Pilate simply repaired the existing conduits; his reign was so often disturbed by Jewish seditions that he could hardly have had time to carry out such an immense undertaking. See Schür. *GVV* 1 410, and cp Eus. *HE* ii. 1007.

⁴ More precisely, 1757 ft. (Conder); but Warren gives 1708.

Hebrew inscription extant (cp Dr. *TBS* xv. f. [facsimile opposite]), WRITING, § 4).

It runs as follows:—(1) [Behold] the piercing through (קָרַעְתָּ) Now this was the manner of the piercing through. Whilst yet (the miners were lifting up) (2) the pick (קָרַעְתָּ) each towards his fellow, and whilst there were yet three cubits to be struck through, there was heard the voice of each man (3) calling to his fellow, for there was a fissure¹ in the rock on the right hand. . . . And on the day of the (4) piercing through, the hewers (קָרַעְתָּ) smote each so as to meet his fellow, pick against pick; and there flowed (5) the water from the channel (קָרַעְתָּ)² to the pool (קָרַעְתָּ) 2000 cubits; and a hundred (6) 3 cubits was the height of the rock over the head of the hewers.³

The difference of level in the bed of the channel is so slight that some are led to suppose that the excavations had some kind of test. Shafts were made here and there, probably in order that the men might find out their whereabouts. The first shaft is 470 ft. from the Siloam end. After that the passage is straighter.

The conduit is the work of a people whose knowledge of engineering was in its infancy. Its date is uncertain. It may be the one referred to in 2 K. 20:20 (= 2 Ch. 32:30);⁴ but the allusion in Is. 8:6 to the 'waters of Shiloah that flow gently' suggests that it may have been in existence in the days of Ahaz.⁵

More or less parallel with this, but straighter, is a channel, evidently connected with the Birket el-Hamrā (Birket Māmīllā), which lay to the E. of the Siloam pool. It is older than the Siloam conduit (see Schick, *PEFQ*, Jan. 1891).

6. Other Conduits.

The conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field (2 K. 18:17) is identified by Wilson with the aqueduct which seems to have run over the Cotton Grotto to the convent of the Sisters of Zion.⁶ Among other conduits may be noticed the one which connects the Citadel or Castle of David (el-Kalā'a) with the Birket Māmīllā. It is possibly referred to in Jos. *B. J.* v. 7,3, where mention is made of the 'gate where water was brought in to the tower of Hippicus' (the latter is usually identified with the NW. tower of the citadel).

For others, less important, see the memoirs of the *PEF*. Many remains of conduits, more or less well preserved, have been found in other parts of Palestine. It will be sufficient to mention the aqueduct at Jericho across the Wādī el-Kelt (see *Jos. Ant.* xvii. 13,1, Schür. *GI 1* 276); another on the road from Damascus to Palmyra, not far from Jerād; the kanāt Fir'aun, which crosses the Wādī Zēla near Der'āt (Edrei); and the aqueduct conveying water from 'Ain el-Fābigha (Ferrot-Chip. *Journ. Arch.* 1898, *Beaufort* 24).

(See 'Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem,' *ZDPV* 1, 1897 (1877); *Bonwinger, Heb. Arch.* 51, 1898;); Watson and Conder, *Jerusalem*; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Judaea*; Bued, *passim*, and the many notes and articles in the *PEF* publications). S. A. C.

CONEY (קָרַעְתָּ, see SHAPHAN; χοιρογυλλίος [BAFL] [Th. and many MSS of LXX have λαγωός in Ps. 104:18], Lev. 11 [in \mathfrak{C}^{BAP}], unless the order of the verses is accidentally reversed, קָרַעְתָּ is translated δασύπους Dt. 14 Ps. 104:18 Pr. 30:26⁷ should rather be 'rock badger' (RV^{WH}), the animal having been identified with certainty as *Hyrax syriacus*—called in Syriac *hāḏāḏ* and in Arabic *wabr*⁷ (Rob. *LBR* 3387, Tristram, *FFP* 1 f.).

¹ . . . wholly unknown, is translated by *Savoy* (RV² 1175) 'excess,' referring to a set-back. For the illegible part in the middle of l. 3 he suggests 'and to the left.'

² קָרַעְתָּ, like Ass. *naḫḫā*, seems to mean 'channel,' 'water-course,' *J. P. O. P.* 2: 113 B.

³ So most, reading קָרַעְתָּ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ; but the surface of the rock is here only about 10 ft. above the top of the tunnel whilst towards the N. it is 170 ft. This reading may represent the average thickness of the rock. Since, however, at the place of juncture (312:18 ft. from the back of the Virgin's fountain) there is a difference of height of just 13 inches, another reading קָרַעְתָּ מֵרֹאשׁוֹ 'a portion' [of a cubit], has been proposed (cp *Savoy, loc. cit.*).

⁴ It is otherwise identified with the one whose remains running W. and E. were discovered during the digging of the foundations for the English church.

⁵ See *Stade, GI 1* 504.

⁶ Jos. (*B. J.* v. 4,2) places the Royal Caverns (Cotton Grotto) near the Fuller's Monument. See *Athenaeum*, 6th Feb. 1875.

⁷ The name *thufin*, which is almost the same word as קָרַעְתָּ, is stated by *Fresnel (JRS*, 1838, p. 514) to have been found by him in use among the southern Arabs for the *jerboa*, an animal somewhat resembling the *hyrax*.

The origin of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain: it has been derived by Rödiger and others from the root meaning 'to hide,' akin to קָרַעְתָּ. The rendering 'coney' (the probable meaning of the Targumic קָרַעְתָּ) is due to Jewish tradition; but the habits of the rabbit do not suit the references in Ps. 104:18 *fr. 30:26*. *Stade* also is to be said for \mathfrak{C} rendering χοιρογυλλίος—i.e., hedgehog.¹

The *shaphan* of OT is known to naturalists under the name of *Procavia (Hyrax) syriaca* (Schrb.). It is a member of the Hyracoidea, one of the most remarkable orders of the Mammalia.

The Syrian hyrax is about the size of a small rabbit, and has a superficial resemblance to that rodent. It is of a dull orange-brown or fawn colour, and has prominent incisor teeth, one pair in the upper jaw and two in the lower; the former, as in the rodents, grow throughout life, but instead of being chisel-shaped at their tip are pointed, and the teeth are triangular in section. As in the rodents, there is a wide gap between the incisor and the molar teeth. The zoological position of the order is obscure. Cuvier pointed out certain anatomical features which they share with the rhinoceros; but this relationship has not been universally accepted, and at present it is better to regard them as an isolated order. Palaeontology has so far thrown no light on the subject. About fourteen species of hyrax are known, all of them from Africa, Arabia, and Syria. The *P. (Hyrax) syriaca*, like most of its congeners, lives in holes in rocky ground; usually many animals are found together, and they are very shy and easily frightened. When alarmed they utter a shrill cry and hastily retreat to their holes. According to Nassoung² they are easily tamed. They eat green leaves, fruit, hay, etc. They are said to make a nest of grass and fur, and to bring forth from two or three to six—three seems the usual number—young at a time. The Arabs esteem them as food, though Canon Tristram found them 'rather dry and insipid.' N. M.—A. E. S.

CONFECTION, CONFECTORIES (Ex. 30:25 35, AV; 1 S. 21:1, LV), old words meaning a composition (*confectio*), or mixture of drugs or dainties, and those who prepare such mixtures—i.e., 'apothecaries'—respectively. RV correctly translates: 'a perfume (קָרַעְתָּ) after the art of the perfumer (קָרַעְתָּ)'. In 1 S. *l.c.* female perfumers are meant (קָרַעְתָּ, *μυροφῶλ, unguentaria*). It is the masc. pl. of the same word (קָרַעְתָּ) that is rendered 'apothecaries' in EV (RV^{WH} 'perfumers') in Neh. 3:3 (זַאֲרַעִים [B], פִּיגְמֵנְטָרִים [L], *pigmentarii*).

CONFESS, CONFESSION. The verb קָרַעְתָּ in Hiph. and Hithp. means either to acknowledge aloud in ritual

1. **The term.** worship God's great and glorious attributes (= to praise him) or to make a solemn confession of sin.

The former meaning is far the commoner in Hiph., the latter in Hithp. (a) For קָרַעְתָּ 'to confess,' see Ps. 32:5 Prov. 28:13 +; (b) for קָרַעְתָּ 'to praise,' 2 Ch. 30:22⁸ (RV 'making confession'). For the more usual senses, see (a) Ps. 7:17 [18] 42:6 1 Ch. 16:8 34 and elsewhere; (b) Lev. 5:16 21:21 26:40 Num. 5:7 Ezra 10:1 Neh. 1:9 2 f. Dan. 9:4 20. Note also that the noun קָרַעְתָּ, generally 'thanksgiving,' has in Josh. 7:19 Ezra 10:11 the sense of 'confession of sin.' \mathfrak{C} renders the verb usually by ἐξομολόγησις, ἐξομολόγησις, once by ὁμολογεῖ; it never renders the noun by ὁμολογία.

No doubt there is primitive Semitic symbolism in the choice of קָרַעְתָּ to express the religious act of confession; but here, as elsewhere, we painfully feel the uncertainty of the subject (cp Lag. *Or.* 2:22). The root-meaning of the verb is 'to throw,' or perhaps (cp Ar. *wadd* and קָרַעְתָּ, Is. 11:8) 'to extend.' Some peculiar gesture used in confession seems to be indicated (cp *BDB, s.v.* קָרַעְתָּ). In 1 K. 8:38 'spreading forth the hands' is specified; but this was simply the ordinary gesture in prayer.

Individual confession of sin must be assumed to have been common, though references to it are scanty.

2. **Individual confession.** Josh. 7:19 is a passage by itself: Achán is bound to confess, to 'give glory' thereby to the all-seeing God; but he is not forgiven. Prov. 28:13 (but not Ps. 32:5, where pious Israel speaks) extols the benefit of it. 1 K. 8:38 virtually refers to it. When God touches the heart or

¹ That this and not *jerboa* (as supposed by Rödiger) is the meaning of the Greek word is made certain by the testimony of *Suidas* and *Hersechius*: see also *Ducange, s.v.*

² *Zool. Anz.* no. 490, 1895.

conscience of the sinner (צַדִּיק וְעַלֵּם אֶף־לֵב קַרְבָּיו אֲשֶׁר־אָוֶה, but EV 'the plague of his own heart'), the sinner spreads forth his hands (see § 1) towards 'this house' and obtains forgiveness. It has been suggested that the liturgical formula לְהוֹדִי לְבָרִיךְ לְזִכֹּר־לְרֵמֶמְבְּרָנְךָ (?) in the headings of Pss. 38 and 70 f. (viewed as a single psalm) means that these psalms were to be used by a man confessing his sin at the offering of a special sacrifice;² but the view is not very probable. After the destruction of the temple, the confession of sin by the high priest for the whole people having ceased, the duty had to be discharged by each Israelite for himself in the synagogue. Various formulae came into use, for which see the interesting conspectus in the article 'Sündenbekenntnis' in Hamburger's *REJ*, Abth. 2.

(a) Of liturgical confession of sin there are three great examples: Neh. 9 (18: 63-64 ff.) Dan. 9 (prayers like 51 may also be compared). Lastly 3. Liturgical formulae used by the high priest on the great fast have been preserved (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 7). See also the short general formula quoted by Weber (*Jüd. Theol.* 321), from Talm. Jer. *Yoma*, end. Such compositions belong to the class called מִסְתַּחֲפָפִים.

(b) There were liturgical confessions of another kind — thanksgiving confessions. A sacrifice of תְּשׁוּבָה (confession = thanksgiving) is one which is accompanied by a loud (because earnest) acknowledgment of God's gracious guidance (Ps. 107: 22; cp. Jer. 33: 11, post-exilic). The so-called *Hindu*-psalms (105-107) also may be mentioned here. On the phrase יְהוָה לִי, descriptive of a special service of the Levites, cp CHOIRS, § 2.

The point of contact between confession of sin and eucharistic confession is given in 1 K. 8: 33. When Israel is defeated because of its sins, 'if they turn again to thee, and confess thy name, and pray . . . , then hear thou in heaven, and forgive'; and it is in harmony with this that two out of the three liturgical prayers mentioned above begin with a glowing acknowledgment of Yahweh's goodness. (The prayer in Dan. 9 merely recognises the duty of thanksgiving in a few words relative to God's fidelity to his covenant.)

In the New Testament we find both senses of ἐξομολογέω (to thank, and to confess; e.g., Mt. 11: 25 30. In Rom. 14: 11 the verb represents ἔγνω; see Is. 45: 23. Ὁμολογέω and ὁμολογία usually signify 'profess,' 'profession'; so, e.g., 1 Tim. 6: 12, AV Heb. 3: 1, AV, etc.

Confession and repentance are necessarily connected—the Baptist's hearers are baptised, confessing (ἐξομολογούμενοι) their sins (Mk. 1: 5 Mt. 3: 6)—and therefore so also are confession and forgiveness. See 1 Jn. 1: 9 and especially Ja. 5: 16, where the 'healing' spoken of has reference to the sins confessed³ (moral and physical troubles connected; cp Is. 53: 5 1 Pet. 2: 24). The ἄλληλος ('one another') are Christian disciples.

The 'confession' of 1 Tim. 6: 12 may be that made at Timothy's ordination; but that of Heb. 3: 1 seems to be the confession of the divine sonship of Jesus, such as was made at baptism (see BAPTISM, § 3). T. K. C.

CONFISCATION OF GOODS (נִשְׁבֵּת הַיָּדָיִם). Ezra 7: 26 (ΣΗΜΑΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ [BA], ΣΗΜΑΙΩΣΑΙ ΤΑ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ [1.] = 1 Esd. 8: 24 [ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ [PIKH] ΧΑΛΚΙΑ [BA]). Cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. 1 Esd. 6: 32 has τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι [εἰς] βασιλευκῆς 'all his goods to be seized for the king,' for Ezra 6: 11, 'let his house be made a dunghill' (ἄλλως otherwise).

For the 'forfeiture' threatened in Ezra 10: 8 (נִשְׁבֵּת הַיָּדָיִם, ἀναβλαψθησεται πῶσα ἢ ὑπαρξία αὐτῶν; 1 Esd. 9: 4 ἀνερωθησονται τὰ κτήνη [θηρία τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, L] αὐτῶν 'seized to the use of the temple') see BAN, § 3.

1 Cp 1 S. 10: 26. For 222 in 26. 37 Ἐ has συναρνῆμα.

2 B. Jacob, *ZATW* 17 67 f. [97].

3 Read τὰ ἀμάρτια (WH), not τὰ παραπτώματα (TR).

CONGREGATION. For עֲדָה 'edah, and (less correctly) קָהָל *kahal*, and מִדְּבָר *middeh*, see ASSEMBLY.

'Thy congregation,' Ps. 68: 10 (11), RV mg. 'thy troop' (cp 2 S. 20: 11 18, 1 V; but see LITUAL, represents a corrupt Heb. word, מִדְּבָר should probably be *שָׂרָא*. *Caesar* was a lord of corn; cp Is. 56: 17. Fully corrected, the line becomes, 'with thy bread they were satisfied therein' (Che. *P. 2*, 7).

συναγωγή (Acts 13: 44) is in RV ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ (1: 2). For *Assembly* of RV mg. as in Tyndale, etc. (ecclesiastical), see GLOSSARY (50 in EV).

CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF (הַר מִצִּיּוֹן; ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἐπισημῶν [HNAQ(1)]: *in monte testamenti*; *הַר צִיּוֹן*). RV's modification of AV, which suggests an impossible identification with Zion (Is. 14: 13). The phrase occurs in the boast of the king of Babylon, and describes a mountain whose summit was above the 'stars of God' (the brightest constellations), and its base in 'the recesses of the north.' The best rendering is 'Mountain of (the divine) assembly.'

No one would have thought of Mount Zion, but for the accidental parallelism of מִדְּבָר (AV 'tabernacle' of the congregation, RV 'tent of meeting'), and the supposed reference to a passage in Ps. 91: 1 (10) and so AV 'Mount Zion' (the sides of the north, the city of the great king).

מִצִּיּוֹן is a perfectly vague expression, and Ps. 48: [1] is under too great a suspicion of corruptness to serve as a commentary.¹ It is, in fact, no mountain known in terrestrial geography that is meant, but the 'holy mountain of Elohim' (Ezek. 28: 13 f.), where there were the 'flashing' stones (see CHERUB, § 2, n.), and the cherub, and (so the prophet thought) the king of Tyre (see CHERUB, § 2). It is not stated that this holy mountain was in the north; but we may presume from Ezek. 14 that it was regarded as being there. This is confirmed by Job 37: 22 (emended text).

Out of the north cometh (supernatural) brightness;²
On Eloah there is a compassing of compassour.

That the Babylonians believed in a similar northern mountain can hardly be doubtful, in spite of Jensen's learned argument (*Kosmos*, 203-206) against comparing the *הַר מִצִּיּוֹן* with the *Ē-harsag-kurkura* ('Mountain-house of the lands') of the Prism Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. (Del. *Par.* 118). It appears that the later OT writers supposed the north to be above, and consequently the south below the earth (see Job 26: 7, and cp EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF). The expressions 'I will scale the heavens,' and 'in the recesses of the north,' are therefore strictly accurate.³

CONIAH (כְּנִיָּהוּ). Jer. 22: 24. See JEHOIACHIN.

CONONIAH (כְּנִנְיָהוּ). 2 Ch. 31: 12 f. AV, RV CONANIAH.

CONSECRATE. For קָדַשׁ *qiddeh*, 'to separate' (Ex. 28: 3), see CLEAN, § 1 f. For קָדַשׁ *middeh* 'and, 'to fill the hand' (1 Ch. 29: 5), whence מִדְּבָר *middeh*, AV CONSECRATION (Ex. 29: 22), see CLEAN, § 3. For קָדַשׁ *heh'erin*, 'to devote' (Mic. 4: 13), see BAN, § 1. For קָדַשׁ 'to dedicate (oneself)' (Nu. 6: 12), whence קָדַשׁ *ndeeh*, AV CONSECRATION, RV 'separation' (Nu. 6: 7), see NAZIRITE.

Terrestrially in Heb. 7: 28 is better rendered 'perfected' by RV (cp AV 2: 10 5). For *dekaisiases* (Heb. 10: 20), RV 'dedicated,' see DEDICATE.

¹ Some (Osh., Che. *P. 2*, We.) omit צִיּוֹן מִצִּיּוֹן as a gloss. Che. *P. 2*, 7 begins a new stanza with the words צִיּוֹן מִצִּיּוֹן צִיּוֹן מִצִּיּוֹן 'Mount Zion—in its recesses is his jewel.' צִיּוֹן 'jewel' = the holy city, as in Ezek. 7: 22 (see Simend, *ad loc.*). Those who accept neither solution of the problem must adopt the view described in *Opf.* 317, which, however, Baethg. rightly pronounces not quite satisfactory.

² Read מִצִּיּוֹן with Che. (*Exp. Cos.* July 1897) and Dahm.

³ Hommel (Hastings' *DBI* 216) adopts this view, and compares מִצִּיּוֹן with a Bab. title of the sacred mountain, *Ē-barra*, 'house of assembly.' Karppe (*Journ. As. g* 1897), 104 thinks that the sacred mountain was originally the earth itself.

CONSTELLATIONS (כִּסְלִים), Is. 13 to EV. See STARS, § 3 (b).

CONSUL. A letter of 'Lucius, consul of the Romans' (ὄραρος Πουπλου [ANV]) to King Ptolemy of Egypt is given in 1 Macc. 15:10-21. See LUCIUS, 1, and MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9.

CONSULTER WITH FAMILIAR SPIRITS (שֹׁאֵל טֹבִים), DE. 18:1. See DIVINATION, § 4 (B.1).

CONVOCATION, HOLY (קִרְיַת קֹדֶשׁ), Ex. 12:16. See ASSEMBLY, 3.

CONVOY (עֲבָרָה), 2 S. 19:14 [19], RV¹⁹⁰⁸, EV FERRY BOAT (עֲבָרָה).

COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS. The task of preparing the daily food naturally fell to the

1. **Kitchens** women of the household, even women of the highest rank attending, on occasion, to this part of the household duties (2 S. 13:8 f.; cp below). An apartment or apartments specially devoted to the preparation of food—in other words, a kitchen—can have been found only in the houses of the wealthy. We can realise without difficulty the kitchen of the Hebrew kings and nobles from the life-like picture of that of Ramesses III, as figured on his tomb at Thebes (reproduced in Wilk. *Anc. Egypt*, 232-34). In such establishments there were cooks, male (בְּקָחִים; 1 S. 9:23 f.) and female (בְּקָחִיּוֹת; 1 S. 8:13). In connection with the great sanctuaries, too, such as Shiloh (1 S. 14:9) and Bethel, there must have been something of the nature of a public kitchen, where the worshippers had facilities for preparing the sacrificial meals. In his sketch of the restored temple at Jerusalem, Ezekiel makes provision for such kitchens (both for the priests [46:19 f.] and for the people [21-24]), which are here called 'boiling-places' (בְּשִׁילֹתַי, μαγειρεία [BAQ]; v. 23) and 'boiling houses' (בְּשִׁילֹתַי, μαγειρεία τῶν οὐρανῶν; v. 24). See CLEAN, § 2.

In an ordinary Hebrew household, whose food, except on great occasions, was exclusively vegetarian,

2. **Culinary arrangements** the culinary arrangements were of the simplest kind. Two large jars (רֵב, *kudh*, the ὑδρία of Jn. 4:28 26 ff.) of sun-dried clay had a place in the meanest house, one for fetching the daily supply of water from the spring—carried then as now upon the head or on the shoulder¹—by the women of the household (Gen. 24:15 f.; cp 1 K. 18:32 [34]; EV 'barrel')—the other for holding the store of wheat or barley for the daily bread (1 K. 17:12 14 16; EV 'barrel'). In both the passages last cited the American revisers rightly prefer the rendering 'jars.' To these we must add some instrument for crushing or grinding the grains of the various cereals used as food, in particular wheat and barley (see FOOD, § 1, BREAD, § 1). The most primitive method was simply to crush the grains between two stones or rather to rub them upon a flat stone by means of another. Such primitive corn-grinders or 'grain-rubbers' (as they were called in Scotland) were found by Mr. Bliss at all stages of his excavations in Tell el-Hesi—the probable site of Laeshish—'long slabs flat on one side and convex on the other, with rounded ends' (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 83, illustr. p. 85). They are found also both in ancient and in modern Egypt (see illustr. in Erman's *Egypt*, 190, for the former; for the latter, Benz. *HA* 85, Nowick, *HA* 1110). The pestle and mortar (see MORTAR) represent a later stage in the art of preparing food. The still more effective hand-mill or quern (מִלֵּן) with its upper and nether millstones—hence the flat form—is the last to appear (Erman, *op. cit.* 189; see also MILL).²

¹ The practice varies in different parts of Syria. In some parts the jar when empty is carried on the head; when filled, on the shoulder (*J. B. M.* 1:156).
² Cp Daugherty, *Am. Des.* 2:170: 'After the water-skins a pair of millstones is the most necessary husbandry in an Arabian household.'

MILK (*q.v.*) was kept in skins (Judg. 4:19), but more usually in bowls, wine in skin bottles (see BOTTLE, 1), oil and honey in earthenware jars (see CRUSE, 2). Olives, grapes, figs, and the other fruits of the soil were no doubt kept partly in similar jars, partly in baskets, of which several varieties are named in OT and NT (see BASKET). Such were the *sal* (סַל, Gen. 40:17 etc.; κασίδιον [ADEL]), a basket of wicker-work; and the *fené* (פֶּנֶה, Dt. 26:2; κάλασθος [BAFL]); *canistrum*, cp Yeng. *En.* 8:180) for carrying wheat from the threshing-floor, to judge from the passage Dt. 28:5 17 ('blessed shall be thy basket and thy kneading-trough' RV; *Θα ἀροθῆ-και σου*);¹ and the *dud* (דֹּד), a basket in which figs were gathered (Jer. 24:2 Ps. 81:6 [7] RV). The preparation of bread, always the staple article of diet, required the kneading-trough (מִשְׁחָתָה) of wood, earthenware, or bronze according to circumstances, and the oven (טֶבֶן)—mentioned together Ex. 8:3 (7:28)—for which see BREAD, § 2 c.

Coming now to cooking, in the ordinary sense—that is, the preparation of food by the agency of fire,—

3. **Preparation of food.** we find that the various methods of cooking to which reference is made may be grouped under two heads.

The food was cooked either (1) by bringing it into immediate contact with the source of heat, whether as in the case of the ash-cakes (*subincinerius panis*, 1 K. 19:6, described under BREAD, § 2 a) or in the rough and ready method of roasting on the live embers (see below) or in the more civilised method of roasting by means of spit or gridiron; or (2) by using a suitable liquid as the medium for transmitting the heat required—such as water, milk, oil, or fat (in frying). It would seem that the Hebrews originally included these various processes under the general term בִּשַׁל.

The original signification of this verbal root was evidently 'to be or to become ripe,' 'to ripen' applied to grain (Joel 3[4]13) and fruit (Gen. 40:10), from which the transition to the idea of 'making (food) eatable'—i.e., cooking—was easy (cp post-biblical בִּשַׁל something cooked, a 'dish'). Hence we find בִּשַׁל 'cooked with fire' (2 Ch. 35:13) and בִּשְׁבַע 'cooked with (or in) water' (Ex. 12:9), when it is important that 'roasted' and 'boiled' shall be precisely distinguished. In ordinary language, however, בִּשַׁל was used only in the sense of 'boil,' while for the various forms of 'roasting' indicated under (1) above (1 S. 2:15 Is. 44:16 19) use was made of the word צָלָה. That which was roasted, a roast, was צֶלֶת (Is. 44:16; cp קָלָה roasted or parched corn; see FOOD, § 1). In the Talmud a third verb is frequently found alongside of צָלָה and בִּשַׁל—viz., קָצַף, which is applied not only to the cooking of flesh but also to the boiling down of fruit to make preserves (*Masas*, 4:1, *Ar.* 8:9). These three verbs are generally taken to represent the Latin *assare, coquere, et elixare* respectively, in which case קָצַף would signify 'to boil thoroughly' (cp קָצַף in Ezek. 24:10, RV 'to boil well,' and *Ar.* *ib. n.* 5); it is probably equivalent to our 'stew,' since in the absence of knives and forks (see MEALS) the Oriental has to stew his meat till it can be readily pulled in pieces by the hand.

When the meat was boiled in a larger quantity of water than was necessary for stewing, the rich liquor which resulted was known as *marék* (מֵרֶק, Judg. 6:19 f. Is. 65:4 kr. [Kt. מֵרֶק] EV 'broth'), also perhaps as קִרְיָה (Ezek. 24:10, RV 'make thick the broth'). The meat and the broth might be served together or separately (the latter by Gideon, *Judg. loc. cit.*). When the meat, on the other hand, is set on with a smaller quantity of water, to which onions or other pungent vegetables or spices have been added, the result is the favourite Arab stew *yahni* (يخني), perhaps the יָחֵן (*Ned.* 7) שֶׁלֶקָה (*Ab. Zar.* 2:5) of the Mishna. The 'savoury meat' (מֵשֶׁהֶבֶת, Gen. 27:4; cp Prov. 23:3) which Rebekah prepared from 'two kids of the goats' was doubtless a spiced stew of this kind.

¹ A reference to another modern dish, *hibbeh*, which has been

² The Mishnic Heb. מִלֵּן is a large metal basket; cp *BDB*, and, for this and other vessels, J. Kregel, *Das Haugerät in der Mishnah*, 1 Theil, 1899 (see index).

COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS

called the national dish of Syria, has been found by various scholars in Prov. 27:26 RV: 'Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar with a pestle among bruised corn, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.' This exactly describes the operation of making *kibbekh*: the mutton is first pounded to shreds in a wooden or stone mortar; it is then mixed with *burghul* (see Food, § 1), and the whole boiled and served.¹ [But on the text see *Abel*, *7*, 200, 210; *אבן עזר* 'bruised corn' (כ) is emended to כִּבְבֵךְ, 'his fellows.']

When an animal of the herd (בְּהֵמָה) or of the flock (צֹאן, see, further, Food, § 11, and SACRIFICE) was to be prepared for food it was first slaughtered according to the prescribed method and the carcase thoroughly drained of its blood. For skinning, flint knives (כַּאֲבֵלֵתֵי אֶבֶן) were used in early times (cp Josh. 5:2 ff., RV 'knives of flint')—such as those recovered from Tell-el-Hesi (Bliss, *op. cit.* 194, illustr. 106). Sacrificial knives were later known as כַּלְהִיטִים (Ezra 1:9; cp post-biblical כַּלְהִיטֵי אֶבֶן); a knife for ordinary domestic purposes was כַּנֵּף (Prov. 23:22)—in later Hebrew always כַּנֵּף. The animal was then cut up, the technical term for which was נָתַח (Lev. 1:6 and often)—a single piece נֶחֱתָה—the priests received the portions that were their due and the remainder was consigned to the pot. The latter, if of copper, had in later times to be scrupulously scoured (בִּקָּה) and rinsed (שָׁטַף, *Zech.* 11:4 ff.; cp Mk. 7:4) when the cooking was over.

The primitive hearth was formed of a couple of stones by which the pot was supported, room being left beneath for the fuel—wood or dung (see

4. Firing. COALS, § 2). Large pots might be placed on the top of the *tannûr* or baking oven, as at the present day; such an arrangement was found to have been in use in the ancient Lachish (see Bliss, *op. cit.* 97). The smaller pots were boiled on a chafing dish or pan containing charcoal (אֵשׁ בַּיָּר, *Zech.* 12:6 AV 'hearth of fire,' RV 'pan of fire'), as in Rameses' kitchen. In Lev. 11:35 there is mention, alongside of the *tannûr* or oven, of the *kirûn* (כִּירִין, *συβρόσθδες* [BF], *χυρρόσθδες* [AL]; EV 'range[s] for pots,' RV 'stew-pan'). According to the Talmud, it was a portable cooking-stove, capable of holding two pots (hence the dual) as distinguished from the *kuppâh* (כּוּפָה, better כּוּפָה), a stove which had room for only one pot (*Jastrow, Dict., s.v.*). Like the *tannûr*, it was of baked clay, and, therefore, easily broken (cp Di. *in loc.* and Now. *HA* 2:280, n.). The *kirûn* (in the sing.) and the *kuppâh* are frequently mentioned together in the Mishna (see esp. *Ketim*). For carrying the necessary charcoal a ladle or firepan (*matkâh*) was used (Ex. 27:33 & 3; in Num. 16:6 ff. 'censer'; *Kel.* 2:37); for stirring and adjusting it, a pair of tongs (כַּלְהִיטִים Is. 66); *šims*, shovels (*pala* or *rutrum*), for removing the ashes, are mentioned, but only in connection with the great altar (see ALTAR, § 9). The bellows (מִנְחָה; *φυστήριον* [B&AQ]) of Jer. 6:29 was probably used only by the metal smelters—for a description and illustration, see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 2:312. The ordinary housewife was content to fan the charcoal with a fan (מִנְחָה, *Kel.* 16:7) of feathers, as pictured in the representation of Rameses' kitchen referred to above.

The names of various utensils in which food was actually cooked are differently rendered in EV without any attempt at consistency: pan, kettle, caldron, pot (in this order is the list given in 1 S. 2:14). The data at our command do not permit of these being accurately distinguished one from another. In the houses of the poor they were

¹ For other modern dishes see Lane (*Mod. Egypt.* 5) and esp. the elaborate menu of a native dinner in Klünzinger (*Upper Egypt*, 59 ff.); see also, for Syria, Landberg (*Proverbes et Dictonnaires*, 590).

² The 'good piece' (AV) or 'portion' (RV) of flesh which David distributed among the people at the bringing of the ark (2 S. 6:19 = 1 Ch. 16:3) is only one of several traditional renderings of the doubtful Heb. word מִנְחָה, the real signification of which has been lost. See Dr. TBS *in loc.* [Since the word

doubtless of glazed or even unglazed earthenware (כִּי־עֵרֶךְ, Lev. 6:28[27]; see POTTERY); in those of the wealthier classes, of bronze (כִּי־נָחַץ, *loc. cit.*, Ezek. 24:11). The difference of מִנְחָה (to say) between the two materials gives point to Ben Sira's illustration, 'What fellowship shall the earthen pot have with the [brazen] kettle?' (*χύτρα πῶς λέβητα*: Ecclus. 13:2 f.). In connection with the temple we read not only of pots and caldrons made of bronze (1 K. 7:45 = 2 K. 25:14 Jer. 52:18) but also of such vessels of silver and gold (Jer. 52:19).

i. For boiling meat various vessels were employed (cp 1 S. 2:14). (a) The most frequently mentioned is the *sîr*, *sîr*, pot or caldron. It was used for cooking the ordinary family meal (2 K. 4:38 ff. Mic. 3:3 Ex. 16:3 [flesh pots of Egypt]), and for boiling the sacrificial flesh (*Zech.* 14:20). It served also for a 'washpot' (Ps. 60:10[9]). It must have been one of the largest of the cooking vessels, to judge from the incident recorded in 2 K. 4:38 ff. ('the great pot' for the whole company of the prophets). (b) The *kiyyôr* (כִּיִּיֹר) must have been a wide, shallow pot of considerable size, since the same name is given to the 'layer of brass' (Ex. 30:18) at which the priests were to wash their hands and feet. It served as a chafing-dish (*Zech.* 12:6). Wherein the *kiyyôr* differed from (c) the *pârûr* (פָּרוֹר) in which the manna was boiled (Nu. 11:8 RV), and (d) the *dud* (דוּד, Job 41:20[12]), and (e) the *hullâhath* (חֻלְחָת, Mic. 3:3), we do not know.

In Job 41:20[12] caldron (AV) is a mistranslation of מַטְבֵּן (see RUSH, 2). In 2 S. 13:9 MT has שִׁבְרָתָה not found elsewhere (EV pan); but the true reading is probably 'and she called the servant' (שִׁבְרָתָה: see Klie, followed by K1. and Bu.).

These various pots, pans, etc., were probably used without a lid (in late Heb. מַטְבֵּן), although the obscure מַטְבֵּן of Nu. 19:15 is taken by some to have this signification.

ii. A fork (פָּרוֹן, פָּרוֹן) of two or three (1 S. 2:21) prongs was used to lift the meat from the pot, and also to stir the contents of the latter (see illustration, Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 32).

iii. The spoons (בִּבְתִּים) mentioned among the furniture of the table of shewbread (Ex. 25:29) and elsewhere were more probably shallow bowls. We find, however, in the Mishna, real spoons (מִרְיָן) made of bone (*Shabb.* 8:6, *Kel.* 17:2) and of glass (*Kel.* 30:2). There is also mention of a wooden cooking ladle (פָּרוֹר עֵץ *Bêšâh*, 1:7), which was probably used for removing the scum (קֵלָהָר, Ezek. 24:6 11, so AV; but this word is more probably 'rust' as RV) from the contents of the *pârûr* or pot (otherwise explained by Levy, *s.v.* פָּרוֹר).

While boiling, to judge from the comparative frequency of the OT references, was the favourite

6. Roasting. mode of cooking flesh-meat, there need be no hesitation in saying that roasting also was practised from the earliest times. In its most primitive form, roasting, as we have seen, consists in laying the meat directly on the ashes or other source of heat, either kindled on the ground or in a pit specially dug (Burckhardt, *Notes, etc.* 1:240, *Rob. Bab.* [41], 1:118 394). The fish of which the disciples partook by the lake of Galilee was cooked by being laid on the charcoal (θψάριον ἐπικέειμενον, Jn. 21:9).

The spit, the *ôbêlôs* of the Homeric poems, is not mentioned, as it happens, in the OT; but of its use there need be no doubt. In Egypt, Erman tells us, 'the favourite national dish, the goose, was generally roasted over live embers; the spit is very primitive, a stick stuck through the beak and neck of the bird. They roasted fish in the same way, sticking the spit through the tail' (*Egypt*, 189, illustr. *id.*, and Wilk. 2:35). The wooden spit was favoured by the Romans (cp Verg. *Georg.* 2:396, 'Pinguicula in verubus torreat' appears to be corrupt, the emendation מִנְחָה לֵאמֹר, 'a piece of flesh,' has been suggested by Cheyne. This easy alteration suits the context.)

binus exta colurnis).¹ Later Hebrew legislation—in this, no doubt, perpetuating an ancient practice—required that the Passover lamb should be roasted on a spit of pomegranate (סֵפֶר תְּפִלָּה [Levy, *שֵׁפֶר*] *Ps.* 71). The ordinary spit, being of iron,—so much we may infer from the demand that a spit purchased from an idolater must be cleansed in the fire (*Ab. Zara.* 512)—was not allowed for the above-mentioned purpose; neither was the gridiron (מַלְחָה, *Ps.* 7). The spit, we may suppose, rested on andirons¹ (*βάσεις, varæ*), on which it could be turned by the hand.

The passage of the treatise *Pesähim* above referred to speaks further of roasting, or more exactly of broiling, on a gridiron placed apparently over the mouth of a *tannur* or baking oven. The gridiron was perhaps used to prepare the piece of broiled fish (ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος) of Lk. 2442. Not only fish and fish but also eggs, onions, etc., were roasted by the Jews (*Shabb.* 130).

The favourite mode of roasting meat for ordinary household purposes at the present day in Syria is by means of skewers. The meat is cut into small pieces, which are stuck upon the skewers and roasted over a brazier. Meat thus prepared is termed *kobeh*.

With regard to the food-products of the vegetable kingdom (see *FOOD*), many vegetables were of course eaten raw (ἀμός, in Hebrew חָ, literally

7. Vegetable food. 'living,' a word applied not only to raw animal flesh [*S.* 215 *Lev.* 13.10 ff.], but also to fish [*Nedar.* 64], to vegetables [*ib.*], and even to unmixd wine). They were also cooked by being boiled, alone or mixed with various ingredients—such as oil and spices. The Hebrew housewives, we may be sure, were not behind their modern kinsfolk of the desert, of whom Doughty testifies that 'the Arab housewives make savoury messes of any grain, seething it and putting thereto only a little salt and *samm*' (*Ar. Des.* 2130). Thus, of the cereals, the obscure *ärisäh* (אֲרִיסָה, Nu. 15.20 f.) was probably a porridge of barley groats (see, further, *FOOD*, § 1), whilst Jacob sod for himself a dish (קִי, EV 'pottage') of lentils (*Gen.* 25.29 34); the same name is given to the vegetarian dish prepared for the sons of the prophets (2 K. 4.38 ff.; cp *Hagg.* 212). In NT times, at least, it was known that the pulses or pod-plants were improved by being soaked (MH וְקָרָה before being boiled). Various kinds, such as beans and lentils, might be boiled together (*Orlah.* 17); they might also, like our French beans, be boiled in the pods (קָלִיָּה). In the OT we find mention of the *mähäbath* (מַחְבֵּת, תְּחָגָעוֹן, AV 'pan,' RV 'baking-pan,' mg. 'flat plate,' *Lev.* 25.62 [14], etc.) and the *marhësheth* (מַרְהֶשֶׁת, EV 'frying pan,' *Lev.* 27.79). The *mähäbath* certainly (see *Ezek.* 43), and the *marhësheth* probably, was of iron; and, although both are used with reference only to the sacrificial cakes (see *BAKEMEATS, BREAD*), we may legitimately infer from the fact that the martyrs of 2 Macc. 7 were roasted alive on the תְּחָגָעוֹן (*vs.* 35; cp late Heb. word טַבַּח) that both may have been used also in the preparation of meat.

To judge from the prepositions employed (עַל, 'on,' וּ, 'in'), the *mähäbath* was deeper than the *marhësheth*. This inference is confirmed by the tradition, which we find in the Mishna, that the difference between the *marhësheth* and the *mähäbath* consisted in the former having a lid (כֶּסֶף) while the latter had none; and to which another authority adds that the former is deep and its contents fluid, the latter flat and its contents firm (*Menah.* 58). The *mähäbath*, in short, was a stewpan, the *marhësheth* similar to Scotch 'girdle,' a flat iron plate on which oatcakes are baked. A striking illustration of *Ezek.* 43 is furnished by Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1593), who describes an iron-plated door in the castle of Häyil: 'the plates (in the indigence of their arts) are the shield-like iron pans (tannür) upon which the town housewives bake their girdle-bread.'

Other utensils named or implied are (א) the sieve,

¹ Some would give this or a similar sense to מַלְחָה. See *Jastrow, Dict.* 207.

mähäb (מַלְחָה, Is. 30.28; *Shabb.* 82, *Aboth.* 5.15), for sifting the flour, and (ב) the strainer, *mähämérêth*, מַחְמֶרֶת (*Shabb.* 20, *Ab.* 5.15 [especially for wine]; cp *Is.* 25.6, Mt. 23.24). An ordinary bowl, however, might be perforated so as to serve as a strainer, as we see from the pottery of Tell-el-Hesi (*Bliss, op. cit.* 85). To these may be added (c) one of the commonest of the post-biblical terms for a pot, קִרְרָה, קִרְרָה; hence קִרְרָה came to signify 'cooked food' (*Nedar.* 61). For the vessels used for serving food, see *MEALS*, § 8.

The importance of oil in the Hebrew kitchen will be noticed under *OIL* (*q.v.*). In early times the custom,

8. Condiments. so popular among the modern Arabs, of boiling flesh in milk seems to have prevailed among the Hebrews. The oldest legislation—confirmed by the Deuteronomic—limited this practice so far as to forbid (for reasons that are still obscure: cp *FOOD*, § 13, and see *MAGIC, SACRIFICE*) the seething of a kid in its mother's milk (*Ex.* 23.19 34.26 *De.* 14.21). In NT times this prohibition had been extended far beyond its original intention.

Thus we read in the Mishna: 'It is forbidden to seethe (שָׁרַב) any sort of flesh in milk, except the flesh of fish and locusts; it is also forbidden to set flesh upon the table along with cheese' (with the same exceptions, *Shullin.* 81). It was still debated whether the prohibition applied to fowls and game or only to cattle, sheep, and goats (*ib.* 4). In the course of time, however, it became part of the Jewish dietary law, that two distinct sets of cooking utensils—one for meat alone, and another for dishes into the preparation of which milk or butter enters—are required in every orthodox Jewish kitchen (see on this law of בָּרַב בָּרַב esp. *Wiener, Die jüd. Speisegesetze*, 41-120 [195]). Extreme purists have gone the length of using three (*ib.* 115/7) and even four such sets. A. R. S. K.

COOS, or rather, as in RV and 1 Macc. 15.23 EV, **Cos** (ΚΟΣ; now *Stamátou=cos*, ες τῆς κοῦ), the least and most southerly of the four principal islands off the coast of Asia Minor. It lies at the entrance to a deep bay, on the two projecting promontories of which were Cnidus and Halicarnassus. It owed its fertility to its volcanic origin, and its commercial importance to its position. It lies on the high road of all maritime traffic between the Dardanelles and Cyprus: vessels coasting in either direction must pass within half a mile of the capital (also called Cos), which was on the E. extremity of the island, and had a good anchorage and a port sheltered from all winds except those from the SE. *Lucan (Phar.* 8.243) thus sketches the usual route of ships:—

*Ephesusque relinquens
Rodiis saxa Sami; spiritus de Litore Coo
Anax Ruens: Cnidon indigestis, claramque relinquit
Sole Rhodon.*

In precise agreement with this is the account of Paul's voyage from Macedonia to Palestine (*Acts* 21). His ship ran before the wind (ἐπιβόρηνους αἴαντες) from Miletus, about 40 m. to the N., down to Cos (*i.e.*, either the island or the capital: probably the latter is meant); next day it reached Rhodes.

In spite of its geographical advantages, Cos remained historically unimportant. Its inhabitants, apparently of deliberate choice, eschewed foreign relationships, and devoted themselves to the development of internal resources. No colonies were sent out; for long the capital was in the west of the island; the strategic and commercial importance of its present site was ignored until 366 B.C. When at last the Coans were compelled to emerge from their seclusion, it was only to echo the voice of Rhodes in all matters of foreign policy. The success of this concentration of energy is indicated by the fact that Cos ranked with Rhodes, Chios, Samos, and Lesbos as one of the μακάρους νῆσοι (*Diod. Sic.* 5.81 82), and by the existence of the saying 'He who cannot thrive in Cos will do no better in Egypt.'¹ Allied with this material prosperity was the development of liberal arts. Under the Ptolemies Cos became an important literary centre. With it are connected the names of Theocritus the poet, Bérissus the historian, Apelles the painter, and, at an earlier date (5th cent. B.C.), Hippocrates the physician. Cos was one of the great centres of the worship of Æsculapius, and of the caste or medical school of Asclepiadæ. Claudius in 53 A.D. gave the island the privilege of immunity, mainly for its medical fame (*Tac. Ann.* 12.61).

¹ ὅς οὐ θέρηται Κῶς ἐκεῖνος οὐδέ Αἴγυπτος.

Among the commercial products of the island were unguents, two kinds of wine, pottery (*amphora Cae*, Pliny, *HN* 30.161), and silk for Roman ladies (*se proserpina*, Hor. *Od.* 36, 13.13 *vestes tenerae*, Tibull. ii.3.55). *Cos* is still an active port. Strabo (657) notes the fair aspect of the city to one entering the roads.

Interesting is the connection of *Cös* with the Jews. As Mithridates seized 800 talents deposited in the island by the Jews of Asia (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7.2), there must then have been a Jewish settlement there engaged in banking. In 1 Macc. 15.23 *Cös* is mentioned in the list of places to which the circular letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (*circa* 139 B. C.) is said to have been addressed. In 86 B. C. Gaius Fannius wrote to the Coan authorities enclosing a *senatus consultum* to secure safe convey for Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem. The island was connected also with Herod the Great (Jos. *B.* i. 21.11), and with his son Antipas (Boeckh, 2502).

Best authority, *Inscriptions of Cos*, by Eaton and Hicks, 1891; an attempt at direct combination of epigraphy and history. W. J. W.

COPPER (תְּנַיִת; χαλκός; cp BRASS). The compound of copper and zinc that we call brass appears

1. In Egypt, to have been little known to the ancients; but we have abundant evidence that copper was early known, and that it was hardened by means of alloys into bronze. Seneferu, a conquering pharaoh of the fourth dynasty, worked the Sinaitic copper mines, and M. de Morgan has found some articles of copper in the tomb of Menes (traditionally regarded as the first king of Egypt), explored by him in 1897. M. Amélineau appears to have proved that copper was known at an even earlier date, and from his researches and those of Mr. Qubell at Kôm el-Ahmar we may probably conclude that the Pharaonic Egyptians were from the first not ignorant of the use of gold and copper (*hmt*). Themines in the Sinaitic peninsula continued to be the chief source from which the Egyptians drew their copper (see Maspero, *History of Civ.* 355, and cp SINAI); but in the fifteenth century they obtained it also from Alasia—i.e., CYPRUS¹ (see Am. Tab., 25 and 27), where Cesnola has found both copper and bronze celt in Phœnician remains.

The oldest Babylonian specimens of copper are those found by M. de Sarzec at Tello (before 2500 B. C.); at

2. In Babylonia. Tell es-Sifr, in the same neighbourhood, Mr. Loftus has found even a large copper factory (1500 B. C.). In Babylonian graves, and also in what Dr. J. P. Peters calls a jeweller's shop (at Nippur), objects made of copper (belonging to *circa* 1300 B. C.) have been found. Hommel thinks, on philological grounds, that the Semitic Babylonians as metallurgists were pupils of the Sumerians, and dates their acquaintance with copper and iron very early.² The inscriptions make frequent mention of copper (*šipara*) and bronze³ (*erā*, also *ših*, and *urinda*; cp Lat. *arsenica*—*arsenicum*). The ancient hymn (in Sumerian and Assyrian) to Gilgal, the fire-god, extols him for his services in the mixing of copper and tin (cp Tubal-cain, and see CAINITES, § 10). The Assyrians used bronze axes as late as the ninth century. They derived their copper and bronze largely from the so-called Na'iri countries; ultimately, therefore, from Armenia; the copper in the tribute paid to Rammān-nirari III. by Damascus is mentioned elsewhere (IRON).⁴

The Canaanites, naturally enough, were well acquainted with copper. According to Ritter (*Erdk.* 17.1063

3. In Canaan. cited by Knobel), there are still traces of ancient copper-mines in the Lebanon;⁵

¹ Flinders Petrie also accepts Winkler's identification of Alasia in Am. Tab. with Cyprus (where copper was worked). See his argument, *Nova and Egypt*, 44 (98).

² *Die semit. Völker*, 1.410.

³ Cp Lemontant, *TS* 14.4 6334 ff.

⁴ On iron and bronze among the Babylonians and Assyrians, cp Winkler, *ibid.* 1.439 ff.

⁵ Cp the important descriptive phrase quoted in Del. *Par.* 335, šad Ba'al-šapina šadū rabū šiparri 'the mountain Baal-

this is confirmed by what seems to be an assertion of the fact in Dt. 8.9 and Zech. 6.1 (see below, § 5). On the E. of the Lebanon range copper must have been abundant in the 'land of Nuḥāšsi' (*Am. Tab.*), which Halsey ingeniously identifies with ZOBAB; and in later times there were copper mines in Edom at Phanon, or Phenon (cp PINON). The Phœnicians early employed bronze for works of art,¹ and the great mound of Tell el-Hesi, believed to be Lachish, proves that the Amorites who dwelt there had used their opportunities. 'In the remains of the Amorite city (perhaps 1500 B. C.) there are large rough weapons of war, made of copper without admixture of tin; above this, dating perhaps from 1250 to 800, appear bronze tools, but the bronze gradually becomes scarcer, its place being taken by

4. In Israel. iron'² (see IRON). Whatever, therefore, we may feel quite certain that the Philistine warriors had armour of bronze; indeed, their ancestors in Asia Minor doubtless had bronze weapons long before David's time.³ Goliath, however, uses weapons of attack made of iron (the *kidōn* [?] of bronze can hardly be a javelin; see GOLIATH).

The statement in Josh. 6.24 (copper or bronze vessels found in Jericho) will be in the main correct; also that in 2 S. 8.8, in as far as it relates to the abundance of bronze in Syria. Whether the serpent of bronze called NEHUSHTAN [g. r.] was earlier than the temple of Solomon may, perhaps, be doubted. At any rate, the notice in Nu. 21.9 (JE) is as much of an anachronism as that in Ex. 38.2-8 (P). The Israelites in the wilderness had no workers in bronze. Nor could David find a competent bronze-worker in all Israel; the statements respecting Hiram the artificer in 1 K. 7.13 ff. are no doubt historical.⁴ In the later regal period it was, of course, quite otherwise (cp Jer. 6.28 f. Ezek. 22.18 20). From 2 K. 25.13 f. Jer. 52.17 f. we learn that the Babylonians broke the sacred vessels of bronze and carried away the metal to Babylon; no doubt Rehoboam's shields of 'brass' (1 K. 14.27 2 Ch. 12.10) went there too; but the chief losses were probably repaired. The cymbals in the second temple were certainly of copper or bronze, as we may infer from 1 Ch. 15.19 Jos. *Ant.* vii. 12.3 (cp 1 Cor. 13.1). Gates of iron are mentioned in Ps. 107.16 Is. 45.2 (cp Herod. 1.179, and see Mr. Pinches' account of the bronze gates of Balawāt);⁵ mining implements of 'brass' in Eccles. 48.17 (Heb. Text).

That 'brass' (bronze) should be used to symbolise hardness and strength is natural. In time of drought,

5. OT usage. so that no rain could pass through them (Dt. 28.23), or as if the earth were bronze, so that it could never be softened again (Lev. 26.19). A sufferer asks if his 'flesh' (i.e., body) is of brass (Job 6.12), as the bones of Bēhemoth (Job 40.18) and the brow of disobedient Israel (Is. 48.4) are, by other writers, said to be. To be compared with brass is not, however, the highest distinction. It was the third empire in Nebuchadrezzar's vision that was of 'brass' (Dan. 2.39 cp v. 32). On the other hand, 'brass' in the obscure phrase 'mountains of brass' (Zech. 6.1) has no symbolic meaning; 'brass' (i.e., copper) is merely mentioned to enable the reader to identify the mountains (cp Nuḥāšsi, the 'copperland'; see § 3).

Difficult as the passage is, we need not despair of explaining it. The 'mountains of brass' are parallel to the 'mountains

šapin, great mountain of copper'; also Sargon, Ann. 23, where *šā šapin* is 'the great mountain', is spoken of as containing mines (copper?).

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus*.

² Dr. J. H. Gardiner, 'The Metals of Antiquity', *Nature*, April 21, 1898, p. 526.

³ Schliemann's discovery of weapons of copper and bronze on the site of Troy is well known.

⁴ On the right reading of 1 K. 7.46, see ADAM, i.

⁵ The bronze ornaments of the palace gates from Balawāt (parts i.-iv.) published by Steg. of *Bibl. Archaeol.*

'thread' (Gen. 42:2; Judg. 16:22 Cant. 4:3; AV 'fillet,' RV 'line' in Jer. 52:21); מִשְׁבָּרִים *misbarim* (to encircle, go round), Is. 3:24 RV 'rope' (AV rent); מִשְׁבָּרִים *misbarim* (cp Ass. *abutu*, 'fetter'), Judg. 16:13, etc.; מִשְׁבָּרִים *misbarim*, Nu. 15:2, etc.; Judg. 16:9 (AV thread, RV string), (for Gen. 38:18-25 see RING, § 1); and מִשְׁבָּרִים, see LXX.

The materials available were strips of skin or hide (cp the legend of the Carthaginian *Byssa*), or the intestines of animals, especially the goat or camel (cp רֶמֶשׁ above), flax (Ezek. 40:3), and rushes. It is ropes of rushes that are meant by *αχινοειδον* and *σπαραγοι*. S's equivalents for מִשְׁבָּרִים and מִשְׁבָּרִים respectively. Σχινοειδον occurs twice in N.T.—In 2:23 in a scourge of cords; Acts 27:23 (ropes of a ship).

The weaving together of two or more ropes for greater strength was customary: cp Eccles. 4:12, 'the threefold cord (הַחֹמֶת הַשְּׁלִישִׁית) is not quickly broken.' יָרִיחַ הַיָּבֵשׁ 'green withes' (EV), 'which had not been dried,' were employed in binding Samson (Judg. 16:8). Greater flexibility, for the purpose of tying, was thus ensured, and the knots were less liable to slip and the cord to split.

From the idea of 'lines, cord,' etc., is readily obtained the meaning of 'measuring-rope' (cp מִשְׁבָּרִים S. 8; Av. 7:12, 220; 1 K. 7:18, see 1 K. 7:23; see also Ezek. 40:3, 17; further, that of the part 'measured off,' the 'lot' or 'inheritance' (cp חֵלֶק Josh. 19:49; cf. Is. 60:14).

On the *coris* (organical vase) by the *urostoma* vase of Babylon (Ezr. 6:4), see *Faust's Journal*, etc.

CORE (ΚΟΡΗ) (NA T. W. H.), Lecluz 150; Jude 14 AV, RV KORAI (1:2).

CORIANDER (רִבְדִּי; κοριανθόν [B. A. L.], EV. 16:3 Nu. 11:7) is a plant indigenous to the Mediterranean area, *Coriandrum sativum*, L., as all agree. The Hebrew name, which Lagarde (*G. A.* 57) believes to be of Indo-European origin, seems identical with the γαρίδι³ which the scholiast on Dioscorides (364) affirms to be the Punic equivalent of κάρων; and the identity of the plant is thus assured. The mianna which is likened to its seed is also said to be 'small, flaky,⁴ small as hoarfrost upon the ground,' and is elsewhere said to resemble bellium. These characters suit the so-called seed of a jelly fruit of the coriander, which is about the size of a *βουφορμιον*. N. M. W. L. T. D.

CORINTH (ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ). The secret of Corinthian history lies in the close relation of the city to the commerce of the Mediterranean. Even before the development of trade by sea the wealth of Corinth was inevitable owing to its position on the Isthmus, the 'bridge of the sea' (Pind. *Isth.* iii, 38, 'door of the Peloponnese,' Xen. *Ages.* 2). For navigation and far-reaching commercial enterprises no city was more favourably placed. Its territory was unsuited for agriculture (Strabo 382); the more distinct, therefore, was the vocation of its inhabitants for a seafaring life. The Phœnicians were early attracted by the advantages of the site. There are many traces of their presence at Corinth. At the foot of the Acrocorinth, Melkarth, the god of Tyre (see PHœNICIA), was adored by the Corinthians as the protector of navigation under the name Melicertes (Paus. ii, 13). The armed Aphrodite (Astarte), had a temple on the summit of the hill (Str. 379, *ναϊδιον*; Paus. ii, 46f., sharing it with the sun-god; *ιδ.* ii, 51); to her in later times a thousand female votaries paid service with their bodies, adopting a custom well known in Syrian worship (Strabo, 378).

The juxtaposition of the two Corinthian harbours (Lechæum on the Corinthian Gulf, and Cenchræe, with Schœnus, on the Saronic) made it easy to tranship cargoes; and, as the voyage round Cape Malæa was

¹ Similarly *αχινοειδον* and *σπαραγοι*.

² The Greek name, according to Fluck. and Hanb. (203), is due to 'the offensive odour it exhales when handled, and which reminds one of lugs'—in Greek, *κορις*.

³ The Punic word appears again in Lat. *giz or gith*, which is black rumin, *Nigella sativa*, L. See FITCH, 1.

⁴ This, rather than 'round,' seems to be the meaning of מִשְׁבָּרִים (D. on Exod. 16:14).

difficult, the mariners of Asia and Italy found it desirable to land their goods at Corinth, so that the possessors of the Isthmus received dues from these as well as from whatever was brought from the Peloponnese by land' (Str. 378; cp Dio Chrys. *Or.* viii, 5, *ἡ πόλις ὡσεὶ ἐν πρῶθῳ ἐκείτῳ*). In consequence of her rapid commercial expansion, the arts also awakened in Corinth to a new life, especially those of metal-work and pottery; heirlooms of Phœnician influence (cp Paus. ii, 3; Pl. *IV.* 343). Trade became wholesale. The establishment of the Isthmian games in the sanctuary of Poseidon, near the bay of Schœnus, in 'the wooded gorge of the isthmus' (Pind.; Str. 380), elevated Corinth into a distinct centre of Hellenic life (Str. 378). So from the earliest times the epithet 'wealthy' was especially reserved for Corinth, *κορυθαί*, Hom. *I.* 2:20, *κορυθαί*, Pind. *Ol.* 13:4; Thuc. 1:13), and although the rise of Athens finally destroyed her dreams of naval empire she remained the first mercantile city of Greece.

This prosperity found a rude ending in 146 B.C. when the place was pillaged by the Roman consul, Lucius Mummius, and levelled with the ground; but the re-establishment of the city was inevitable. In 44 B.C. Julius Cæsar founded on the old site the *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthia*. The nucleus of its population consisted of freedmen (Paus. ii, 12, Str. 381). Most of the names of Corinthian Christians indicate either a Roman or a servile origin (e.g., Gaius, Crispus, 1 Cor. 1:14; Fortunatus, Achaicus, 1 Cor. 16:17; Tertius, Rom. 16:22; Quartus, Rom. 16:23; Justus, Acts 18:7). The New Corinth, by the mere force of geographical causes, became as of old the most prosperous city of Greece, and the chosen abode of luxury and 'abysmal profligacy' (Str. 378 382; Athen. 13:573; cp the saying, *οὐ παντὸς εὐδαιμονίας ἐκ Κορινθίων ἐστὶ τὸ πλεονεξῆναι*. It was also the capital of the province, and the seat of the governor of Achaia (Acts 18:12).

For description, see Paus. ii, 11f.; cp Frazer, *Paus.* 320-32. Pausanias distinguishes the Roman from the Greek remains; few vestiges are now found of either city, though the American archaeologists have recently made important discoveries (see *JHS* 18:333 [92]; among other inscriptions, one 'of uncertain date, but as late as the imperial times, reading *συναγωγῆς Ἱερουσῶν*).

Corinth, like Athens and Argos, naturally attracted a large Jewish population (Ezek. 4:13, 30; cp Justin, *Dial.* 1). The edict of Claudius, banishing the Jews from Rome, must have augmented the number of Hebrew families in Corinth (Acts 18:2; cp Suet. *Claud.* 25); see ACQUILA. As in other cities (e.g., Iconium, Acts 14, Thessalonica, Acts 17:4), a considerable number of gentiles had been attracted to the Jewish synagogue, and their conversion would be the first-fruits of Paul's work. His decisive breach with the Jews, and his adoption of the house of the Roman or Latin Titius Justus as his place of instruction (cp Acts 19), enabled Paul to reach the otherwise inaccessible gentile population (mostly of Italian origin; Acts 18, *πολλοὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες ἐπιστρεῖων*). Aquila, on the other hand, seems to have enjoyed his greatest success among the Jews (Acts 18:28), though the Corinthian church remained predominantly gentile in character.

In conformity with his principle of seeking the centres of commercial activity, Paul visited Corinth on his departure from Athens (Acts 18:1). For the importance of this step as regards the development of Paul's missionary designs, see PAUL. Converts were made chiefly among the gentiles, of the poorer class (Acts 18:1 1 Cor. 1:26 ff. 12:2), although some Jews believed (see CRISPUS); and some persons of importance (see ERASTUS, GAIVS, perhaps also CHLOË). The accession of Crispus and of Gaius was so important that Paul forsook his rule and baptized them with his own hand (1 Cor. 1:14-16). He lays special stress upon his claim to be regarded as sole founder of the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 3:6 4:15). This claim is not contradicted by 2 Cor. 1:19 ('who was preached . . . by me and Silvanus and Timothy'), for

2 Cor. is addressed to the Christians of Achaia generally as well as to the Corinthians, while 1 Cor. is written more especially to the church of Corinth.

The apostle spent eighteen months in Corinth on this occasion (Acts 18:11). On his next recorded visit he stayed three months (Acts 20:3). On a supposed intermediate visit to Corinth and on the correspondence that took place, see CORINTHIANS, §§ 9 f., 13. On the character of Paul's teaching see below, and cp PAUL, APOLLOS.

As to the effect of Paul's letters and presence the NT gives no information; but the letter of Clement, written, perhaps, about 97 A.D., shows that the moral tone of the Corinthian church improved, though the friction between parties continued, as indeed we should expect from the social conditions obtaining in such a city. Hegesippus visited the church about 139 A.D., and was favourably impressed by the obedience and liberality of its members, and the activity of its bishop Dionysius (Eus. HE iv. 22).

The two epistles written to the Corinthians are remarkable for the variety of their local colouring. The illustrations are drawn chiefly from gentile life:—the wild-beast fight (1 Cor. 15:32); the stadium and boxing match (1 Cor. 9:24-27); the theatre (1 Cor. 4:9 7:31); the garland of Isthmian pine, the prize in the games (1 Cor. 9:25); the idol festivals (1 Cor. 8:10 10:20 f.); the *syssitia*, so common a feature of Greek social life (1 Cor. 10:27).

W. J. W.

CORINTHIANS, Epistles to the.¹ It will be unnecessary to repeat here the familiar story of the founding of the church at Corinth, which is elsewhere set in its place in the life of the apostle (see PAUL). According to the scheme of chronology adopted in this article it would fall in the years 50-52 A.D. (48-50 Harnack, 52-54 Lightfoot, otherwise von Soden; see CHRONOLOGY, § 71).

In the spring of the latter year Paul left Corinth. Aquila and Priscilla accompanied him as far as Ephesus, where they stayed behind while he went on to Jerusalem. This journey and the visit to the Galatian churches (Acts 18:3) would take up the whole of the later spring or summer of A.D. 52, and it would not be until the autumn of that year that the apostle returned to Ephesus.

In the meantime events had moved at Corinth. The Alexandrian Jew Apollos, by this time an instructed Christian, had gone thither and his preaching had a great effect. Other teachers were at work there in a spirit less friendly to Paul. Factions were formed, and, when Paul wrote his first extant letter to the Corinthians some two years later, had begun to make serious mischief. The apostle was now settled at Ephesus, which, on an average voyage, would not be more than a sail of a week or ten days from Corinth.² News would thus pass easily to and fro: and Paul was evidently kept well informed of what passed at Corinth. At least one earlier letter of his has been lost to us (1 Cor. 5:9), unless, as some have thought, a fragment of it remains embedded in 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 (on this view, which should probably on the whole be rejected, see below, § 18). The purport of the letter, which the Corinthian Christians somewhat misunderstood, was to warn them against intercourse with immoral heathen. When we remember the laxity of Corinthian morals we cannot be surprised that other and graver aberrations of this kind had taken place among them. The state of things disclosed by some of the apostle's visitors at Ephesus, notably by members of the *familia* of a lady called Chryste (1 Cor. I. 11), gave him so much

2. Earlier correspondence. which, on an average voyage, would not be more than a sail of a week or ten days from Corinth.² News would thus pass easily to and fro: and Paul was evidently kept well informed of what passed at Corinth. At least one earlier letter of his has been lost to us (1 Cor. 5:9), unless, as some have thought, a fragment of it remains embedded in 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 (on this view, which should probably on the whole be rejected, see below, § 18). The purport of the letter, which the Corinthian Christians somewhat misunderstood, was to warn them against intercourse with immoral heathen. When we remember the laxity of Corinthian morals we cannot be surprised that other and graver aberrations of this kind had taken place among them. The state of things disclosed by some of the apostle's visitors at Ephesus, notably by members of the *familia* of a lady called Chryste (1 Cor. I. 11), gave him so much

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¹ Ἐπιστολὴ Κορινθίων [T. W. H.].

² It took Aristides four days to get from Corinth to Miletus (Friedländer, *Strabonischer*, 2 202; but Cassini and his brother Quintus were both about a fortnight on shipboard (*ad Alit.*, § 9, 8, 9; quoted by Heinrich (after Hug), *Das zweite Sendschreiben*, etc., 43).

anxiety that he took pen in hand to write our First Epistle. At the same time he replied to a series of questions put to him in a letter which he had received (perhaps through Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus: 1 Cor. 16:17) from the church at Corinth. These two things—the tidings which he had heard of disorders in the church, and certain definite inquiries put to him—account satisfactorily for the contents of the First Epistle (see below, §§ 14-16). So far all is clear, except perhaps as to the exact date at which the epistle was sent, though it may be placed provisionally about Easter of A.D. 55. There is also no doubt as to the general nature of the circumstances under which our Second Epistle was sent. The interval which separated it from the First Epistle cannot have been very long. It may be assigned to the late autumn (about November) of the same year.¹ From some cause or other, it is clear, the anxiety of the apostle had increased, and had indeed reached a pitch of great and painful tension. The return of Titus, whom he had sent to Corinth, relieved him of this, and he warmly expresses his satisfaction. Then he turns to the practical question of the collection which was being organised for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. Before the letter is concluded, however, he comes back (in the text as we have it) to his opponents and writes again with no little emotion about them. This letter was written on the way to Corinth, probably from Macedonia, and the apostle is about to pay to the church a visit which he repeatedly calls his third (2 Cor. 12:14 13:1).

This brief outline, however, evades a number of difficulties.

Considered quite broadly and generally, the course of events is clear enough; but, when we attempt to fix their position in detail, difficulties spring up at every step.

4. Difficulties in detail. questions which arise are also exceedingly intricate, so that in some them satisfactorily is no easy matter. They have nearly all been brought out by the research of the last five-and-twenty years; and we shall perhaps succeed best in threading our way through them by taking the several steps—logical if not exactly chronological—by which they may be supposed to have arisen.

The data which we take over from the First Epistle are: (1) the existence of an active opposition to Paul on the part not only of unbelieving Jews but also of certain sections of Judaising Christians at Corinth; and (2) the occurrence in the church there of a gross case of what we should describe as incest (1 Cor. 5:1). The main question which meets us is, how far does the Second Epistle deal with these same data, and how far have the circumstances altered? Before we can formulate an answer to this question, however, it is necessary first to decide whether or not we are to interpose a lost epistle between the two which have come down to us.

The Second Epistle is full of allusions to a previous letter, and the older commentators with one consent assumed that this was the First Epistle.

5. Intermediate letter. Such an assumption was obvious and natural; but, when the language of the Second Epistle came to be closely examined, doubts began to arise as to whether that language could really be satisfied by the First Epistle as it has come down to us.

In particular it was asked whether the strong emotion under which it seemed that this previous letter had been written could apply to the First Epistle: 'out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears' (2 Cor. 2:4); and again, the severe heart-searchings described in 2 Cor. 7:7-11 did not seem to agree with the calm practical discussions of the First Epistle.

Since Klöpffer (1874) an increasing number of scholars have replied to this decidedly in the negative. Perhaps somewhat too decidedly. Although it is perfectly true that a great part of the First Epistle is taken up with calm practical discussions, the whole epistle is not in this strain.

¹ On this reckoning ἀπὸ πέρους (2 Cor. 9:2) will mean not 'a year ago' but 'last year.' The Macedonian year, like the Jewish, began with October. See YEAC.

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Many passages, especially in the earlier chapters, must have cost the writer no slight emotion. Such would be (e.g.) the scathing irony of 1 Cor. 4:3-4 (the Corinthians already enjoying the rich abundance of the Messianic reign while the poor apostles are maltreated like gladiators in the arena); the whole of the next section, 1 Cor. 5:1-11, which ends with a threat that the apostle will come to them with a rod; and then the section on the incestuous man, in which he protects himself in spirit into the president's chair in their assembly and solemnly hands over the offender to Satan.

It is by no means incredible that passages like these would stand out in Paul's memory after he had despatched his letter, and that he should work himself up into a state of great and even feverish anxiety as to the way in which they would be received. The fact that a considerable fraction of the church should have made themselves, as it seems, in some sort no complacencies with the offending person, might well make the apostle feel that the moment was extremely critical and that the result might be nothing less than the break-up of the church.

This leads us to the further question with which that just stated is bound up. Along with the allusions to a previous letter there are in the Second

6. Situation ¹ *in these two letters* to what was evidently a great crisis in the history of the church.

Was this crisis the same as that which is contemplated in the First Epistle, or was it wholly distinct?

The scholars who first maintained the view that there was a lost letter between the two extant epistles were content to acquiesce in the older view that the descriptions of 2 Cor. 2:5-11 ⁷ *had reference to a state of things arising directly out of the situation presented by 1 Cor. 5*. However, those who single out 1 Cor. 5:1 as the occasion leading up to the church and the apostle is aware that the position is full of danger: the machinations of Satan, *πονηρὰ συνέχευσις* (2:11).

It must be confessed that the situation of 1 Cor. 5 fits an extremely well to that of 2 Cor. 2:5-11, except in one particular. That is, as the main

7. Partial agreement of 2 Cor. 2:5-11 and 1 Cor. 5. ¹ *in the main* recent writers on the epistles (Weizsäcker, Pfeifferer, Krenkel [*Intercor.*], Schmiedel, Jülicher) for the most part urge, that the treatment described in 2 Cor. 26, which is accepted as adequate to the occasion by Paul, seems inadequate to the very gross offence of 1 Cor. 5:1. There is also considerable difficulty in assigning the part of the injured person in 2 Cor. 7:12: 'So although I wrote unto you, [I wrote] not for his cause that did the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered the wrong, but that your earnest care for us might be made manifest', etc.

If the offending person of 1 Cor. 5 was really let off with a comparatively slight punishment there must have been extenuating circumstances of which we are not told. Such circumstances might be that the 'father's wife' was not in the strict sense a wife but a concubine (the father being probably a heathen); and we might here suppose that the father was dead. In such a case Paul with his strong sympathy for human infirmity, and his readiness to make allowance for a convert brought up in the laxity of heathenism, might conceivably have accepted an expiation short of that which the circumstances would seem at first sight to demand. The supposition that the father was dead would fall through, however, if 'his cause that suffered the wrong' (*τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος*) referred to him; and it does not seem satisfactory that a sin of this kind should be regarded only in the light of personal injury to another.

Accordingly the tendency among those recent German writers who have gone into the question more fully than

8. Other explanations of 2 Cor. 2:5-11. ¹ *any others*, has been to offer a wholly different explanation of the state of things implied in the Second Epistle.

They, as a rule, take the offence on which the situation turns in this epistle to be some personal affront or insult put upon Paul (so Hilgenfeld, Mangold, Weizsäcker, Pfeifferer, Schmiedel, Jülicher; Beyschlag gives the alternative that the insult may have been offered to Timothy), not in connection with the case of the incestuous man, but rather growing out of the revolt against his authority as an apostle. In keeping with this, most of them would explain *τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος* as an indirect reference to Paul himself.

This, however, again seems strained and unnatural, and indeed inconsistent with the exegesis of the verse where Paul is mentioned (e. g. 'your earnest care for us': *τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἡμεῶν τὴν ἀγάπην*) in such a way as almost certainly to distinguish him from the injured person. Krenkel, it seems to us rightly, urges this and would take the passage as referring to some private quarrel between two members of the Corinthian church (*Beitr.* 394-397). We know from 1 Cor. 6 that such quarrels were rife

at Corinth, and the interpretation thus suggested suits the choice of *ἀδικήσαντος* and *ἀδικήσας* better than any other. The objection would be that we have to draw largely upon the imagination to explain how a matter like this, which we should have thought might be settled calmly enough, became the cause of such acute tension between the apostle and a large section of the church.

We have then three hypotheses, each with some advantages and some counterbalancing drawbacks: (1) that the reference is to the incestuous man—which would greatly simplify the situation so far as the two epistles are concerned, but could be held only on the assumption of peculiar qualifying circumstances in the case which it is not easy for us to imagine; (2) that the reference is to some direct personal insult to Paul—a hypothesis which, by introducing an intermediate letter, enables us to construct one which will suit the allusions somewhat better than the extant First Epistle, but in our opinion forces *ὁ ἀδικήσας* and makes the situation in the Second Epistle a tantalising duplicate of that in the First, besides (it might seem) inconveniently crowding events between the two epistles; (3) that the reference is neither to Paul nor to the incestuous man, but to a quarrel between two unknown persons—which satisfies *ὁ ἀδικήσας*, but is open to some of the same objections as the last, and is not so helpful.

We shall see below that, in spite of its apparent attractiveness, the first of these hypotheses must be given up. There is a break between the two epistles: there must have been at least one intervening communication—and if one, probably two communications—between Paul and the church at Corinth; and the aspect of things has changed not simply once, but probably twice. The fact of the new situation, and the fact of the intermediate letter, thus seem to be assured; but in regard to particulars we have hardly data enough to enable us to judge. We cannot easily bring ourselves to think that the person directly injured is Paul: at the same time he appears to be someone closely connected with him. Timothy would meet the conditions better than any one we can think of; but neither the injured person nor the aggressor can be identified more precisely.

Along with the question as to an intermediate letter goes the further question as to an unrecorded visit paid by Paul to Corinth.

Unlike the letter, this visit is not purely hypothetical. In 2 Cor. 12:14 and 13:1 the apostle speaks expressly of an unrecorded visit as the third. This implies that we must

9. Unrecorded visit. ¹ *insert another, not mentioned by the historian, somewhere between Acts 18:1 and 20:1.*

rather, we may say, somewhere in the three years spent by Paul at Ephesus. We have seen that his communications with the church at Corinth were frequent; and we have seen also that the voyage was easy. The silence of Acts (which dismisses two years in a verse: 19:10), therefore, is no real obstacle.

Is the visit to be placed before or after the First Epistle?

It is most tempting to go with the majority of recent critics and place it after. The conspicuous fact about this visit is that it was a painful one (*ἐν λύπῃ*: 2 Cor. 2:1). If so, what could be more natural than to connect it with the letter which was written 'with many tears'? Both alike, it might seem, should be placed on the line of strained relations which led up to the Second Epistle. The unrecorded visit would, in that case, precede the lost letter. We might imagine, in view of 2 Cor. 10:10, that Paul had been summoned over to Corinth hastily, that there his malady had come on, that he had broken down physically and been obliged to return, leaving matters to all appearance worse than he found them; that he then wrote a letter to undo the effect of this disaster; that this letter was strongly worded, and, after it had been sent, caused him great anxiety; and that it was his relief from this anxiety on the coming of Titus that was the immediate occasion of the Second Epistle.

Such combinations are tempting; but they lead us on to the discussion of the next point which has a direct and perhaps a crucial bearing upon them.

In 1 Cor. 16:5 the apostle announces his intention of coming to Corinth by the longer land route through Macedonia. This, as a matter of fact, is the

10. Paul's plans. ¹ *route that he was actually taking at the time when he wrote the Second Epistle.* In the interval, however, he must have changed his mind, not

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once but twice; or, rather, he must have changed it and afterwards reverted to his original plan. From 2 Cor. 1.15^f. we learn expressly that he had at one moment decided to go straight from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and then to return again to Corinth.

When he formed this decision he seems to have been well pleased with the Corinthians and they with him; his motive is that, twice over, both on going and returning, they may have the benefit of this presence (2 Cor. 1.14). He did not carry out this plan because, after it had been formed, his relations to the Corinthians underwent a change. He tells us that he would not go to them because, if he had gone, it must have been 'in grief' (2 Cor. 2.1). None the less his change of plan was made one of the accusations against him, and was set down to fickleness of purpose (2 Cor. 1.17).

This being so, however, are we not precluded from interposing any visit between the conceiving of the intention described in 2 Cor. 1.15 (the short voyage and the double visit) and the writing of the Second Epistle?

It is, as usually, as Schmiedel argues (*HC*, 2), that the feelings of the apostle when he made his plan and when he paid the supposed visit were different—in the one case satisfaction with the Corinthians, in the other case pain—but that a visit of any kind is inconsistent with the language used. If Paul had paid such a visit he would have kept to his intention (not broken it), and the charge of fickleness must at least have assumed another form.

We must therefore, with some reluctance, abandon the idea of bringing the painful visit and the painful letter into juxtaposition. The only other place for the former seems to be in the part of Paul's stay at Ephesus anterior to the First Epistle, and towards the middle or later part of it (*i.e.*, not far from, and probably before, the lost letter; 1 Cor. 5.9; cp Schmiedel, *op. cit.* 54). The supposition that the second visit was only contemplated, not put into effect, appears to be excluded by 2 Cor. 13.2.

We observe also, in passing, that the history of these changes of plan goes far to dispose of the arguments in favour of the supposition that there is no lost letter between the two epistles.

It is usually said that the First Epistle referred to directly in the Second is to regard certain passages in it as haunting the apostle and causing him trouble as to its reception. At the time when he conceived the plan set down in 2 Cor. 1.15, however, his mind was free from trouble: the Corinthians and he were on the best of terms. This alone would sever the links which have seemed to bind the two letters together. They must be connected closely or not at all.

When Paul wrote the First Epistle Timothy was not with him. We should infer from Acts 20 that before that date he had

been already sent into Macedonia. This agrees perfectly with the turn of phrase in 1

11. Movements. Cor. 16.10: 'If Timothy come, see that he be with you without fear.' Before the despatch of the Second Epistle he had rejoined Paul, as he is associated with him in the opening salutation (2 Cor. 1.1). If the suggestion above holds, it was probably he who brought news of the events which led up to the second crisis. In any case the dealing with that crisis at its height was committed not to Timothy but to the stronger hands of Titus.

Assuming that there was an intermediate letter between 1 and 2 Cor. it is probable that Titus was

12. Of Titus. also the bearer of our Second Epistle (2 Cor. 8.16-24).

A small group of scholars, including Hausrath and Schmiedel, would assign to Titus yet another earlier visit, on the business of the collection, soon after the writing of the First Epistle; but the hypothesis is invented to suit the theory that 2 Cor. 12 is not an integral part of our Second Epistle, and necessitates the invention of a number of other purely hypothetical occurrences (among them a fifth, or third lost letter), nearly all of them duplicates of others that are better attested. It may be rejected without hesitation.

The sequence of events, as far as we can ascertain it, seems to have been this:—

13. Sequence of events. (i.) While Paul is absent at Jerusalem Apollus arrives at Corinth, where he preaches with success (Acts 18.27).

(ii.) Paul takes up his abode at Ephesus in the summer of A.D. 52, remaining there until the summer of A.D. 53.

(iii.) Early in this period Apollus quits Corinth and certain Judaizing teachers arrive there. The beginnings are laid of differences which soon harden into parties.

(iv.) About, or somewhat after, the middle of the period Paul pays the church a brief disciplinary visit, *ἐν ἰσχυρίᾳ* (2 Cor. 2.1;

see above, § 10). He also, after his return, writes the *lost letter* of 1 Cor. 5.9.

(v.) The household of Chloe bring news of an ominous development of the spirit of faction (1 Cor. 1.11), and a little later Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus arrive at Ephesus (1 Cor. 10.17), perhaps as bearers of a letter to the apostle from the church at Corinth seeking his advice on various matters.

(vi.) Partly in consequence of what he had heard, and partly in answer to that letter, Paul writes *First Corinthians* in the spring of A.D. 55, taking occasion to correct a wrong impression drawn from the lost letter (1 Cor. 5.9 ff.).

(vii.) The epistle thus written has the desired effect, and for the moment all goes well (2 Cor. 1.32-36). The apostle lets the Corinthians know his programme of 2 Cor. 1.15^f. Timothy arrives at Corinth and now, or at the time of chap. 8, returns to Ephesus.

(viii.) Another sharp controversy arises, beginning perhaps in some well-meant but feeble action on the part of Timothy, and soon involving the whole question of the apostle's position and authority.

(ix.) On hearing of this from Timothy Paul writes a *second lost letter*, the tone of which is severe and uncompromising. It is sent by Titus, who at the same time has instructions in regard to the collection.

(x.) After Titus has gone, Paul becomes more and more anxious as to the effect his last letter is likely to have on the Corinthians. He leaves Ephesus, having about this time been in imminent peril there. He stops at Troas. Still no news.

(xi.) Titus at last returns to him in Macedonia and dispels his fears. The *Second Epistle* is written and is sent by Titus and two others (2 Cor. 8.18-22). Its main tenor is thankfulness; but the collection is pressed, and the growth of one party (probably the Christ-party) leads to some emphatic strictures.

(xii.) Towards the end of December A.D. 55 Paul reaches Corinth. He says there to the Romans (Acts 20.3), during which he writes the Epistle to the Romans.

FIRST EPISTLE.—We have seen that the occasion of the First Epistle was two-fold: (1) certain tidings which had reached Paul as to various disorders existing in the church at

14. Occasion of 1 Cor. Corinth; (2) certain questions put to him in an official letter from the church. The disorders were: (i.) a number of factions which raised the flag of party spirit and used the names of prominent leaders to give colour to their own self-assertiveness. On these more will be said below (§ 16). The subject covers 1.10-4.21. (ii.) A bad case of immoral living which too much reflected a general laxity in the church (5.6-12-20). (iii.) Litigiousness, which did not scruple to have recourse to heathen law-courts (6.1-11). (iv.) An indecorous freedom in worship, exemplified by the disuse of the female headress (11.2-16). (v.) Still worse disorders at the *agapè* or love-feast, which was followed by the eucharist (11.17-34). And we may perhaps include under this head (vi.) the denial by some of the resurrection, dealt with in chap. 15.

The last three points may have been raised by the official letter. This certainly contained questions about marriage (answered in ch. 7); probably also about relations to heathen practices, such as the eating of meats offered to idols (ch. 8 continued in 9.1-11); and possibly some inquiry as to the relative value of spiritual gifts. Chap. 1-9 is introductory, and ch. 16 an epilogue of personal matter containing instructions as to the collection, and details as to Paul himself and his companions. The only points that need perhaps to be more particularly drawn out are the connection of chaps. 1.1-4.21 and 8.1-11.

The first tracks out the spirit of faction to its origin in the conceit of a worldly-minded widow, which is contrasted with the simplicity of the Gospel—a simplicity, however, which does not exclude the higher wisdom 1.10-4.21 and that comes from God (1.27-2.6). Then, in 8.1-11, 3.1-5, the true position of human teachers is stated. They are but stewards, whose duty is not to put forward anything of their own, but only to administer what is committed to them by God. The Christian has but one foundation and one judge, namely Christ. 4.2-21 applies these general truths to the circumstances of the case with biting irony, which, however, soon changes to affectionate entreaty, and that again to sharp admonition.

The sequence of the argument in 8.1-11 should not be lost sight of. In ch. 8 is laid down the principle which should guide conduct in such matters as the eating of meat that might have come from heathen sacrifices. This principle is the subordination of personal impulse to the good of others. In ch. 9 Paul points out the working of the principle in his own case; it is in deference to it that he waives his right to claim support from the Church, in deference to it that he exercises severe self-

15. 1 Cor. ever, which does not exclude the higher wisdom 1.10-4.21 and that comes from God (1.27-2.6). Then, in 8.1-11, 3.1-5, the true position of human teachers is stated. They are but stewards, whose duty is not to put forward anything of their own, but only to administer what is committed to them by God. The Christian has but one foundation and one judge, namely Christ. 4.2-21 applies these general truths to the circumstances of the case with biting irony, which, however, soon changes to affectionate entreaty, and that again to sharp admonition.

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¹ With the dates given here: cp those in CHRONOLOGICAL, § 7.

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control, like that of rulers in a race. The heroes of legend showed what an utter mistake it was for even the most highly-privileged to suppose themselves exempt from the necessity of such self-control (10-13). The very nature of the Christian *Evangelium* presupposed such an attitude to humanity (10-14, 17). This leads to more practical suggestions and advice (10-11, 17).

Of the subject-matter of the epistle the points which 16. Parties, must invite discussion are the nature of the parties, and the spiritual gifts. The latter are dealt with elsewhere (see GIFFES, SPIRITUAL).

As to the parties, we may remark (1) that the names 'Paul', Apollos, 'Cephas', and 'Christ' represent real titles which the parties at Corinth gave themselves.

When Paul says in 46 'These things, brethren, have I transferred by a fiction' (to adopt Dr. Field's elegant translation, *Christus, Cephas, et deus, et apostolus, et Apollon, et ego, et vos*), the fiction consisted, not in using names which the Corinthians did not use, but in speaking as if he and Apollos had behaved like party-leaders when they had not. He had, of course, mentioned their names, but from time to time he had taken these names against their will and without their consent.

(2) The nature of the Paul and the Apollos parties is given: they were not only liberal in tendency, giving a free welcome to Gentile converts, and apt to deal too tenderly with the vices which were brought over with them. From this side would come such premature emancipation as that described in 11-26. The followers of Apollos probably also prided themselves on a kind of Alexandrian *Gauleis*, which is by inference condemned in chaps. 13-216. The Petrine and the 'Christ' parties were, on the other hand, Judaistic, claiming the authority of the apostles at Jerusalem. Both disparaged and attacked Paul. The Christ party, however, seems to have gone to the greater lengths.

The Christ party were Jews in the strictest sense, probably Jews of Jerusalem (2 Cor. 3). They carried with them the title of apostle, in the wide association not of 11:12, 13, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. And in particular they insisted that Paul had not the full apostolic status of an apostle, as those were held down in Acts 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. The Christ party were Jews in the strictest sense, probably Jews of Jerusalem (2 Cor. 3). They carried with them the title of apostle, in the wide association not of 11:12, 13, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. And in particular they insisted that Paul had not the full apostolic status of an apostle, as those were held down in Acts 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. The Christ party were Jews in the strictest sense, probably Jews of Jerusalem (2 Cor. 3). They carried with them the title of apostle, in the wide association not of 11:12, 13, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. And in particular they insisted that Paul had not the full apostolic status of an apostle, as those were held down in Acts 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

There can be little doubt that Paul's mastery *Apologia* carried the day; the curtain drops for us with the close of the Second Epistle; but the subsequent history of the controversy shows that the worst part of the crisis was past, and the power of the Judaisers broken.

SECOND EPISTLE.—The Second Epistle is even more a direct product of the historical situation than the

17. 2 Cor.: First. We may map out the main body contents of the epistle thus: (1) an outpouring of thanks for recent deliverance (13-11); (2) explanations in reference to the apostle's change of plan and the treatment of the offending person by the Corinthian church (112-217); (3) a deeper *Apologia* for his apostolic position and the distinctive character of his Gospel (3-5); (4) more personal explanations (6-7); (5) the collection (8 f.); (6) a warmer defence against Judaistic attacks (10-13 10).

The principal literary question affecting the epistle is as to its integrity.

Putting aside mere wanton and extravagant theories, substantial arguments have been urged for maintaining that the short paragraph of six verses, 6:14-17, and the longer section 10:13 or 10:13-15, though the work of Paul, were not originally part of this epistle, but belonged to other epistles now lost: 6:14-17 to the missing letter alluded to in 1 Cor. 5, and the *Vierkapitelbrief* (as the Germans call it) to the intermediate letter which we have seen reason to assume between the two extant epistles.

We may admit at once that there is a real break in the Second Epistle at both the places noted.

The subject changes, and changes abruptly, both at 6:14 and

at 10:1. The epistle would read continuously if we were to skip Rom. 6:14 to 7:2, and the two corresponding words 18:14 and would come as well at the end of chap. 9 as of chap. 13.

We may admit further that the subject-matter of the first passage resembles, though it is not identical with, that of the missing letter referred to in the First Epistle (not to keep company with furnicators' was the keynote of the one, 'not to be unequally yoked with unbelievers' of the other); and the vehement polemic of the last four chapters would be not unlike what we might suppose to be the atmosphere in which to postulate by the Second.

In spite of these favouring considerations, however, and in spite of the assent which it has met with from certain critics (Pleiderer, Hausrath, Krenkel, Schmiedel), this latter hypothesis of the letter of four chapters must, we believe, be dismissed.

There was but one partial solution of the problem of the missing letter, and that was to identify it with the chapters (10:10 f.), and therefore is not to be identified with them; if it were, then we should have to postulate a previous painful letter further back. When the apostle wrote his painful letter, he wrote in order to avoid the necessity of making a visit in person (1:9); but when he wrote these chapters he was on the point of paying a visit (12:14-18). Again, there are many coincidences of expression which connect the four chapters with the passage 12:7-10:4, 10:10-11, 11:10-11, 11:12-13, 11:14-15, 11:16-17, 11:18-19, 11:20-21, 11:22-23, 11:24-25, 11:26-27, 11:28-29, 11:30-31, 11:32-33, 11:34-35, 11:36-37, 11:38-39, 11:40-41, 11:42-43, 11:44-45, 11:46-47, 11:48-49, 11:50-51, 11:52-53, 11:54-55, 11:56-57, 11:58-59, 11:60-61, 11:62-63, 11:64-65, 11:66-67, 11:68-69, 11:70-71, 11:72-73, 11:74-75, 11:76-77, 11:78-79, 11:80-81, 11:82-83, 11:84-85, 11:86-87, 11:88-89, 11:90-91, 11:92-93, 11:94-95, 11:96-97, 11:98-99, 11:100-101, 11:102-103, 11:104-105, 11:106-107, 11:108-109, 11:110-111, 11:112-113, 11:114-115, 11:116-117, 11:118-119, 11:120-121, 11:122-123, 11:124-125, 11:126-127, 11:128-129, 11:130-131, 11:132-133, 11:134-135, 11:136-137, 11:138-139, 11:140-141, 11:142-143, 11:144-145, 11:146-147, 11:148-149, 11:150-151, 11:152-153, 11:154-155, 11:156-157, 11:158-159, 11:160-161, 11:162-163, 11:164-165, 11:166-167, 11:168-169, 11:170-171, 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Bible of Zohrab in 1805 (incomplete translations earlier); also, with a monograph by Knieke in 1824. Just an interest in the subject was being revived by Thos. Zahn (*Gesch. d. K. Anst. 1356 f.*, 2: 599-611) and Dr. P. Vetter, professor in the Roman Catholic Faculty at Tübingen, in a Latin version was discovered by M. Samuel Bengel in a tenth-century MS. at Milan, and published by him in conjunction with Prof. A. Carrière (*La Correspondance de Amalric de Saint Paul et de ses confrères*, Paris, 1801). A second MS. (13th cent.), containing a different but probably not also-ether independent version, was found at Lyon, and published by Prof. Pranke in *Thes. 1899*, col. 586 f. There is also extant, in Armenian, a commentary on the epistle by Ephrem Syrus. The texts are most conveniently collected by Dr. P. Vetter in a Tübingen programme (*Der apocryphe Brief an die Römer*; Tübingen, 1894).

The facts at present ascertained in regard to the apocryphal letters are these:—

(1) They were from the first (*i.e.* from the 5th cent.) admitted into the Armenian version as part of the canon. (2) They also existed in Syriac and were accepted as canonical in the fourth century by Aphraates, Ephrem Syrus, and the Syriac *Didascalia*. (The operation of Aphraates is recognized by both Harnack and Zahn, though questioned (as we think wrongly) by Carrière and Vetter.) (3) The letters were also known and had some small circulation in the West.

The problems which still await solution have reference to the question of origin.

(1) Zahn, and now also Vetter, think that the greater part of the letters was in the first instance incorporated in the apocryphal Acts of Paul. [Since this was written Zahn's hypothesis has been verified through the discovery, by Dr. C. Schmidt, of considerable portions of the Acts of Paul in Coptic; cp *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbuch*, 1892, pp. 152-154, and Harnack in *Thes.* 1897, col. 627.] In any case it seems probable that they gained their place in the Syriac version in connection with the controversy against Basilides in the first century. Their composition can hardly be much later than 200 A.D. (2) It is coming to be generally agreed that the main body of the epistles existed first in Greek. Vetter and Zahn now think that the concluding portions were added in Syria, from the Greek but from the Syriac. In this he certainly has not proved his case; but the age of these versions needs to be further investigated.

Besides the general commentaries (which still deserve mention) of Bengel, Wetstein, and Meyer (recent editions by Heinrich), we have, in English, in *The Speaker's Commentary*, that on 1 Cor. by T. S. Evans

(primarily exegetical and marked by fine scholarship), and that on 2 Cor. by Dr. Joseph Waite (generally), also the commentaries on the two epistles by Heinrich (Berlin, 1823, 1839), well meant, and with new illustrations from Latin, Greek, but inclined to press Greek analogies too far. Perhaps the best on the whole is Schmielke's in the *HC* (91), which is searching an lexica but inclined, as we think, to multiply entities beyond what is necessary. In this respect Jülicher's *Eintl.* (94) seems to us to be the most judicious. Godelet published a commentary on 1 Cor. in 1855, and mention should be made of a monograph and commentary on 2 Cor. by Klipper (69, 74), and of the discussions of special points in Krenkel's *Beiträge* (90), and of the missing epistle and its identification with parts of 2 Cor. in the *Journal de Théologie* 2: 211 ff. (1864), *ibid.*

On the apocryphal letters, besides the literature quoted above, a summary will be found in Harnack's *Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* 1: 177-179, and Zahn's last work on the subject in *Lehrbuch*, *ibid.* 1: 394, col. 123 f. The important discussion in Zahn's *Einführung*, 1: 183-249, was too late for notice. W. S.

CORMORANT. 1. The cormorant of EV is the *κόρνηλος*, *קורניל* (Lev. 11:17 Dt. 11:17) a word connected with the common Hebrew verb for 'to throw down' (*קָרַן*), and therefore denoting some bird that swoops or dives after its prey. **Ḥ** in Lev. 11:17 rightly renders *καταβόσκων*, as this denotes a fish-eating bird which dives and remains under water for some time (Arist. *HA* 9:13). In Dt. 14:17 the order of **Ḥ** is different from that of the MT. Vg. has *Mergusula*, the little Auk, and Targ. and Pesh. have *šālā nūnā—i.e.*, 'extraneous pises.' Many writers, following Bochart, believe *קורניל* to be *Sula bassana*, the 'gannet' or 'solan goose'; but, although this bird is sometimes alleged to have been seen in the reed-marshes of Lower Egypt (Di. on Lev. 11:19),

1 *קורניל* is restored by Herz in Job 28:16: *קורניל יפיל עליהם* 'no cormorant darts upon it.' Cp LION, OSSIFRAGE.]

there is some reason for doubting whether it is so wide an E. range. A more likely bird, in view of its common occurrence on the coast of Palestine (Tristram, *NHB* 252), is the 'cormorant,' which likewise plunges after its prey.

Two species of cormorant are described from Palestine: the *Phalacrocorax carbo*, which frequents both the sea-shore and inland waters, and the pygmy cormorant, *P. pygmaeus*, which is found in lakes and rivers. Canon Tristram states that the *P. carbo* is always to be seen near the mouth of the Jordan, watching for the fish, which seem on entering the Dead Sea to be stupefied by the saltness of its waters. Cormorants are fish-eaters and extremely voracious. Like the bittern and the pelican they are looked upon as inhabitants of solitary places.

2. For *קורניל* (so Be); Gk. *κόρνηλος*; Is. 34:11 Zeph. 2:14, AV text), see PELICAN (so AVING, AV elsewhere, RV everywhere).

CORN. On the cultivation of corn and its use as food, see AGRICULTURE, BREAD, FOOD, § 1, and the various cereals (on which see PALESTINE, § 14). On other points, see the articles cited in the references given in the following list of expressions:—

1. *אָרְבֵּי*, *arbhbi*, the fresh young ears of corn, Lev. 2:14 ('green ears of corn', RV 'corn in the ear'); see also MONTH.
2. *בִּלְבֵּל*, *bilbel*, Job 24:6 AV (mg. 'mingled corn or dredge'), properly 'fodder'; see CATTLE, § 5.
3. *בָּרָה*, *bar*, Gen. 41:35, 49, etc. (L), Am. 5:11 8:6 perhaps 'purified [cleansed] grain'; cp Ar. *barraan*, 'wheat, grain of wheat,' and see FOOD, § 1.
4. *בֵּיתֵי*, *betey*, *בֵּיתֵי*, Is. 21:10, EV 'corn of my floor'; cp Dt. 16:13 AV); (properly) 'threshing-floor'; see AGRICULTURE, § 8.
5. *גֵּרֵס*, *gers*, Lev. 2:14 'corn beaten out', RV 'bruised corn'; cp *gr.* 16.
6. *דִּגְאֵן*, *digain*, Gen. 27:28, 37, etc., grain (of cereals), used widely, along with *קִמְחָה* 'must' (see WINE), of the products of Canaan (Dt. 33:21); see FOOD, § 1. Its connection with the god DAGON (*דַּגּוֹן*) is uncertain.
7. *קַרְמֵל*, *karmel*, 2 K. 4:42, EV 'ears of corn' (cp Lev. 23:14 'ears'), preferably 'fruit' or 'garden-growth'; cp CARMEL. See FOOD, § 1.
8. *עֵבֶר*, *ibber*, Josh. 5:11 f., EV 'old corn', RVING. 'produce, corn.'
9. *עֵמֶק*, *aremeh*, Ruth 3:7, EV 'heap of corn'; see AGRICULTURE, § 9 f.
10. *פָּלֵי*, *phali*, 1 S. 17:17, etc., 'parched corn'; see FOOD, § 1.
11. *קָמַח*, *kamach*, Judg. 15:5, etc., 'standing corn'; see AGRICULTURE, § 7.
12. *רִיבֹסִים*, *riphosim*, 2 S. 17:19 Prov. 27:22, 'bruised corn'; cp COOKING, § 2.
13. *שֶׁבֶר*, *sheber*, Gen. 42:1, etc., perhaps 'broken (corn)'; but uncertain. As a denom. *הוֹשִׁיבֵי*, 'to sell corn' (Gen. 42:6 Am. 8:5 f., etc.).
14. *סֶעֶסֶק*, *sesek*, Jn. 12:24, 'a corn (RV grain).'
15. *σῖτος*, Mk. 4:25 etc., a general term like *קָרַן* (above, 6).
16. *τὰ σόρβια*, cornfields, Mt. 12:1 Mk. 2:23.
17. *σάραυς*, Mt. 12:1 Mk. 2:23, 'ear of corn'; cp Heb. *קֶרֶן*, Job 24:24.

CORNELIUS (ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]) one of the centurions of the so-called Italian cohort (Acts 10:1).

In the regular army composed of Roman citizens distinctive names of this sort were not given to the separate cohorts; only the legions were so designated.

1. The 'Italian' In Acts 10, accordingly, what we have to do with is a cohort of the auxiliary troops which were raised in the provinces and not formed into legions.¹ As for the meaning of such names: 'cohors Gallorum Macedonica,' for example, would denote

¹ Legions were stationed only in the great provinces that were governed by the emperor through a *legatus Augusti pro pretore*; the smaller provinces—those administered by an officer of lower rank (*praefectus*), such as Egypt, or Judaea from 6-41 A.D., and again from 44 A.D. onwards—had only auxiliary troops. The old provinces, where war no longer threatened and the administration was in the hands of the senate, had no standing army properly so called.

that the cohort mentioned consisted of Gauls but had distinguished itself in Macedonia. If this interpretation were applicable, an Italian cohort would mean one which had fought in Italy. In Arrian, however (*Acies contra Alanos*, § 3, p. 99), the cohort which in § 13, p. 102, is called ἡ σπεῖρα ἡ Ἰταλική, the Italian cohort, figures simply as οἱ Ἰταλοί, the Italians, and with this agree all the other mentions (entirely in inscriptions) of a cohorts Italica.

There are (1) *Cohors I Italica civium Romanorum veterano*; (2) *cohortes miliaria*—i.e., having 1000 instead of 500 men; (3) *cohortes* *praefectae*—i.e., *praefectae* in Syria; (4) *cohortes* *legionum*; (5) the *praefecti* of a subordinate officer found at Carnuntum in Pannonia and first published in the *Archiv für die Kunde des Alterthums* (1869, p. 217) *cohortes* *praefectae* *I Italicae* (*legionis*) *Romanorum veterano* *praefecti* *praefecti* *legionis* *augustinianae* *cohortis* *Syriae*.

Thus the σπεῖρα Ἰταλική of Acts 10¹ really consisted of Italians, probably of Italian volunteers.

Nw, Schürer¹ has pointed out that according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 87, § 176) the garrison of Caesarea about 60 A.D. consisted mostly of Caesareans and Sebasteni (Sebaste having, from 27 B.C., been the name of Samaria). As early, however, as 41-44 A.D. (at latest), when Caesarea was not under a Roman procurator but under a grandson of Herod the Great, King Herod Agrippa I. (whose death is recorded in Acts 12²⁰⁻²³, and during whose reign, or shortly before it, the story of Cornelius will have to be placed), the garrison at Caesarea must, according to Schürer, have been similarly composed. For in 44 A.D., the emperor Claudius desired to transfer the garrison—which, at that time, and according to Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 12, § 60) *about* twenty-three years later, in 67 A.D., consisted of an *ala* (= *ἄλῃ*—i.e., cavalry detachment of 500 men) of the Caesareans and Sebasteni and five cohorts—to the province of Pontus, because, after the death of his friend King Agrippa I., they had publicly insulted the statues of his daughters; but there was no change of garrison until the time of Vespasian (*Jos.* *Ant.* xiv. 91 f., §§ 350-366). This led Schürer to conjecture that a cohort of Italians may have come to Caesarea (there was in Syria, as shown above, one such at least) under Vespasian, and that the author of Acts, or of the source from which he drew, may have transferred the circumstances of his own time to the time of Peter.

Ramsay, on the other side, advances the fourth of the inscriptions above noticed. His reasoning, however, does not say more than that in 105 A.D. there was a *cohortes Italica* in Syria; and, although there may have been such a cohort there as early as about 40-45 A.D., it is not said that there was one in Caesarea. It is especially improbable that that city was so garrisoned in the reign of Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.), for he was a relatively independent sovereign, not likely to have had Italians in his service; but even for the period preceding 41 A.D. Schürer argues for a probability that the garrison of Caesarea was the same as it was afterwards, and that it was simply taken over by Agrippa at his accession. For the rest, Ramsay can only appeal to a possibility that Cornelius may have been temporarily at Caesarea on some 'detached service.'

Oscar Holtzmann (*NTliche Zeitsch.* § 11, 2, p. 108) thinks that perhaps the enrolment at some time or other of a considerable number of Italian volunteers may have sufficed to secure for such a cohort in perpetuity the honorary epithet of 'Italica.' All this, however, is mere conjecture.

Mommson (*Sitzungsber. d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1895, pp. 501-3) seeks to deprive of its force the statement of Josephus on which Schürer relies. Starting from the view that the troops of Agrippa must certainly have been drawn from the whole of his kingdom,—that is, from all Palestine—he maintains that Caesarea and Sebaste are singled out for special mention by Josephus merely as being the two chief towns in Agrippa's dominions. He lays emphasis on the fact that in *BJ* iii. 42, § 66

(see above) and *Ant.* xx. 61, § 122, it is said only of the *ala*—not of the *cohortes*—that it was composed of Caesareans and Sebastenes. At the same time he does not use this fact to establish the probability of a *cohortes Italica* in Caesarea. On the contrary, his conclusion is that 'We are unable to identify with any certainty either the *cohortes Augusta* of Acts 27¹ or the *σπεῖρα Ἰταλική* of Acts 10¹.'

The special importance of Cornelius in Acts lies in the representation that his conversion by Peter brought the original Christian community of Jerusalem, in spite of violent recalcitrance at first (11^{2 f.}), to the conviction that the Gentiles also, without circumcision and without coming under any obligation to observe the law of Moses, were to be received into the Christian Church if they had faith in Christ (11^{17 f.}). The historical truth of this representation has to be considered in connection with what we are told elsewhere concerning the Council of Jerusalem (see *COUNCIL*, ii. § 4; *ACTS*, § 4). That council could never have been necessary, and the Judaising Christians in it could never have stood out for the circumcision of the Gentiles or their obligation to observe the whole Mosaic law (Acts 15¹⁻⁵), if they had already come to see and acknowledge in the case of Cornelius that such demands were contrary to the divine will. In his controversy with Peter at Antioch also (Gal. 2¹¹⁻²¹), Paul could have used no more effective weapon than a simple reference to this event; but he betrays no knowledge of it. No one, it is to be presumed, will attempt to save the credibility of the narrative by the expedient of transferring it to some date subsequent to the Council of Jerusalem. As at that council (we are told) Peter himself expressly agreed that the Gentiles should have unimpeded entrance into the Christian Church, that circumcision and observance of the law should not be demanded of them, he did not, at a later date, require to be instructed on the matter by a divine revelation. Had the Cornelius incident been later than the Council the novelty would have lain simply in Peter's preaching the gospel and administering baptism to Cornelius and his household *in propria persona*. This, however, is precisely what would have been contrary to the principle adopted at the Council as laid down in Gal. 2⁹, which settled that he should confine his missionary activity to born Jews. (On the importance of this principle, see *COUNCIL*, § 6.)

As the story of Cornelius must thus be retained, if anywhere, in its present place, before the Council of Jerusalem, its credibility can be allowed only on condition that it is acknowledged not to possess the importance bearing on questions of principle which is claimed for it in Acts. 11¹⁻¹².

(a) To meet this requirement, it is usually thought sufficient to say that the occurrence was an 'exceptional case' (so, for example, Ramsay also, *St. Paul's*, chap. 3, p. 44). This may be true in the sense that Peter converted and baptized no more Gentiles; but, unless at the same time it is denied that in the case of Cornelius Peter's action proceeded on a divine revelation and command, the reference to the exceptional character of the case has no force. The conditions of missionary activity which God had revealed to Peter in the case of Cornelius must surely, when Paul also began to apply them, have been acknowledged by the original Church; and thus the controversy resulting in the Council of Jerusalem could never have arisen. On this ground alone, then, to begin with, Peter's vision at Joppa is unhistorical; and aversion from miracles has nothing to do with its rejection. The whole account seems to be influenced by reminiscences of the story of the summoning of Balaam by Balak (Nu. 22⁵⁻³⁹); see Krenkel, *Josephus u. Iudas*, 193-6 [94].

(b) It is further urged (so again Ramsay, *St. Paul's*,

¹ *ZWT.*, 1875, pp. 413-428; *Clf* 1 372-6 (ET i. 2, 4-24), where, on p. 51, according to *Exp.*, 1875, ii. 470n, for 'in reference to a later period' should be read 'in reference to a preceding period'. In *Exp.*, 1895, 2, 469-472, Schürer replies to Ramsay *ib.* 194-201; Ramsay replies, 1897, 1, 69-72.

ch. 3 § 1 and 16 § 3, pp. 42 *f.* and 375, and *Exp.*, 1896, 2000 *f.*) that Cornelius according to Acts 10:22-23 was a semi-proselyte—*i.e.*, gave a general adhesion to Judaism, without being circumcised or yielding definite obedience to the details of the Mosaic Law;¹—but neither does this contention avail. The fact is, as stated in Acts 10:28 11:3, that Cornelius and his house, according to Jewish and Jewish-Christian ideas, were unclean; and if, notwithstanding this, God had commanded his admission within the pale of the Christian Church, the command had essentially no less significance than it would have had if he had previously been quite unattached to Judaism. Ramsay (43) says, it is true, that Peter 'laid it down as a condition of reception into the Church that the non-Jew must approach by way of the synagogue (10:35) and become "one that fears God."' But Peter does not say this until after he has been taught by God in a vision. Without this instruction it would have been incumbent on him to exact, as conditions precedent, acceptance of circumcision and submission to the entire law (10:14). As soon as the divine command is recognised as a historical fact the dispute at the Council of Jerusalem becomes, as already stated, an impossibility.

(c) On one assumption alone, then, will it be possible to recognise a kernel of historical truth in the story of Cornelius; the assumption, namely, that he was a full proselyte,—circumcised, that is to say, and pledged to observance of the entire Law. Such a supposition, however, is in direct contradiction of the text (10:28 11:3). It would be strange indeed if, in order to make the narrative credible, one had first to change it in so important a point.

It would be necessary to depart still further from the text if we were desired to put faith in what is said in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20:13), according to which Peter did not convert Cornelius at Caesarea to Christianity at all, but merely freed him from a demon's possession. It is not intrinsically impossible that here we have a fragment of good tradition preserved from some ancient source (see SIMON MAGUS); but, on account of its combination with manifest fancies (see below, § 6), to trust it would be unsafe.

All the more urgent becomes the question whether the narrative in Acts is derived from a written source.

Of the scholars enumerated under Acts 4. Sources. (§ 11) the majority assume that it is, and point out verses in ch. 10, the proper connections of which (they say) have been obliterated by the final redactor of the book.² They further emphasise the point that in the narrative by Peter (11:5-17) certain details are not given precisely as in ch. 10. Still, even the most serious of these differences—namely, that in

¹ That this is the meaning of the phrase *σεβόμενος* [or *φειδόμενος*] *τὸν θεόν* is shown in Schürer (*l.c.*), ET 4:31 *f.*; also ZBK (H. F. 1897, Heft 25, 'Die Juden im römisch-orientalischen Reich', especially pp. 7-219 *f.* of the volume; see also PROSELYTES.

² 10:36 *f.*, however, ought not to be reckoned among these; no redactor would have introduced such violent abnormalities into his text. The words from *ἀρχαίως* ('beginning') down to *Γαλιλαίας* ('Galilee'), or, it may be, to *Ἰωάννης* (end of v. 37), are absolutely foreign to the construction, and certainly ought to come between *οὗτος* ('who') and *ἔδραμεν* ('I went down to'), v. 38, whether it be that they originally belonged to this place, or that they originally stood on the margin as a reminiscence by a very early reader from Lk. 23:5 or Acts 1:22. In 10:36 the reading of WH ('He) set the word unto . . . Lord of all. Ye know the word which': cp RVmg.) is unquestionably a copyist's attempt to remove the difficulties of the construction; but their margin reading (*τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν*, etc.), 'The word which' as in EV, it is as difficult to make dependent on the *οἴδατε* ('ye know') of v. 37 as it is to construe in apposition to the whole sentence in v. 35. If we refuse to suppose that before v. 36 some such words as 'you also hath he thought worthy to hear' have fallen out before *τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν*, etc. (the word which [he] sent), it will be necessary to take *τὸν λόγον ὃν* ('the word which') down to *Ἐὰν ἰπὸς Χριστοῦ* ('by Jesus Christ'), as a marginal explanation of *τὸ νόμισμα ἕνεκα καθ' ἑστίαν τῆς ἰουδαίας* ('the word which was throughout all Judaea'), where *ἕνεκα* (RV 'saying') is wrongly understood in the sense of 'word' instead of the Hebraising sense of 'event, occurrence' as in Lk. 21:5; and *οὗτός ἐστιν πατρὶν κύριος* ('he is lord of all') will be a further addition.

ch. 11 the Holy Spirit fell upon Cornelius and his household at the very beginning of Peter's discourse (v. 15)—admits of explanation: 10:34-43 may have been supposed to represent only a comparatively small part of what Peter meant to say. Were it necessary to make a choice between ch. 10 and ch. 11, it would be the worst possible course to try to see in the latter the source from which the fuller narrative of ch. 10 was originally derived by amplification (so Wendt, *ZTK*, 1891, pp. 230-254, esp. 250-4). That principle-determining character which, as we have seen, can in no case have attached to the assumed event, is imparted precisely by the justification which in ch. 11 the event receives before the church of Jerusalem; and against this it is of no avail that Wendt chooses to attribute some of the strongest passages, such as 11:1 and 11:18, to the latest redactor of Acts.

More important than any of the indications hitherto dealt with is the clue supplied in 10:44-47 11:15, 17. The 'speaking with tongues' of Cornelius and his household is here placed on a level with that of the apostles at the first Pentecost after the resurrection, but is not yet (as it is in the other passage) described as a speaking in the languages of foreign nations: it is undoubtedly meant, as in 1 Cor. 12:14, to be taken simply as a speaking in ecstatic tones (see GIFTS). Certainly this representation of the matter does not seem as if it had been due to the latest redactor of the book as a whole.

In favour of the credibility of the narrative, however, nothing is gained by all this search for a written source. It is a great error, widely diffused, to suppose that one may *ipso facto* take as historical everything that can be shown to have stood in one of the written sources of the NT authors. As far as the source was in substance identical with what we now have in the canonical Acts, it is equally exposed to the criticisms already offered. There is one assumption which would escape the force of that criticism—the assumption, namely, that Cornelius was a full proselyte (§ 3c);—but it cannot possibly by any analysis of sources be made out to have been the original tradition.

All the more remarkable is the clearness with which the tendency of the narrative may be seen. The initiative in missions to the Gentiles, which historically belongs to Paul, is here set down to the credit of Peter (see ACTS, § 3 *f.*). According to the representation given in Acts, it was preceded by the conversion of the Samaritans (8:5-25), who, however, were akin to the Jews, and consequently not Gentiles (Schürer, *GVV* 25:7, ET 35-7). It had been preceded also by the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (8:26-39); but he had not thereby been made a member of any Christian church. The really difficult problem was this: In what manner ought Jewish Christians to live together in one and the same church with Gentile Christians, who did not hold by the Mosaic Law? This question is brought by Peter, in the case of Cornelius, on the basis of a divine revelation, exactly to the solution which in reality it was left to Paul to achieve after hard battle at a much later date (see COUNCIL, §§ 4, 7). With a certain reserve, which bears witness to right feeling for essential historical truth in spite of all unhistoricity in the narrative, the author attributes no more conversions of Gentiles to Peter; and even the conversion of Cornelius himself is in some measure toned down by the previous Jewish sympathies with which he is credited. There is thus a further step left. It is not till later, in Antioch, that the gospel is preached to Gentiles who had not previously stood in any close connection with Judaism, and the new step is taken (as in the case of the Samaritans) in the first instance by subordinate persons, and not sanctioned by the authorities at Jerusalem till after the event (11:19-24). None the less are mission to the Gentiles and the abolition of the distinction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians so essentially vindicated in the

case of Cornelius that Peter has necessarily to be considered their real initiator as far as Acts is concerned. The narrative, accordingly, is in complete contrast to Gal. 2:11-21. In Galatians the historical Peter, on account of Jewish Christian prejudice not yet fully overcome, withdraws from table-fellowship which he had begun with Gentile Christians, and thereby exposes himself to the sharp censure of Paul (see COUNCIL, § 3); in Acts he has completely overcome those prejudices long before Paul begins his Christian activity. It is not necessary on this account to suppose that the author of Acts freely invented the whole story, including even the name of Cornelius; but, considering how markedly he brings it into the service of his theory, we have little prospect of ultimately being able to retain more than a very small kernel as historical.

According to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20:13; see above, § 3 c) and Recognitions (10:55) Cornelius took the side of Peter as against Paul. When

6. Later traditions.

Simon the Sorcerer (*i.e.*, Paul; see SIMON MAGUS) had stirred up all Antiochians that Peter, Cornelius comes upon a mission from the Emperor and arrives at an understanding with the friends of Peter, at their request, to set abroad the rumour that his imperial commission has reference to the arrest of Simon. Thereupon Simon makes his escape to Judea. Thus Cornelius here plays the part which in Acts 21:33 23:23-33 is assigned to Claudius Lysias.

According to the *Memoriae* on the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, attributed to Simon Metastathetes, Cornelius is commemorated by Peter bishop of Ilium; according to the Greek *Homage* (with 80:14), his feast is by Peter in Memphis on the Wednesday (Lepsius, *Antiqu. Aegyptiaca* 1:47, and 2:5). According to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (36:72) and Recognitions (10:55), Zoroastrians was considered first bishop of Caesarea; Peter; in *Ap. Const.* vii, 46:1 Zoroastrians is succeeded by Cornelius. P. W. S.

CORNER (כִּפָּה), Lev. 19:27 21:5: (1) of a field: cp CLEAN, § 6; (2) of the beard: see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 5. MOURNING CUSTOMS: 1:34 of a garment (722: ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΕΛΟΝ Num. 15:3 RV¹⁹⁰⁸: see FRINGES.

CORNER, ASCENT OF THE (עֲלִית הַפְּנֵה), Neh. 3:34 RV. See JERUSALEM.

CORNER GATE (בֵּשַׁר הַפְּנֵה), Zech. 14:10. See JERUSALEM.

CORNER-STONE (in Job פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן; λιθός γωνιαίος; in Is. פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן אַקְרוֹפּוֹנְיָאִיֹּס and so in NT; in Ps. חֵיטִי רֵקֵלָלֹוּ אֶת־מִנְיָאֵי אֶבֶן עִטִּי-גּוֹנִיאַ. Syriac: ΓΩΝΙΑΙΟΙ. (a) Job 38:8; (b) Is. 28:16, 1 Pet. 2:6 Eph. 2:20 (without λιθός); (c) Ps. 144:12.

In (a) the phrase 'pinnacle-stone,' EV's 'cornerstone,' is parallel to אֶבֶן יְסוּדָה, 'its foundations' (or bases), just as in Jer. 51:26 'a stone for a pinnacle' (פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן) is parallel to 'a stone for foundations' (אֶבֶן יְסוּדָה). In (b) we find the same connection between פִּנֵּה, *pinnah*, and the foundation-stone. Clearly, therefore, the traditional rendering 'corner-stone' for פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן is unsuitable. Indeed, the word פִּנֵּה elsewhere only in some cases means 'corner' (see Ex. 27:24 Ezek. 40:20 45:19 Job 1:19 Prov. 7:8). Besides this, the architectural term פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן in Ps. 118:22 (אֶבֶן אַקְרוֹפּוֹנְיָאִיֹּס in 1 Pet. 2:6 cp Eph. 2:20; but not in Mt. 21:42 and parallel passages, Acts 4:11 1 Pet. 2:7) evidently means not 'corner-stone,' but 'top-stone of the battlement,' and 'battlement' is RV's rendering of פִּנֵּה in 2 Ch. 26:15 Zeph. 1:16 3:6.

In spite of tradition, therefore, it would seem that פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן means, not a corner-stone, but a principal stone (cp אֶבֶן עִטִּי, Ass. *pānu*, 'front'), one selected for its solidity and beauty to fill an important place in a building, whether in the foundation or in the battlement. Hence the metaphorical sense of פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן, 'principal men,' Is. 19:13 (so point), 1 S. 14:38 Judg. 20:2. (c) The third EV passage (Ps. 144:12) with the word 'corner' is extremely obscure in MT. That Jewish maidens could be likened either to 'corner-stones' (EV, Del.) or to 'corner-pillars' (Baethg., We. in *SBOT*, comparing the

Caryatides) puts a severe strain on the imagination. The student may consult the three critics named. Zech. 9:15 ('corners of the altar') by no means justifies either of the above interpretations of פִּנֵּה. The parallel passage, Ps. 128:3, indicates the sort of figure required; the text needs emendation. See further Che. 15:20.

In Is. 28:16 the stone described as a *pinnah-stone* symbolises, not the theocracy or the Davidic dynasty, nor yet the (Jewish) Messiah, but the revealed relation of Yahwè to Israel, which Yahwè was establishing ever more and more by the words of his prophets and the solemn acts of his regal sway. That it should be applied to their divine Messiah by Christians is intelligible; and, since they read the Psalter as a book with a living power of self-adaptation to their own changing needs, it was natural that Christian disciples should find the words of Ps. 118:22, which originally referred to the Jewish people, verified in their Master. In Eph. 2:22 there is no absolute need to interpret ἀκρογωνιαίον otherwise than פִּנֵּה אֶבֶן: but in 1 Pet. 2:6 we need to propose the traditional sense 'corner-stone' (see 2:7).

CORNET. For Dan. 3:5 (קַרְנָה) and 1 Ch. 15:28, etc. (קַרְנָה) see METAL, § 26. For 2 S. 6:1 (קַרְנָה) see METAL, § 3 (1).

CORONATION, ANOINTING [צִדְוֹן, § 3] was by itself an efficient mode of investiture with royal functions (1 S. 10:1 1 K. 1:34).¹ It is only in the case of Joash that coronation is mentioned as accompanying—indeed, it is mentioned as preceding—the anointing (2 K. 11:12). Perhaps 2 S. 1:10 refers to an older custom of transferring to the successor the personal adornments of the dead king; see CROWN. Perhaps too the anointing occurred near or on a particular *masqabah* or upright stone, as in the case of Abimelech, for we can hardly doubt that EV's rendering the 'pillar that was in Shechem' (Judg. 9:6) is correct, though the final letter of מַצְבָּה has been lost or removed (see Moore, *ad loc.*). Joash too is said to have stood 'by the pillar as the manner was' (2 K. 11:14); but here the word for 'pillar' is different (עֲמֻדָה), and we should perhaps follow RV¹⁹⁰⁸ and Klostermann in rendering 'platform' (cp 2 K. 23:7 RV¹⁹⁰⁸).²

After the anointing the people greeted the new king with a flourish of trumpets (1 K. 1:34 39 2 K. 9:13 מִצְבַּח וְתִקְעוּ, 2 K. 11:14 מִצְבַּחֵימָה). In the case of Jehu and Absalom (2 S. 15:10) the trumpet sounds were the signal of accession, though they may have been simply an element in the popular expressions of joy (1 S. 11:15 1 K. 1:40), which included hand-clapping (2 K. 11:12 Ps. 47:1 [2]) and the exclamation 'Live the king' (יְחֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ; 1 S. 10:24 2 S. 16:16 1 K. 1:34 39 2 K. 11:12). Sometimes there was a procession with music; and the new king rode on the royal mule (1 K. 1:33 38) and finally took his seat on the throne.

It is possible that 'to-day' in Ps. 27 refers not to the birth but to the coronation of the king. See Baethg., Che. *ad loc.* The latter illustrates from the sculptures representing the coronation of the Egyptian queen Hat-shep-sut,³ Naville, *Temple of Dér-el-Bahari*, 141, 142, pp. 123. See Wiedemann's essay on צִדְוֹן in *ZATW* 181-92 [98] and Diehl, *Erkl. von Ps.* xlvii., Giessen, 1886, p. 134.

CORRUPTION, MOUNT OF (הַר הַרְסוּתָהוּת), 2 K. 23:13, RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'mount of destruction.' See DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF.

COS (כּוֹס [ANV]), 1 Macc. 15:23. See COOS.

COSAM (כּוֹסָאָם [Ti. WH]), fifth from Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3:28). See GENEALOGIES, ii., § 3.

¹ According to Rabbinic views, not all kings were anointed; but the term מִצְבַּחֵימָה seems the generic designation of a king. On the association of crowning with anointing see Is. 61:3 (cp *S. B. J. ad loc.*).

² L. Oliphant (*Haiifa*, 147) conjectures that the (artificial) footprints in the rocks in different parts of Palestine (*e.g.*, at Hebron and at the Nefy Shaib near Hatjin) indicate very ancient coronation-stones.

³ Hat-shep-sut, formerly wrongly written Hatasu (see EGYPT, § 33).

COSTUS (קוס; ἰσικ [BAFL], Ex. 30 24 RV¹⁹⁰⁸ [in Ezek. 27 10 Vg. *stactis*, EV *CASSIA* & καὶ ΤΡΟΥΙΛΑΚ 'and drugs?']. See *CASSIA, INCENSE*, § 6.

COTTAGE. 1. For Is. 18 (722) and 24 20 (722) see HUR. 2. In Zeph. 26 (EV 'cottages' RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'caves') the *am. luy.* 722 is probably a dittograph of 721 'dwellings' (Bohme, ZATW 7 201 [71]; Rodstein in *Kan. IS.*; and Schwally, ZATW 10 186 [90]), under the influence of 723 in vs. 5; or, transposing the two words, we may adopt with We. the reading of & ἑσται Κρήτη ὁμοίη, with the meaning 'Philistia shall become dwellings for,' etc.

COTTON or **Fine Cloth** (RV¹⁹⁰⁸), or **GREEN** (haugings), EV (DEB, *haugings*): ΚΑΡΠΑΓΙΝΑ [B.N. ALA 9]; Esth. 16f. The Heb. word, which appears also in Arab., Arm., Gr., and Lat., is derived from Pers. *kirpās* and ultimately from Sans. *karpāsa*, 'the cotton plant.'² As a derived word it means, in the various languages, primarily 'muslin,' the fine cotton cloth which came from India, and also such stuffs as are named 'calico.' The nature and home of the cotton plant were known to the Greeks as early as Herodotus (3.1.6); but it was the expedition of Alexander that first made them familiar with the use of cotton fabrics. The earliest known occurrence of *κάρπασος* = *carbasus* in Greek or Latin is in a line of Cæcilius (210-166? B.C.)—'*carbasina, molochina, ampelina*'—which appears to be a transliteration of a line in a Greek play. Strabo (15.1, § 71) and the author of the *Peripl. Maris Erythr.* (chap. 11), Lucan (3.239), and Quintus Curtius (8.9, § 21) used the word in special connection with India; but other references in classical writers show that the word obtained a wider sense, particularly in the poets. Thus it is used of fine Spanish linen or cambric (Pliny 19.1, § 2), of the awnings of theatres³ (Lucr. 6.109), often of sails (*Æn.* 3.357 & 4.47, etc.) and of robes of fine material (*ib.* 8.34 11 776, etc.) ; see these and other passages discussed in Yates, *Textorium Antiquorum*, 1.338 ff. We cannot, therefore, be certain as to the material called *karpas* in the particular case of Esth. 16, since according to the later usage any light material might be so called; but in view of the undoubted meaning of the original word in Sans., the presumption is in favour of cotton-muslin. *Karpas* certainly denotes a material, not a colour (the latter is a Jewish idea, found in Vg.).

Asiatic cotton in ancient times (like most modern cotton) was derived from the cotton plant, *Gossypium herbaceum*, L.—prevalent in the tropics, but elsewhere annual—which had its first home in India, but by the time of Alexander had spread to Bactriana (De Candolle, *Origines*, 202 ff.). The cotton *arvum* (*Gossypium arboreum*, L.), on the other hand, which, though little known to the ancients, is described in one place by Pliny,⁴ had its first home, according to modern investigation, in Upper Guinea, Abyssinia, Sennar, and Higher Egypt' (*ib.* 325 ff.). This, brought down from the Soudan, was probably the earliest cotton cultivated in Lower Egypt. Prosper Alpinus saw it in Egypt in the sixteenth century (*ib.*, 327). It was afterwards displaced by the Indian *G. herbaceum*.

For Gen. 41.42 Ex. 25.4, RV¹⁹⁰⁸ (22, 28; & EV FINE LINEN, AV¹⁹⁰⁸ SINE TOP PR. 31.28, AV¹⁹⁰⁸), see LINEN (7); for Is. 19.6f. RV¹⁹⁰⁸ (22, 28), see LINEN (2). N. M.—W. T. T.—1.

COUCH (קוּשׁ), Amos. 3.12. See *BED*, § 2.

COULTER (קוּשׁ; ΚΚΕΥΟΣ [BAL]). IS. 13.20 f., elsewhere rendered 'plowshare' (ἀροτρον [BAQ]), Is. 24 Joel 3.10 [4.10] Mic. 4.3. See *AGRICULTURE*, § 3.

COUNCIL.

1. קוֹנְסִיּוֹת, *qōnsiyyōth*, Ps. 68 27 [28] (EV mg. 'their con-

¹ According to Klostermann's conjectural emendation of 1 S. 2 19 (722) for 172 for 727, the word 'cotton' is itself a Hebrew word, though it has come to us through the Arabic *Kufū*, cp TUNIC, and apparently it meant 'linen' not 'cotton'; *ἄβυσσος* [קוּשׁ] מִן כְּלֵי־בָּשֶׂת, *Abussos mē tēto sōmēlēs. xēthōn yār tō kēto hūs kōkōmēr.* *Jss. Ant.* iii. 72. Cp LINEN.

² The adjectival form *kārpāsīn* means 'cotton stuff.'
³ These may possibly have been of calico.

⁴ *ix.* 1.2; 'superior pars Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fructum quem aliquid gossypium vocant, plures xylon et alio lina inde facta xyliina.' Cp *Oliver, Fl. Trop. Africa*, 1.211.

pany'; prop. 'heap of stones'; & ΒΒΕΑΒ ἡγεμόνες ἀδρίαν) is surely corrupt. *Ch.*, ZATW 19.1 6 [90] reads ὁμοίη τῆ, 'the blameless ones.' See also Hupf., *Baethg.*

2. קוֹנְסִיּוֹת, *qōnsiyyōth*, 2 S. 23.23 (ἀκού [BA], φωνάει [L]) = 1 Ch. 11.25 (καρπία [BRAL] EV mg. EV 'guard'), the body-guard of David, at the head of which was ΒΕΒΑΙΑΗ (4); cp 1 S. 22.11 (RV 'council'; AV 'hudding; ἀρχων; . . . παρεργηλά-ματος [BAL]) and see *Dr. ad loc.*

3. קוּר, *qūr*, *sād* (doubtless to be connected with Syr. *suwādā* 'talk,' *estawwādā* 'to speak'; cp Hommel, *ZDMG* 46.529, who similarly explains the Sab. קוּר as 'speaker, or place of oracle') is used, not only of a council or meeting (cp Jer. 6.11 15.17 Ezek. 18.9, etc.) ; see *ASSEMBLY* [4]; but also of its deliberations and their result ('secret,' 'counsel'; Am. 3.7 Pr. 11.13 Ps. 83.3 [4], etc.; cp esp. *Is.* 55.1 [14]).

4. *συμβουλιον* in Acts 25.12 is the jury or board of assessors who aided the procurators and governors of a province; cp *Jos.* 18.11. 19.1.

5. *συνέδριον*, the supreme council, Mt. 5.22 Jn. 11.47 Acts 5.21 etc. *συνέδρια* in *pl.* (Mt. 10.17 = Mk. 13.6) are the smaller local tribunals; cp *κρίσις* (EV 'judgement') Mt. 5.21 *Is.*, and see *GOVERNMENT*, § 31 end; cp *SYNAGOGUE*.

COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM. This council, if not the most important occurrence of the apostolic age, is the one that bears the most official character. The more contradictory the accounts of it which we seem to possess in Gal. 2 and Acts 15, the more necessary is it to adopt a careful method for its investigation. The first question that arises is whether both accounts really relate to the same occurrence. In order to answer this, it is needful to determine the times of Paul's journeys to Jerusalem after his conversion.

In Gal. 1.8 21 he protests, very solemnly (1.20), that he visited Jerusalem for the first time three years after his conversion, and for the second time fourteen years after his first visit (or, less probably, after his conversion). Unless we deny the genuineness of the epistle to the Galatians we cannot but give unqualified acceptance to this statement.

Paul was endeavouring to show how little he was dependent in his apostleship upon the original apostles. He was, therefore, bound in the interests of truth to mention all the occasions on which he had come into contact with them. Moreover, to pass over any such occasion would have been highly imprudent; for his opponents naturally were aware of all of them, and would have promptly exposed the falsehood to the Galatians.

Now, the journey mentioned in Acts 9.26 must unhesitatingly be identified with that in Gal. 1.18, even though the narrative of Acts contains not the smallest hint that it was not made until three years after Paul's conversion, and had been preceded by a sojourn in Arabia and a second sojourn in Damascus.

a. It would seem, then, that the second journey recorded in Galatians (2.1) must coincide with the one in Acts 11.30, which, according to Acts 12.25, did extend to Jerusalem.

The famine during the reign of Claudius (by which the journey was occasioned) occurred in Palestine² before 48, at the earliest in 44—i.e., as the narrative of Acts appears to imply (12.23), at the time of the death of Herod Agrippa I.—and, if the conversion of Paul occurred shortly after the death of Jesus, as this is the last more than a year after the appearance of the Baptist in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (i.e., 28-29 A.D.; Jk. 3.1), there remains the interval of seventeen (or, at least, fourteen) years demanded by Gal. 1.18-2.1 between Paul's conversion and the famine, cp *CHRONOLOGY*, § 74 ff. Thus the account of the journey in Acts requires correction only in one point; the alms were sent not before but after the beginning of the famine.

Still, since it mentions no object for the journey besides the sending of alms, the narrative of Acts may be charged with having passed over in complete silence the conference mentioned in Gal. 2.1-10.

This is no trifling matter. It is remarkable that a conference upon the same subject should follow in Acts 15, for a repetition of the discussion within the next few years is not conceivable; observe, too, that no reference is made in Acts 15 to an earlier decision. The journey mentioned in Acts 11.30—at all events, as far as Paul is concerned—may, on other grounds, be considered open to the suspicion of having been detached from the circumstances recorded in Acts 20.3 21.17 (cp 1 Cor. 16.4

¹ The word is used in a concrete sense ('obedient ones') in Is. 11.14; cp Mt. 23, *טַיִתְּכֶם כִּי לִיבִין מַלְכוּת*, 'all Daibon was obedient.'
² That it extended over the whole world (*οἰκουμένη*) is an error of Acts.

Rom. 15.25*f.*), and of having been transferred, whether by mistake or purposely, to a far too early position in the narrative (see SIMON MAGUS).

b. In order to avoid recognising the contradiction between Gal. 2 and Acts 15, a whole class of writers have assigned the Council of Jerusalem to the journey recorded in Acts 18.22. They ignore the objection that on this view Paul in Galatians suppresses important facts so far as to pass over two journeys to Jerusalem without mention.

c. On the other hand, it is a mistake to suppose that Acts 18.22 does not imply a visit to Jerusalem at all.

Although ἀναβῆς might signify the journey up from the shore to the town of Caesarea, a man could not possibly be said to go down (κατέβη) from a seaport town to an inland city like Antioch. Thus we are bound to supply 'to Jerusalem' in 18.22, as is done by many interpreters even when denying the historical actuality of the journey. On this last point, however, we cannot in fairness appeal to the negative evidence of Galatians. True, it is silent as to this journey; but its historical review never reaches the point at which mention of it would have come in; instead of continuing such a review, after describing the occurrence at Antioch (2.11-21) the writer passes on to dogmatic and thence to practical questions, entirely losing sight of his original purpose, which was to enumerate all his personal encounters with the original apostles. It may, indeed, be thought remarkable that Jerusalem, if intended, is not mentioned in Acts 18.22; but this does not warrant the assumption now to be mentioned.

d. Some critics have assumed that the Council of Jerusalem was really held on this occasion (Acts 18.22), and not earlier—the author, having purposely transposed it to an earlier date, would express himself as briefly and obscurely as possible when he came to the point at which it really occurred.

This assumption has the advantage of bringing not only the first (Acts 13*f.*) but also the second (16.1-18.22) missionary journey within the first seventeen years after Paul's conversion, thus providing material to fill up a period otherwise inexplicably barren of events. It cannot, however, be urged in its favour that Barnabas was personally known to the Galatians and the Corinthians, and that he cannot have been separated from Paul (Acts 15.35-40) until after the second missionary journey, during which the communities in Galatia—i.e., Old Galatia (see GALATIA)—and in Corinth were established; for the passages Gal. 2.19-23, 1 Cor. 9.6 are perfectly intelligible on the assumption that Barnabas was known to the readers by report alone.

The assumption of such a transposition is entirely wanting in probability.

The motive prompting the writer to transpose the Council of Jerusalem to an earlier date is supposed to have been the desire to bring the whole of Paul's missionary work from its beginning within the scope of the decree of the apostles (Acts 15.28*f.*); but, had this really been the writer's intention, he would have introduced the council not before Acts 16, but before Acts 13. What should have hindered him from so doing, if it be assumed that he allowed himself to make free with his materials in this way at all, is not apparent.

e. Others actually transpose the journey described in Acts 13*f.* so as to make it come between the Council of Jerusalem and the separation of Barnabas from Paul, and therefore after Acts 15.4.

Their strongest reason is the fact that Paul mentions only Syria and Cilicia as his places of residence up to the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. 1.21). This is hardly conclusive, for, although Paul was pledged to enumerate all his meetings with the original apostles, he was not bound to mention all the provinces in which he had resided without meeting them. In any case, even if the transposition of Acts 13*f.* and Acts 15.2-24 be accepted, this gives no support to the assumption mentioned under d, since for that assumption the writer of Acts has put the two sections exactly in the wrong order: his supposed purpose, as well as the motive of historical accuracy, would have led him to put 15.1-24 before 13.1-28.

f. It is only by very bold treatment of the different sources of Acts, by which the accounts of Paul's journeys in Acts 11*f.* 15.18 become merely the result of an erroneous combination of the writer's authorities, that Clement (*Chronol. d. Paulin. Br.* 1893) contrives to identify Gal. 2 with Acts 21, and Joh. Weiss (*St. u. Kr.*, 1893, pp. 480-540; 1895, pp. 252-269), on the contrary, with Acts 9 and (at the same time) with Acts 15.1-4. It is, in fact, quite impossible to deny the identity of the events related in Gal. 2 and in Acts 15. See CHRONOLOGV, § 74.

In view, however, of the doubts cast upon Acts, it is

an error of method to make that book the basis for an

2. Gal. 2.11-21 investigation of the present question. It might even seem well to begin by laying aside Acts altogether and ascertaining the primary passage.

the facts from Galatians alone. That method, however, would prevent certain questions from receiving adequate consideration, and no harm need be apprehended in treating both accounts, circumspectly, together. It is, however, of unqualified importance to take Gal. 2.11-21 as the starting-point, because that passage alone throws any really clear light upon the circumstances.

Peter was no uncompromising Jew. Before the dispute at Antioch recorded in Gal. 2.11-21 he had eaten with Gentile Christians. If he abandoned this practice after the arrival of the followers of James, he could not, accustomed as he was to adopt the attitude of a leader,

3. The dispute at Antioch. have been influenced in the least by the fear of the representatives of circumcision—his alleged motive—had he not himself recognised their position as the right one. He must in his inmost heart have still been continuing to attach some importance to the Mosaic laws relating to food. Thus, he could not yet have attained to that liberty in principle which belonged to Paul. This freedom Paul conceivably assumed to be present in Peter, as it was in himself; in which case he could attribute Peter's antagonism only to hypocrisy. Critics have softened the charge of hypocrisy into a charge of inconsistency, such as is very frequently to be observed at times of transition in natures that have no very firm grasp of principles.

Different from Peter's position was that of James. Whether the 'certain' (τινες) were expressly sent by him in order to recall Peter to the Law, or whether they attempted to do this on their own account without his commission (τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου in NT Greek does not go necessarily with 'came,' ἐλθεῖν, and it may equally well be taken with 'certain,' τινες), is immaterial. Peter, the leader of the apostles, would certainly never have submitted to their commands if they had not had behind them the authority of James. Now, the position of James as distinct from that of Peter can only have been that a man born a Jew was still under religious obligation even as a Christian to observe the whole of the Mosaic Law. It cannot be supposed that he upheld this obligation only as convenient for the time, or even merely as a beautiful custom; a motive of the most serious kind must have been actually held out to Peter, if he was to submit to be driven to so absolute a renunciation of brotherly intercourse with the Gentile Christians.

As we are not informed of any answer from Peter to Paul's reprimand in Gal. 2.14-21, it is commonly (though very rashly) assumed that Peter admitted his error. That Paul should record an exculpatory answer from Peter, however, was hardly to be expected, if only for the reason that he must have thought it inconclusive. Still, even if Peter was thought to have yielded, the others who shared his opinion did not yield. Otherwise, why is the scene at Antioch followed so quickly by the entrance of the Judaising party into the churches founded by Paul in Galatia and Corinth, in complete contravention of the agreement in Gal. 2.9, and by the nearly successful attempt to induce the Galatians to adopt circumcision (Gal. 5.2*f.* 6.12*f.* 4.10) and to alienate the Corinthians from Paul altogether (2 Cor. 11.4 12.16 4.3-5 5.12*f.* 7.5-16)? How could so important and persistent a movement—it had already been encountered by Paul on two separate occasions, both in Galatia and in Corinth (Gal. 1.9 5.3 1 Cor. 9.1 2 Cor. 11.4)—have been carried on if it had been opposed by the first apostles? Whence came the letters of recommendation which, according to 2 Cor. 3.1, these emissaries brought with them? As they formed the ground upon which the suspicion against Paul as one who had never known Jesus (1 Cor. 9.1) proceeded, what weightier credentials could they have contained

than the statement that their bearers represented immediate disciples of Jesus? Would the sceptical Corinthians have been satisfied if the authentication had come (let us say) from Ephesus, or from some other town outside Palestine?

How comes it, again, that even at the end of the second century the pseudo-Clementine homilies (1719) represent Peter as reproaching Simon—under whose name Paul is there attacked (see SIMON MAGUS)—for having called him a *κατεργασμένος* (Gal. 2:11; RV 'stood condemned')? This shows how deep a wound was inflicted on Judaising Christianity by Paul's bold attack on Peter. For this reason, not a word is said in Acts about the scene; though it is quite inconceivable that the author had no knowledge of it (see ACTS, § 6). Further, in the place in Acts where this scene ought to have been mentioned there is recorded a similar dispute (*παροξυσμός*; Acts 15:39) between Paul and Barnabas (see BARNABAS), who, according to Gal. 2:13, had gone over to the side of Peter. This dispute, however, does not turn on any question of principle. It was merely a personal matter (Acts 15:36-40). The conjecture is a tempting one that this scene, if not an invention, is at least an interpolation, based on some written source, introduced for the purpose of effacing the memory of the more important quarrels.

We are now in a position to investigate the Council of Jerusalem itself. It was occasioned, on the part of

4. Occasion of the council.

Judaistic Christianity, by the appearance of the 'false brethren', who had made their way unauthorised into the Pauline and other churches, seeking to spy out and to suppress the freedom from the Mosaic Law that had there been attained (Gal. 2:4). As this cannot have been in Jerusalem, we may accept the statement of Acts (15:1, cp 14:26) that it was to Antioch they came. Up to that time no such intrusion had occurred, although the circumstances at Antioch cannot have long remained unknown to the leaders at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, not improbable that the new and sudden aggressive movement proceeded from recently converted Pharisees, even though the statement to this effect in Acts 15:5 is made without reference to 15:1, and therefore appears to come from another source. Paul was prompted to go to the council of the apostles by a revelation (Gal. 2:2). Probably it came to him not as a bolt from the blue, but only after the question to be decided by the council had already stirred his soul to its depths. No less than his entire life-work—that of bringing the heathen to Christianity without binding them by the Mosaic Law—was at stake. According to Acts (15:2), he and Barnabas were deputed to go to Jerusalem by the church at Antioch in consequence of a fruitless discussion there. This motive for the journey is not, of course, absolutely incompatible with the revelation mentioned by Paul; but it is in any case significant that Paul speaks only of the revelation and Acts only of the delegation.

Whatever the motive, what is it that Paul can have gone to Jerusalem in search of? A tribunal to whose verdict he would voluntarily submit, whatever its tenor? By no means. He had from a higher authority his gospel of freedom from the Law, and cared very little for the original apostles (Gal. 1:6-9 15:17 25:f.). Or did he expect to find among their assistance against the 'false brethren'? We think that he did not; if he did, his expectation was not justified by the event (see below, §§ 7, 8). The purpose with which he went to Jerusalem was to discover the source from which the 'false brethren' drew their support. He intended to take that support away from under them, and, in order to do so, it was necessary that he should appear in person. 'Lest by any means I should be running or had run in vain' (Gal. 2:2; *μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον*) is not an interrogative; Paul would never have made the justification of his work dependent on the judgment of the original apostles.

Were the conferences at Jerusalem public, or were they private? No clear picture of them is presented in Acts—perhaps because the account is compiled from various sources.

A general assembly is set before us in Acts 15:4. We may suppose the private assembly mentioned in 15:6 to have been on another day (though the author says nothing as to this). Suddenly, however, in 15:12, 'all the multitude' (*πάν τὸ πλῆθος*) is present; and it reappears in 15:22 as responsible for the final decision, although in 15:23 this is attributed to the apostles and elders only. Paul, on the other hand, in the words *κατ' ἴδιον*, 'privately' (Gal. 2:2), passes from a public to a private conference, as also probably in 2:6 for the discussion about the circumcision of Titus (2:3-5) can most easily be supposed to have occurred in a public assembly, in which expression was also given to the position which the original apostles did not themselves finally adopt.

So far there is no inconsistency between Galatians and Acts: both know of meetings of both kinds. The crucial question, however, is, Was any final decision arrived at in a public assembly?

If the decision was not in Paul's favour, the claims of truth and of prudence alike must have led him to mention it. Much, however, of what is recorded in Acts—*ε.ε.*, the speech of Peter (15:7-11)—points very clearly to a decision in Paul's favour; and to pass this over in silence would have been folly.

The picture presented in Acts, therefore, of a decisive public assembly is entirely incorrect.

The case is similar with what is said, or implied, as to Paul's attitude towards the original apostles. According to Acts, he holds quite a subordinate position. He is allowed to state his case, but not to take part in the debate; he has simply to submit to the decision.

6. Paul's attitude to the original apostles.

According to Galatians, he debates as with his equals. Indeed, he even refers to the original apostles ironically as 'of reputed,' 'reputed to be pillars,' 'to be somewhat' (*οἱ δοκούντες* 'στύλοι εἶναι or εἶναι τι'; 2:9, 6).

Even if it be granted that the title, 'pillars' (*οἱ στύλοι*) may have been originally applied to them by their adherents as a term of honour, the phrase 'reputed' (*οἱ δοκούντες*) cannot have been so used. It is explicitly derogatory. The most that can be done to soften the force of Paul's irony is to conjecture that he did not invent the expression until the incident at Antioch had diminished his respect for them.

Paul took Titus as his companion of set purpose. The uncircumcised assistant of his missionary labours

7. Question of circumcision of Titus.

would serve as an 'object-lesson' in support of his fundamental principle. An attempt was made to procure his circumcision; but, owing to the opposition of Paul and Barnabas, it had to be abandoned.

This is clearly the meaning of Gal. 2:3-5, and only the most violent feats of critical ingenuity can find any other explanation of the passage. One interpretation is that no attempt whatever was made (*οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη*) to procure the circumcision of Titus. If so, why the opposition of Paul and Barnabas? Again, the attempt was made, yet not on grounds of principle, but in the interest of Paul, to save him from daily offending the brethren not he avoid defilement from other Gentile converts, with many of whom he associated daily? Perhaps, on account of the 'false brethren', Paul did, after all, of his own accord, allow Titus to be circumcised. Did he hope thereby to maintain the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2:5) that no man need be circumcised? It has even been proposed to follow the Greek text and the Latin version of D with Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other Western fathers, in omitting the negative (*οὐδέ* in Gal. 2:5 (whether 'to whom,' *οἱ*, also be omitted is of less importance), as if Paul could have been so blind as to consider compliance at the most critical moment to be harmless, because only temporary (*πρὸς ἄρᾱν*). It is, on the contrary, probable that after 2:5, to complete the sentence beginning with 2:4, we ought to supply not 'we did not give place' (*οὐκ εἰλαμεν*), as if had the false brethren not appeared, Paul would have been prepared to comply, but 'on account of the false brethren' it was all the more necessary to offer a strenuous opposition.' For at the outset they had demanded the circumcision of all Gentile converts even. As this is expressly stated in Acts 15:1, 5, it is the more certain that it is necessarily presupposed by the negative (*οὐδέ*) of Gal. 2:3; nothing worse occurred, and not even Titus was compelled to be circumcised. The worst thing that might have occurred would, according to 2:2, have been that Paul should have run in vain (*εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον*)—*i.e.*, that a decree should have been passed prohibiting the admission of Gentiles into Christianity without circumcision.

Thus the demand for the circumcision of Titus appears

as a compromise proposed for the first time when the original proposal for the circumcision of all Gentile converts met with insuperable opposition from Paul and Barnabas. The very circumstantiality of a conference that passed through so many aspects is enough to show that these proposals could not possibly have been made without at least the moral support of the original apostles. Had the latter been on Paul's side from the first (it has been held that they are to be included in the subject of 'gave place, ἐξῆμην), any attempt of the kind must have been instantly frustrated by their authority.

It is, therefore, useless to construe Gal. 2.4 as a reason subsequently introduced to explain 2.3, as though the circumcision of Titus was refused by all parties alike, for the reason that it was demanded by the 'false brethren' alone. Considerations of language also render inadmissible the other interpretation, which supplements so as to read 'and indeed on behalf of the "false brethren" . . . it was said that he ought to be compelled to be circumcised (ἀναγκασθῆναι without one)'. The importance attached to the memory of the case of Titus is best shown in Acts; his name is never mentioned at all, those who accompanied Paul to the conference being 'Barnabas and certain others' (τινες ἄλλοι, Acts 15.2; see Acts, § 9). It is not going too far, therefore, to say that the original apostles were at the outset undecided in their attitude; indeed, if we may judge by what occurred soon afterwards at Antioch, this understates the case.

In harmony with this attitude was that which they adopted towards the subsequent mission to the Gentiles.

8. The apostles and the mission to the Gentiles.

Paul's practice of admitting Gentiles as members of the Christian Church without circumcision cannot have obtained the sanction of the other apostles. Assent was wrung from them with difficulty. Indeed, they did not give way on any ground of principle; otherwise their behaviour in the dispute at Antioch would have been impossible. They gave way only because of the divine verdict as shown by the event (ἰδιώματα . . . ἡρώματα τῆς χάριτος τῆς θεοθεσίας μοι, Gal. 2.79; cp Acts 15.12), to which they submitted freely, though without recognising its underlying justification. Peter and James, therefore, cannot have expressed themselves, even approximately, as in Acts 15.7-21 they are said to have spoken. Had what Peter (15.7f.) enjoins in regard to Cornelius really occurred, there would have been no Council of Jerusalem at all (Acts, § 4).

Peter is further said (15.9) to have declared that God had removed the difference between Jews and Gentiles by purifying the hearts of the Gentiles—as though in the eyes of a Jew the impurity of the Gentiles were impurity of the heart alone. He is, moreover, represented as saying (15.11) that his hope of salvation was through the grace of God alone, whereas at Antioch he found the observance of the Law was necessary to salvation. Finally (15.10), he calls the Law a yoke intolerable even to the Jews; yet at Antioch he again submitted himself to it. He calls it a tempting of God to put the yoke on the Gentiles also; yet at Antioch he broke with the Gentiles because they did not take it on themselves, thus putting moral pressure upon them to 'Judaise' (ἰουδαΐσαι; Gal. 2.14). In short, the speech of Peter is so eminently Pauline that Weizsäcker found it possible to believe that the author of Acts took the speech of Paul against Peter in Gal. 2.14-21 as the foundation for its composition.

There is evidence on the other side that the author did to some extent correctly estimate the positions of the speakers—in the fact that the speech of James is considerably more reserved. The reference to Cornelius in 15.14, however, is just as unhistorical as that in 15.7. James cannot possibly have employed the quotation from Amos unless it be maintained that the discussion was carried on in the language of the hated foreigners; for in the original it is not said that the residue of men and all nations to whom God's name had been made known should seek the Lord—it is only said that the Israelites should again attain to political dominion over Edom and the other nations that had at any time been under the dominion of God (i.e., of Israel). And James pays his tribute to Paulinism if he implies that the imposition of the whole Mosaic Law upon the Gentiles is a burden to them from which, as being such, they ought to be relieved (15.10). Furthermore, he did not make the positive proposal of 15.20. See below, § 10.

The result of the conference, according to Galatians, was a 'fellowship' (κοινωνία) (29). What the precise

1 It was the LXX that first read יִשְׂרָאֵל instead of יִשְׂרָאֵל, pointing אֲרָם instead of אֲרָם, and making אֲרָם יִשְׂרָאֵל, etc., subject instead of object; and only a few MSS of the LXX have gone so far as to supply the now lacking object, without any support from the original, by interpolating וְאֵת כּוֹנֵנוֹ.

extent of this κοινωνία was can be learned only by inference from the incidental facts.

9. Result of Council according to Gal.

A division of missionary districts was arranged. The reason why the original apostles desired to carry on their work only among the Jews can be gathered with absolute certainty from the situation of affairs which had been brought about. The separation of the missionary districts had been the result of the conference concerning the circumcision of the Gentile converts. Had the circumcision of these converts been decided on, the original apostles need have felt as little cause to shrink from missions to the Gentiles as a Jew had to shrink from the work of winning proselytes. As the sequel at Antioch shows, what they found intolerable was the idea of that intimate daily association with uncircumcised brethren which would have become unavoidable if missionary work had been engaged in by them without circumcision of the Gentiles. That was the reason why they abandoned this part of the work to Paul and Barnabas. To look for the reason of the separation of missionary districts in differences of aptitude for winning either Gentiles or natural Jews is to misapprehend the causes that were really at work. Such considerations; as those mentioned may have had some concurrent influence; but how could the scene at Antioch have been possible if differences of aptitudes had been the sole or even the chief cause of the separation? Not a word is there said about Peter's missionary work: the only question is whether he is prepared to eat at the same table with Gentile converts.

It is equally certain that the separation of districts was intended in an ethnographical, not in a geographical, sense. Had the original apostles undertaken to labour for the conversion of the Gentiles as well as for that of the Jews in Palestine without insisting upon circumcision, they would immediately there have found themselves face to face with all the difficulties which had caused them to avoid the Gentile countries and confine their efforts to the land of their fathers. The separation had no purpose unless missions to natural Jews were to be assigned to them as their province. Conversely, Paul and Barnabas were, of course, to go only to men of Gentile birth: Jews seeking salvation whom they met in Gentile countries they were bound to turn away, referring them for guidance to itinerant Jewish-Christian missionaries. This might have led to the further consequence that in one and the same town there would have arisen two Christian communities, one of Jews and one of Gentiles. Association at meals, as well as at the Lord's Supper, would have been impossible between them. This intolerable state of affairs, however, was exactly what the Pauline churches had long ago contrived to avert; and this success was regarded by Paul as the highest triumph of the view of Christianity which he advocated. It is very reasonable to ask how he could have had any share in an arrangement by which, in the churches he had founded, the wall of separation between Jewish and Gentile Christians, which it had cost so much labour to destroy, was again raised up. To fall back on the view that the separation was intended to be geographical would, however, be wrong. A separation on such a basis the apostles, as has already been shown, could not possibly have accepted. It would be necessary to draw the conclusion that the statement of Galatians must be pronounced unhistorical, and the epistle itself non-Pauline, were there really no other way out of the difficulty. Before taking this step, however, we shall do well to remember that men have often enough agreed upon a compromise without having formed any adequately clear conception of its consequences. The Christian church would speedily have fallen asunder into two separate communities, the one of Jewish and the other of Gentile Christians, had

no agreement been reached. Neither of the parties was able to abandon its view: each felt itself under a strict religious obligation to maintain its own principles. There must, therefore, have been the greatest eagerness to grasp at any formula that presented itself as a solution. 'We to the Jews, you to the Gentiles,' appeared to be a formula of the kind, and joy in the renewed sense of brotherhood may have blinded men's eyes to the impracticability of the proposal. This would happen all the more readily if the formula was so loose that each party could understand it in a different sense. In the absence of more precise definition, the geographical interpretation must have seemed to Paul as obviously the correct one as the ethnographical interpretation appeared to the other apostles—to Paul, who became not merely to the Gentiles a Gentile, but also to the Jews a Jew, that he might by all means win some, and, in order to save those belonging to his own race, would willingly have been accused from Christ (1 Cor. 9 20 f. Rom. 9 3; cp BAN, § 1). In the scene at Antioch the misunderstanding revealed itself only too clearly; but this does not prove that there was no misunderstanding at Jerusalem. Even in the aspect under which the matter had to be presented at the conference at Jerusalem, the unity sought for was limited. The 'right hand of fellowship' (δεξιὰ κοινωνίας) which they held out to each other was at the same time a parting handshake. According to their fundamental principles, the Jewish Christians neither would nor could have any very intimate communion, any really brotherly intercourse, with the Gentile Christians. It is worthy of notice that the support of the poor is represented in Gal. 2 10 less as being the only demand made upon the Pauline churches than as being the only bond by which the two halves of Christendom were to be kept together.

There is, however, no necessity for assuming that these aims from the Gentile Christians were like temple dues, or intended to express a position of inferiority as compared with that of Jewish Christians. In view of the notorious poverty of the church at Jerusalem (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5), it would have been unreasonable to require reciprocity, and doubtless Paul was glad to evince his goodwill on such neutral ground. For the rest, it was quite impossible that the Gentiles should be treated by the Jews as having equal rights and full citizenship in the kingdom of God. The OT promises applied only to the chosen race and to those who had been received into it by circumcision. The Jewish Christians had made the concession—from their point of view a concession of real magnitude—of sanctioning the mission to the Gentiles without circumcision; but it was not to be supposed that this could be granted except on the basis that this class of converts was to hold somewhat the same position as that of the semi-proselytes (συνβόητοι τῶν θεῶν) among the Jews; they figured only as a 'younger branch in the kingdom of God.' In no case could the original apostles have set the same value on the conversion of these Christians of the second class through the agency of Paul as on their own missionary activity. It is remarkable that Gal. 2 8 does not run, on the analogy of 2 8a, 'unto the apostleship of the Gentiles' (εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν). Freedom of construction is, of course, a characteristic of Paul's style, and thus 'unto the Gentiles' (εἰς τὰ ἔθνη) also may be explained as a case of brachylogy. Still, it is noteworthy that—e.g., in 1 Cor. 9 1—he does not base any appeal on the fact that apostleship (ἀποστολή) had been conceded to him by the original apostles. How effective—if open to him—this appeal would have been against the Judaizers at Corinth who called his apostleship in question, and set up those very apostles as the supreme authority! The truth is that he does not appear to have received any such recognition. Thus he would seem to have been recognised only as a fellow-worker, in the Christian field, not as a fully accredited apostle.

According to Acts, the result of the Council was the decree in 15 23-29. Nevertheless, as long as the words

10. The decree 'imparted nothing to me' (ἐμοὶ . . . οὐδὲν προσανέθευτο), in Gal. 2 6, are allowed to stand, we shall be precluded from accepting this finding as a formal decree. Whether the words mean 'The δοκούντες imparted nothing further to me' (so according to 16), or that 'They made no further rejoinder to my communication' (so according to 2), is immaterial. Their meaning is made clear by 'contrariwise' (τοῦναντίον) in 2; 'Not only did they say nothing unfavourable to me, but also they pledged themselves to fellowship with me.' We cannot better convince ourselves of the certainty of this conclusion than by examining the attempts that have been made to avoid it.

Theologians have done their utmost to maintain that Paul was justified in using the words ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν προσανέθευτο, instead of mentioning the decree of the apostles, because the decree was known to the Galatians already, or because he did not want to put a weapon into the hand of his opponents, or because the decree was only temporary—perhaps, not binding at all, but merely having reference to a custom, the object of which has been even discovered to be the protection of the Gentiles against trichinosis. In the last of these methods of evading the interpretation stated above, all idea of a formal decree having been promulgated is given up; but even if the agreement on the substance of the decision had been only verbal, Paul could not have said, ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν προσανέθευτο.

Apart from this, the dispute at Antioch conclusively disproves the historicity of the decision, whether in the form of a regular decree or not. It is clear that any such arrangement, had it been made, would have had the effect of rendering it possible for Jewish and Gentile Christians to associate with one another at meals. If (as is stated in Acts 16 4) Paul and Silas continued to enforce the decree during their next journey, we are bound all the more to suppose that it came into force at Antioch immediately after its promulgation there. In that case, James and his followers had no reason for taking offence at Peter's eating with Gentile converts.

If, then, we are forced to admit that no arrangement of this nature was made at the Council at all, there are many who would like to retain the opinion that Paul was substantially in favour of such an arrangement. This, however is a mistake. The four prohibitions are taken, either from the seven 'Noahic precepts' (as they are called in the Talmud), by means of which a *modus vivendi* is said to have been arrived at between the Jews and the 'sons of Noah' (the Gentiles), or directly from the original ordinances on which those are based (Lev. 17 10-18 30), which likewise were promulgated, not for the Israelites alone, but also for the foreigners in their midst. The latter source is the more probable, for the Talmud prohibits actual unchastity; but it cannot be doubted that, had such a prohibition appeared to be at all necessary in Acts 15, the prohibition of murder and of theft would also have been adopted from the Talmud.

In its association with ordinances so far from being common to all mankind, so peculiarly Jewish, as the prohibition of blood, of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, and of the flesh of animals sacrificed to idols, it is much more likely that the interdict upon what is here called *πορνεία* refers to marriages within the degrees of affinity forbidden in Lev. 18 6-18 (cp BASTARD). Moreover, as the passage in Leviticus lies at the foundation of Acts 15, in a general way only, it is possible that marriages with Gentiles also may have been included; these were prohibited by Ex. 34 16 Dt. 7 3 Ezra 9 2, and would have made it quite impossible for a Jewish Christian to enter the house of a Gentile who had contracted such a marriage.

Now, as to Paul's view in regard to eating things sacrificed to idols, we have full and exact information. As a general rule (1 Cor. 8 10 23-33 Rom. 14 14) he allows it: it is to be avoided only in cases where it might cause offence to a weak Christian who mistakenly thinks that the Levitical prohibition of it is of perpetual obligation.

Paul does recognise, it is true, one exception, which he mentions in 1 Cor. 10 14-22, though, curiously, not in the exactly similar case in 8 10 (cp DEMONS, § 8); but even this passage contains no prohibition of the practice excepting at a religious ceremony of this kind. In the decree of Acts, on the contrary, the eating of things offered to idols is, it need hardly be said, forbidden in all circumstances, just as to partake of blood, or of the flesh of animals that have died or been strangled, is forbidden. Here the prohibition turns on the nature of the thing itself (cp ἀλλογύμα, Acts 15 20): the soul was thought to reside in the blood (Lev. 17 11-14), and to eat the soul would have been an abomination. Now, as Paul does not concur in the decree of the apostles on the question of eating animals sacrificed to idols, it would not be wise to assume his agreement in regard to the prohibition of blood and of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, about which we have no expression of opinion by him. As to the question of marriage, he carried on an uncompromising warfare against unchastity of every kind (1 Cor. 5 6 12-20); but unchastity does not appear to have been what was intended in the decree of the apostles. Marriages with unbelievers, on the contrary, he did, it is true, advise against (1 Cor. 7 39), but in no case on grounds of principle. Otherwise he could not have enjoined that a Christian married to an unbelieving spouse should continue the relation if the other consented; nor could he have declared that the unbelieving spouse was sanctified by marriage with a Christian, and that even the children of a mixed marriage were holy (1 Cor. 7 12-14). The children were not baptised; if they had been, their sanctity would have been a consequence of their baptism, and not deducible from their connection with their parents simply. Accordingly, if Paul discourages marriages with unbelievers for the future (7 39), his reason cannot have been that they were in themselves wrong, but only that they were incompatible with the deeper spiritual sympathy of true spouses. On these grounds we are obviously still less entitled to assume that Paul would have pronounced to be wrong all marriages within the degrees of affinity, down to that with a sister-in-law, forbidden in Lev. 18 6-18, except in those cases which are manifestly contrary to nature, as, e.g., that given in 1 Cor. 5 1-8. On no single point, therefore, does Paul even express substantial agreement with the restrictions imposed by the decree of the apostles.¹

The last attempt to rescue some remnants of credibility for Acts connects itself with 21 25. Here Paul is acquainted with the decree of the apostles as if it were something new. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile this with the representation of Acts 15; but it is suggested that, if the latter has to be abandoned on account of Galatians, it may be possible to retain at least what is said in Acts 21. On this view the apostles issued the decree simply on their own responsibility, without consulting Paul; and this version of the matter was derived by the author from one of his sources. Unfortunately, the source of this passage (at least, according to all attempts hitherto made to distinguish the sources of Acts) is made out to be the same as that of Acts 15 20, or of 15 28 f., or of both, those passages. To avoid this conspicuous failure in the argument, J. Weiss deletes from the account in

¹ Some scholars have upheld the modified view that these restrictions were at all events customarily observed at the time among the Gentile Christians, many of whom had previously been semi-proselytes to Judaism and would therefore have naturally continued to obey these ordinances as Christians; and these would have been followed by the other Gentile converts. The only church, however, concerning which we have any information in this connection proves the contrary. In Corinth Paul had to contend with the very worst modes of unchastity, and with practices in regard to things offered to idols that went too far even for him; and mixed marriages were quite usual. It is hardly possible to believe that things could have been so completely different elsewhere, even if Corinth was exceptionally bad in these respects.

15 5-11 13-14 (for 15 1-4 12, see above, § 1 div. f.) all references to Paul and Barnabas (15 22 25) as editorial additions, and assumes that in the original source 15 5-11 13-33 related only to the conference of the original apostles among themselves, which is then called to mind in 21 25. Apart from the extreme boldness of this assumption, it is to be remarked that this particular source is considered by Weiss himself, as well as by all other critics of the sources of Acts, to be untrustworthy. In particular, the verse in question (21 25) has been actually taken to be an interpolation, and in fact is so little necessary to the context that if it were wanting its absence would not be noticed. Read with the context, it causes no difficulty; but the context itself is not historical (see ACTS, § 7). In any conceivable view, therefore, suspicion is thrown on the verse by a critical examination of the sources. In the absence of any confirmation, it certainly does not possess enough of internal probability to justify its acceptance.

In fine, it appears that the Tübingen school is not without justification in maintaining that the decree of the apostles is a fiction invented by the author for the purpose of promoting a union of Jewish and Gentile Christians. Only, in the second century it would have been little calculated to secure this object. The assumption is that these regulations were new at the time of writing. Now, they contain very stringent restrictions upon the freedom of the Gentile Christians in the interests of the Jewish; but the Gentiles were at that time so largely in the majority and so full of the consciousness of their title to membership in the Church, that they would hardly have acquiesced in such restrictions then. Besides, the regulations contained in the decree of the apostles must, in their essence, have been actually in force at the time of the composition of Acts (see ACTS, § 16), however little they may have been so in the first century.

The Epistle of Barnabas (8 6 46) betrays traces of this in the complaint that Christians believed themselves bound to observe the Mosaic Law, and from the middle of the second century there is evidence of this on all hands (*Did.* 6 3; Justin, *Diab.* 35; *Enchiridion*, 100; *Epistola ad Romanos*, 10; *Epistola ad Hebraeos*, 10; *Epistola ad Corinthios*, 10; *Epistola ad Galatas*, 10; *Epistola ad Colossenses*, 10; *Epistola ad Thimotheum*, 10; *Epistola ad Titum*, 10; *Epistola ad Philemonem*, 10; *Epistola ad Hebraeos*, 10; *Epistola ad Romanos*, 10; *Epistola ad Corinthios*, 10; *Epistola ad Galatas*, 10; *Epistola ad Colossenses*, 10; *Epistola ad Thimotheum*, 10; *Epistola ad Titum*, 10; *Epistola ad Philemonem*, 10; *Epistola ad Hebraeos*, 10; *Epistola ad Romanos*, 10; *Epistola ad Corinthios*, 10; *Epistola ad Galatas*, 10; *Epistola ad Colossenses*, 10; *Epistola ad Thimotheum*, 10; *Epistola ad Titum*, 10; *Epistola ad Philemonem*, 10; *Epistola ad Hebraeos*, 10; *Epistola ad Romanos*, 10; 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was one firmly built, a 'fettered' place one surrounded by solid walls, 2 K 38, 15-17 (cp *birtu*); fortress, fortified town, from the same root, Shalm. ob. 34, and see Del. *Ass. HWB*, 185).

From the Amarna correspondence we know that some time before the Hebrew invasion a Babylonian dialect

3. Primary meaning in Heb.

was written, and undoubtedly also to some extent spoken, in Palestine. The Israelites may therefore have become acquainted with this term through the Amorites. *In the nomadic state, the priestly oracle by the casting of lots, *חֵטֵה*, probably sufficed. Agricultural and city life called for increased civil authority. It is possible that *בְּרִית* in the sense of 'binding ordinance,' 'sentence,' was adopted to supply the need of a corresponding word to designate the judicial decision of a ruler.

In the Ptolemaic narratives the denominative *ברית* occurs with the significance 'to appoint' (1 S. 17^a). The term was still used by the author of Ecclesiasticus to denote the sentence pronounced by a judge (Eccl. 38^b). The fact that the dominant idea attached to the word at all times was that of a binding decree is better accounted for by this Babylonian derivation than by recourse to the Arabic *barā* 'to sever.' It also yields a satisfactory explanation of the early appearance of *בְּרִית* in the sense of 'alliance,' and its occurrence with the signification of 'community,' 'nation.' On the other hand, the sometimes-observed ceremony of passing between the severed pieces of an animal in making a solemn pledge may have been an inheritance from the nomadic period. In the phrase *בְּרִית*, possibly testifying to this rite, the verb throws no more light upon the noun than in the Greek *ῥήκη λέγειν*; whilst the secondary meaning of *בְּרִית*, 'to decree' (cp the gloss to Hag. 25), bears witness to the primary and persistent significance of *בְּרִית*.

The classical distinction between *διαθήκη* (*diathēkē*, will) and *συνθήκη* (*synthēkē*, agreement) was not entirely lost in Hellenistic Greek.

συνθήκη is exclusively used of a political alliance in 1 and 2 Macc. Aquila's preference for *συνθήκη* cannot be explained by prejudice; its use by Symmachus was evidently dictated by considerations of style; even Theodotion's conservatism did not prevent him from abandoning at times the uniform rendering of the oldest Greek version. In view of this, the deliberate choice of *διαθήκη* by the Alexandrian translators can scarcely have been due to anything else than a consciousness of the fundamental meaning of *בְּרִית*. This likewise applies to the independent rendering of the word by *קִים* in the Targums.

(i.) *Civil*.—In civil life the Hebrews seem to have employed the word to denote sentence, decree, ordinance, statute, law, pledge, testament, alliance, covenant, community, nation.

4. Specialised significations.

A successful leader against the enemy was in early Israel designated a judge (*שֹׁפֵט*), because the foe was regarded as a transgressor, the victory as a judgment, and the valorous chief as the natural arbiter in internal feuds (cp GOVERNMENT, § 17). Even the king was a judge as well as a warrior, 1 K. 3:18 ff. [1], 1 S. 8:9 [E]. When this unity of the judicial and administrative functions ceased, the old term designating the decision of a ruler remained in legal phraseology. A collection of judicial decisions (*שִׁפְטֵי*) was called a *berith*-book, Ex. 24:7 [E], the sentence was termed a *berith* (Eccl. 38:33). But it also continued to denote the victor's decree affecting the condition of a city that capitulates (e.g., Jabesh, 1 S. 11:1 [J]), a territory that is ceded (e.g., Ishbaal's, represented by Abner, 2 S. 3:12 f. 21 [J]), a rival kingdom that is forced to come to terms (e.g., Benhadad's, 1 K. 20:34 [E]), or a kingdom reduced to a state of dependence (e.g., Zedekiah's, Ez. 17:13-19); and it was applied to the ordinance, statute, law, or constitution imposed by a king upon his own people, as David's (2 S. 5:3 [J]), Josiah's (2 K. 23:3), Zedekiah's (Jer. 34:8 ff.), Antiochus's (Dan. 9:27: 'he shall impose severe regulations on the many during one week'). Such a royal declaration was considered inviolable; a king would not go beyond his word in severity, nor fail to fulfil his promise. The Jabeshites regarded their lives as safe, if Nahash would solemnly declare his willingness to rule over them as his servants. Antiochus Eupator is severely censured (Is. 33:8) for himself violating the constitutional rights he had granted (1

Macc. 6:59 ff.; 2 Macc. 13:22 ff.). Thus the word assumed the meaning of 'pledge.' The captains pledged themselves to glory (1 Macc. 11:4; the soldiers of Jerusalem to set their slaves free (Jer. 34:8 ff.), Zechariah and other citizens to drive away their wives (Ezra 10:3).

(ii.) *Domestic*.—Applied to domestic relations the *berith* was at first simply 'the law of the husband' (Rom. 7:2). Since a wife was captured, bought, or given in marriage, her absolute subjection to a man's authority was properly characterised as 'enchantment.' Social development, however, without introducing the idea of equality, tended to emphasise the obligations that go with power. The husband's *berith* became a solemn pledge given before witnesses (Ez. 16:8 Mal. 2:14). In this sense the word could be used also of the wife. In Prov. 2:17 *בְּרִית אִמִּית* seems to mean 'the promise by her God'; the same pledge of faithfulness is alluded to in Ez. 16:6 ('not for the sake of thy promise'), and possibly also in 4 Esdr. 2:5. A father's decision was binding upon his children. Especially the last paternal decree, the testament, was irrevocable. Whether it was a disposition of property or a dispensation of blessings and curses, deemed effectual in antiquity, it was termed a *berith* (Gal. 3:15 Heb. 9:16 f.; *Test. xii. patr.* passim), and had the nature of a promise.

(iii.) *International*.—Between nations equal in power a favour conferred or promised calls for a gift in return. To perpetuate mutually advantageous relations, pledges are exchanged. In this way political alliances may arise with mutual obligations. The best example of such a covenant is that between Solomon and Hiram (provided the Deuteronomistic note, 1 K. 5:26 [2], can be relied upon). Of this nature were probably also the agreements between Hezion and Abijah, Benhadad and Ahas, and Benhadad-Ladai-Bashsh, referred to in 1 K. 15:19 [J]. The *berith* with Assyria, Hos. 12:2 [1], was originally intended as an alliance of this kind, though Hosea had reason to complain that out of such alliances there grew only new rights, i.e., demands (10:4). Simon's league with Rome was of the same character (1 Macc. 14:10-12; Jos. 1:10, x.3, 7, 11).

(iv.) *Fictions*.—Since the relations of nations were thus frequently regulated by a *berith*, it is not strange that such a basis should sometimes have been assumed without sufficient foundation. When the once peaceful Arabic neighbours began to push the Edomites out of Mount Seir, Obadiah looked upon this as a breach of covenant on the part of allies (1:7). The simultaneous attack of several peoples on the Jewish commonwealth described in 1 Macc. 5:1 ff., seemed to the author of Ps. 83:6 to be the result of an alliance against Yahweh—i.e., Israel. If Amos 1:9 is in its right place (see AMOS, § 9 a), Tyre is charged with forgetting the 'covenant of brothers' with some other city or people, probably Phœnician; kinship is the basis of the assumption. Zech. 11:10 f. probably describes a change in the policy of the reigning pontiff as regards the Gentiles, rather than actual alliances with neighbouring states, as the consequent internal feud suggests. It is also natural that recourse should be had to the same fiction to justify or to condemn present conditions and demands. In the Negeb, tribes of Israelitish and Idumean extraction assured themselves of their rights, against the Philistines, to certain wells and oases, by virtue of a solemn pledge given by Abimelech of Gerar to their *heros eponymus*, Isaac (Gen. 26:28 [J]) 27:27 ff. [E]. Similarly, the border lines between Aramaean and Israelitish territory in Gilead were regarded as fixed by an agreement between Laban and Jacob, securing also the rights of certain Aramaean enclaves on Israelitish soil (Gen. 13:44 [J]). Certain remarkable facts in the history of the Gibeonites (see GIBEON), gave rise to the story told in Josh. 9:6 f. 15 f. [J] 9:11 [E]—a story which shows how unobjectionable such alliances with the natives were considered in earlier times. When pro-

¹ 1 Macc. § 17 2 Macc. 3:1 are scarcely historical.

phetic teaching had led to a recognition of the baneful influences upon the life of Israel of Canaanitish modes of thought and worship, the warning took the form of a prohibition of alliances projected into the period previous to the invasion (Dt. 7:2 Jud. 2:2 [Dt.] Ex. 23:32 [E] Ex. 34:12-15 [J]). Gen. 14:13, though found in a late Midrash, may reflect the memory of a long dominant Canaanitish majority in Hebron, since, with all the glorification of Abram, the three chiefs Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner are designated as בעלי הברית, 'holders of the pledge.' To legitimatise the Davidic dynasty, Jonathan was represented as having abdicated the throne in favour of David, while Saul was still alive, on condition of remaining next to the king in rank (1 S. 23:17 f. [E]). Such an action on his part was then accounted for by the story of a still earlier Yahwë-bërith of friendship (1 S. 18:3 [E₁]), referred to again in 1 S. 20:8-16 [R]. The friendship itself is sufficient to explain David's kindness to Jonathan's family; but the passage testifies to the custom of pledging friendship by an oath and a solemn ceremony.

(v.) *Bërith* = 'nation.' In Dan. 11:22 בריית is the title given to Onias III. This probably means prince or ruler of the nation. The בריית קטש, Dan. 11:28, 30, is the holy nation against which Antiochus Epiphanes directed his attention and his fury; and עובדי בריית קטש are the apostates who abandoned the holy nation and lived like the Gentiles (cp. 1 Macc. 1:15, also Judith 9:13 1 Macc. 1:63). These renegades are called בריית קטש, Dan. 11:32; 'those that bring condemnation upon the nation,' are responsible for its misfortunes. This significance should probably also be given to the word in Ps. 74:20 (Hitz., Che.). The כלאש בריית, Mal. 3:1, may be the angelic representative of the nation. At a somewhat earlier period in some inserted passages in II. Is. (see ISAIAH, II, § 16, Che. *SBOT*) בריית seems already to occur in this sense. The context indicates that בריית עמ, Is. 42:6-9, is meant to designate Israel as an independent organised community (lit. 'a commonwealth of a people').¹ Until Israel had regained its status of independence it could not rebuild the ruined cities, or restore the land to its former glory. This meaning may possibly be traced still further back; BAAL-BERITH (*y. w.*), as the Elohist designates the god of Shechem, may mean 'god of the community.' The word used of the city-kingdom of Shechem in the seventh century (cp. Ass. *biriu*, בריית, fortified town) may well have been applied to the ardently desired kingdom of Zion at the end of the sixth.

(vi.) *Metaphorical.*—Metaphorically בריית is used in Job 31:1 of the law that Job has imposed upon his eyes that they shall not look upon a virgin; in 40:28 [41:4] of the pledge which Leviathan is not likely to give, that he will allow himself to be captured and become a slave; and in 5:23 of Job's agreement with the stones of the field that they shall not prevent the cultivation of his land.

No important transaction was done in antiquity without religious sanction. The oath and the curse

5. **Religious sanction.** were extensively used in judicial proceedings, legislative enactments, and political treaties. Before passing sentence, the judge pronounced a curse or adjuration to arouse the conscience and elicit a confession (1 K. 8:31 [D] Nu. 5:21 [P] Lev. 5:7 [P] Prov. 29:24 Mt. 26:63). A pledge or promise was made more binding by a curse (אמר, Ez. 17:16 Deut. 29:11 [12] 30 [12]). To set forth symbolically this curse, animals were cut into pieces, and the person giving the pledge passed between the severed parts, signifying his readiness to be thus destroyed himself, if he should fail to keep his promise. It is to be observed that in the only passages where this ceremony is referred to (Gen.

15 and Jer. 34:18 f.), there is no question of an alliance, and only one party passed between the pieces (cp. Dietsy Cretensis, *Ephemeris belli Trojani*, i. 15). Whether this custom was observed also in the conclusion of treaties, as was the case in Babylonia, if Ephrem was correctly informed (*Comment.* to Gen. 15), is uncertain, and there seems to be no justification for connecting this rite in particular with an agreement between two parties, or for supposing that בריית have been the name of a ceremony of which it was an essential part. In most instances no doubt the oath sufficed. Sometimes the right hand was given in addition (Ez. 17:18, 2 Macc. 13:22), or a handshake took the place of the oath (Ezra 10:19 Prov. 6:1 17:8 22:26). It is possible that during the oath the salt was sometimes thrown into the fire to intensify by the crackling sound the terror-inspiring character of the act, originally to render more audible the voice of the deity in the fire, hence the salt-bërith (Lev. 2:13 [P] Nu. 18:19 [P] 2 Ch. 13:5). As vows were taken and agreements made at some shrine, the numen dwelling in the sacred stone or structure was the chief witness (Gen. 31:48 [J] 52 [E] Josh. 24:27 [E] 2 K. 11:4 23:3), and a sacrificial meal preceded or followed the act (Gen. 26:7 [J] 31:46 [J] Ex. 24:11 [J] 2 S. 3:20 [J]). The sprinkling of sacrificial blood upon the worshipper, a survival of the custom of sharing it with the deity, appears to have disappeared early from the cult. But it may have continued longest in the case of persons taking a solemn pledge, as is suggested by its use in the installation of priests (Ex. 29:20 [P] Lev. 8:23 [P]). This would account for the term bërith-blood (Ex. 24:8 [E]). Where an alliance was desired presents were offered by the party taking the initiative (Gen. 21:27 [E]: probably the sacrificial animals; Hos. 12:2 [1] b).

Since a decree, pledge, or compact was thus, as a rule, ratified by some sacred rite, at a 6. **Divine sanctuary,** the word בריית readily assumed 'bërith,' a religious significance, and was applied to a solemn declaration of the deity.

(i.) *In J. E. and early Prophets.*—In the earliest Judean narrative Yahwë gives to Abram a promise that his descendants shall possess Palestine and symbolically invokes upon himself a curse, if he shall fail to keep it (Gen. 15:8 [J]; cp. Gen. 24:7 [J]). When Moses is reluctant to leave the mountain-home of his god and pleads for an assurance that Yahwë shall go with him, a solemn promise is given him (Ex. 34:10 a [J]; add, with 3:12, יד). The original context can scarcely have been anything else than a declaration that Yahwë will accompany his servant, probably in 'the messenger,' פלאש ירה. This promise was no doubt also referred to by the Elohist, though the importance of the ark in his narrative (cp. Nu. 10:33 f. [E]) renders it probable that Yahwë's presence was here connected with this palladium. After the subjugation of the Canaanites by the first kings of Israel the question arose as to the justice of this deed. Israel's right to the land was then established by the fiction of a promise given to the mythical ancestor. A religious problem of grave importance was how Yahwë, whose home was on Sinai, or Horeb, could manifest himself at the Palestinian sanctuaries. The solution was that he had pledged himself to go with Moses in 'the messenger.' The story of Elijah's visit to Horeb was probably written early in the eighth century; in it בריית occurs in the sense of commandment (1 K. 19:14). This is also the meaning of the term in Dt. 35:6 (the Blessing of Moses), as the parallel אמרת shows, and in Josh. 7:11 [E]. Hosea uses the word to denote an injunction of Yahwë upon the beasts of the field not to harm Israel (2:20 [18]), and a commandment of Yahwë in general (8:1; possibly also 6:7). It is noticeable that this prophet, who through a sad domestic experience learned to apply the figure of a marriage to Yahwë's relation to Israel, never employs bërith in the sense of a covenant. The בריית האש was probably still simply the law of the husband, and the idea of a covenant with

¹ Cp. אש אדם 'a wild ass of a man,' i.e., a wild man, Gen. 16:12. So in the main Duhm, though his conception of בריית is different. Di. Kraetzschmar (*Die Bundesvorstellung*, 169), and Köstlin explain it a covenant with the people = i.e., one in or through whom my covenant with the people is realised.

Yahwé had not yet been formed. The covenant with death, the compact with Sheol (Is. 28:18), appears to be an alliance with the powers of the nether world, implying mutual stipulations. Men who preached the destruction of Israel and Yahwé's independence of the people, would not be likely to characterize the existing relation by a term current in necromancy.

(ii.) *Deuteronomist*.—Even the transformation of the Yahwistic and Elohist narratives of the Horeb-bérith, in the reign of Manasseh, by which the promise given to Moses became a solemnly imposed law (the Decalogue of J, Ex. 34:15-26, and that of E, Ex. 20:1-17), and the judicial decisions of the bérith book, Ex. 20:23-23:33, became divine injunctions, does not contemplate an alliance. In the law promulgated by Josiah in 621 (not likely to be found outside of Dt. 12:26; but see DEUTERONOMY, § 5 f.) the word does not occur. But this law was designated at the outset as a bérith book (1 K. 23:24). It seems to have been intended to take the place of Ex. 20:23 ff. The promise to Abraham is strongly emphasised by the Deuteronomist writers and enlarged to one given to Isaac and Jacob as well (Dt. 1:7; 26:5; 34:4; 34:12; 34:23 [Dt.]; cp also Dt. 18:35; 6:10; 18:23; 7:8; etc.). At a time when Judah was in imminent danger of losing its heritage, faith took refuge in this divine assurance, manifesting Yahwé's love, and justified by the obedience of the patriarchs (Dt. 4:31; 10:15; Gen. 26:4 ff. [Dt.]). One writer of this school declares that Yahwé announced on Horeb his bérith consisting of the ten words (Dt. 4:13; 5:2 ff.), and that this bérith was written on tablets of stone (9) and placed in the ark (see ARK, § 1 f., 3, 9). Another author made the Josianic code the basis of a covenant concluded in the fields of Moab (Dt. 29:9; 30:4-4:4 [1:1; etc.]; 26:17-18; cp the later gloss 29: [28:6]). Here the idea of a compact between Yahwé and Israel involving mutual rights and obligations is fully developed. Yahwé pledges himself to make Israel his own people, distinct from, honoured above all others; Israel declares that it will make Yahwé its god and obey his commandments. This conception was subsequently transferred also to the Horeb-bérith; cp Judg. 2:1 ff. [Dt.].

(iii.) *Jeremiah and Ezekiel*.—Jeremiah does not seem to have participated in this development. He used bérith only to designate Josiah's law, which he regarded as having been given through Moses at the time when Yahwé brought Israel out of Egypt (11:2 f. 6:8; 34:13). It is evident from the context that דבר בְּרִית (11:10) indicates not the disannulment of a covenant, but the breaking of a law by disobedience, the law still remaining in force. Ezekiel, on the other hand, not only employs בְּרִית in the sense of 'law' (20:37; 'the fetter of the law,' 44:7), but also applies it for the first time to the conjugal relation of Yahwé and Israel (168; 59:60). Marriage is here based on mutual pledges; it is a covenant. According to Ezekiel's view of history, Yahwé had entered into such an alliance with Israel in Egypt, but the people had by a long career of unfaithfulness forced its dissolution (16:59). Yet he hopes that in the future Yahwé will renew his intimate relations with Israel. There will be no covenant, however (for Israel's pledge cannot be trusted; 16:61), but a gracious dispensation of Yahwé (16:62), everlasting (37:26), and full of prosperity (34:25), ushered in by the restoration of the Davidic rule and the temple-service (37:25; 36).

(iv.) *Exilic times*.—How ardently the next generation expected that the fallen tent of David would be raised up again, may be seen in the appendix to Amos (9:11 ff.) and in the more pregnant form given to the promise 2 S. 7:16 [E.] in 2 S. 23:5 [עַתִּידָא בְּרִית]. Such hopes may have been awakened by the honour shown to Jehoichin by Amil Marduk in 561, and may have attached themselves to his son Sheshbazzar (q.v.). They were naturally encouraged by the sympathetic tone of Deutero-Isaiah's message (Is. 40-48), even though this writer himself knows no other Messiah than Cyrus. With the

freer intercourse between the holy city and the Jews of the dispersion, possible after the Persian conquest (cp Zech. 6:10), and the appointment of Sheshbazzar, and after him of Zerubbabel, as governor, the Second Isaiah's evangel was brought to Palestine and changed the comfortless lamentations of the native population (Lam. 3) into songs of redemptive suffering (Is. 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12), or of future restoration (the Zion songs in Is. 49-55). It was felt that by the accession of a king of the old dynasty, a living witness would appear of Yahwé's faithfulness to David (Is. 55:4 a), a restorer of the territory once possessed (Is. 55:4 b; Mic. 4:8; 5:1), a surety of the promised dispensation of everlasting peace (Is. 54:10; 55:5), and that Zion would thus become again an organised community (בְּרִית עַם), able to build up what had fallen into ruins, to attract the exiles to their spiritual home, and to teach the nations the manner in which Yahwé should be worshipped (Is. 42:6; 49:8).

(v.) *Haggai, Zechariah, etc.*—The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah bear witness to the strength of the royalist sentiment at Jerusalem. The hopes of the Jews proved illusory; but in the midst of disappointment the belief in Yahwé's promises lived on. 'Malachi' felt assured that Yahwé would return, and accounted for his delay by the sins of the degenerate priestly descendants of the faithful and reverent Levi, to whom Yahwé's promise (בְּרִית) of life and prosperity was given (2:1-9), and of those who, fascinated by foreign women, had forgotten the pledge (בְּרִית) given to the wives of their youth (2:14). The author or authors of Is. 56-66 also deplored the marriages with aliens and the survival of forbidden forms of worship, but saw the remedy in the law: the keeping of Yahwé's commandments (בְּרִית) would render the very eunuch fit for membership in Israel (56:4); the distinction of Israel lay in that gracious arrangement (בְּרִית) by which Yahwé's law, proclaimed by men of the spirit and repeated by a mindful people, would be its perpetual possession (59:21), a divine dispensation involving prosperity as a reward of obedience (61:8). The author of Jer. 30 ff., however, rises to a far greater height. He looks forward to a new regime based solely on Yahwé's love, which will take the place of the old and less permanent relation (Jer. 31:31 ff.). This work may perhaps be assigned to the time of the Græco-Persian war, when the writer confidently looked for extraordinary proofs of Yahwé's pardoning grace (see JEREMIAH, ii. §§ 7 [iii.], 8 [ii.]).

(vi.) *P.*—The conception of the bérith as a gracious act on the part of God, by which he binds himself to a certain course of action in reference to Israel and the world, implying the bestowal of blessings and the revelation of his will, becomes dominant in the Priestly Code. The bérith or engagement is here carried back to Abraham and Noah. Beside the Noah-bérith (Gen. 9:1-17) there is no room for an Adam-bérith; beside the Abrahamic (Gen. 17; cp Ex. 22:4; 6:4), no need of a Sinaitic. The Noah-bérith secures the stability of earth's conditions and of man's life, and the accompanying law of blood is but a beneficent provision for the preservation of the race; the Abrahamic guarantees to Israel the land of Palestine and a large population, and the command of circumcision implies only a distinction conferred upon this people from which all further favours flow. The sign in the sky and the sign in the body are constant reminders to the deity of these merciful engagements. By the use of 'קָיָם' and 'קָיָם ב' ('establish,' occasionally 'maintain') instead of 'בְּרִית' the nature of the bérith as a gift, a divine institution, is emphasised. Though the word has thus become a religious *terminus technicus* in this code, it still occurs with the sense simply of commandment, Ex. 31:16 (the law of the sabbath), Lev. 24:8 (the ordinance of the shew-bread), Lev. 2:13 (the injunction concerning salt), or of promise, Nu. 25:12 f. (the assurance to Phineas of an everlasting priesthood in his line).

(vii.) *Later writers.*—The author of Jer. 50 *f.* (see JEREMIAH, ii. §§ 7, 8 [iii.]) refers to the Abrahamian dispensation in the spirit of the Priestly Writer (see that vividly expressed passage on the return of the men of Israel and Judah, Jer. 50:5);¹ and Jer. 14:21 reflects the same conception. Ps. 89:9 105:8 106:45 111:5 also show the influence of this idea.

On the other hand, in Ps. 25:10 14 132:12 בְּרִית is only a synonym of קָבַץ and in 44:8 50:6 78:6 80:11. In Ps. 50:5, בְּרִית בְּרִיתִי עָלַי וְנָח, 'those who pledge their troth to me by sacrifice,' are graciously told that Yahwè will not demand excessive offerings,² and in 78:10 the men of the Mosaic period are charged with not being faithful to the pledge given to Yahwè.

Besides the Abrahamian dispensation (1 Ch. 16:15 2 Ch. 6:14 Neh. 1:5 9:8 32), the Chronicler particularly emphasises the engagement made with David (2 Ch. 13:5 21:7), but also uses בְּרִית of a pledge in general (2 Ch. 29:10 34:32 Neh. 13:29). The Prayer of Jeremiah (Jer. 32:16-44) is quite after the fashion of the Chronicler; in 32:40 the author has in mind 31:33, but interprets the בְּרִית vaguely as a promise that Yahwè will not cease to show mercy to Israel.

The author of Ecclesiasticus (*circa* 200) introduces for the first time an Adam-bèrith as an everlasting dispensation (17:12), is led by his biographical interest to mention severally the divine promises to Noah (44:18), Abraham (v. 19 *f.*), Isaac (v. 22), Jacob (v. 23), Aaron (45:7 15), Phinehas (v. 23 *f.*), and David (v. 25 47:1), and employs the term in the sense of law (24:23 45:5), and of covenant (14:12, based on Is. 28:15, but understood figuratively; cp Wisd. 1:16). The thought of Eccles. 45:15 (ἐν ἡμέραις ἀπαρσασθὲν, *בְּיָמַי שְׂבַח*)³ is further developed in Jer. 33:14-26 (wanting in *Ἑβραῖα*, but translated by Theodot.; see JEREMIAH, § 11); the divine arrangements as respects the house of Levi and the house of David are as inviolable as the divine arrangements in nature, the laws of day and night, of heaven and earth. Deutero-Zechariah (Zech. 9:14—after 198 B.C.; see ZECHARIAH, ii. § 5) promises deliverance to the Jews of the dispersion on the ground of the faithful observance of the sacrificial cult at the sanctuary by which Israel continually pledges its troth to Yahwè (בְּרִית בְּרִיתִי, 'because of thy pledge-blood'; 9:11; cp Ps. 50:5). Dan. 9 (164 B.C.) refers to God's merciful promise to bless his people. The בְּרִית בְּרִיתִי, Is. 24:5 (*c.* 128 B.C.³) is most naturally understood in the light of Eccles. 17:12, where the Adam-bèrith also involves the revelation of God's laws and judgments. In 1 Macc. 2:50 אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בְּרִית אֲבוֹתֵינוּ may be a designation of the holy nation, the theocracy, whilst 4:10 probably refers to the promise to the patriarchs, as 2:54 does to that to Phinehas. In Ps. Sol. 10:5, the law appears as a testimony of the eternal dispensation established with the Fathers (9:19). The author of *Jubilees* quotes (6:16) from Gen. 9:12 *f.* and (15:19) from Gen. 17:7, but in his independent use of the term shows no trace of the conception prevailing in the Priestly Code. He introduces the Noah-bèrith as a pledge given by the patriarch (the original seems to have read "כִּי בְרִית עָשִׂיתִי לָכֶם", *כִּי בְרִית עָשִׂיתִי לָכֶם*), 6:10, which is renewed by the people every year through observance of the feast of weeks (6:17), and the Sinai-bèrith as a pledge which Moses takes from the people (6:11); he employs the word as a synonym of 'law,' 'statute' (1:10 15:24 24:11 30:21), and possibly uses it also in the sense of 'theocracy' (6:35), where the feasts of the Jewish community are contrasted with those of the Gentiles. 'Arbiter testamenti illius' (τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσότης), *Assumption of Moses* [Charles] 1:14, seems to be a translation of בְּרִיתִי (cp Job 9:33), and represents Moses, not as a third party effecting an agreement between God and his people, but

¹ Read with Co., וְיָבִיאוּ and insert כִּי before בְּרִיתִי, 'Come let us join ourselves (anew) to Yahwè, for a lasting *bèrith* cannot be forgotten.'

² Cheyne, however, takes Ps. 50, to have been written as an expression of non-sacrificial religion.

³ Following Dhalm. But cp ISAAH, ii. § 13.

as the preacher proclaiming his law (cp Amos 5:10 Prov. 25:12 etc.). This is to be inferred already from the suffix—it is God's bèrith—and it is distinctly stated in 3:11; 'the commandments in respect of which he was to us a mediator'—*i.e.*, which he was the means of revealing to us (cp 27). The Abraham-bèrith is mentioned in 1:2 3:10 4:12 *f.* Enoch 60:6 is a fragment of a lost Apocalypse of Noah; it presents the Noah-bèrith as the all-sufficient blessing of the elect.

(i.) *Gospel.*—Lk. 1:72, which refers to God's promise to Abraham, would seem to have belonged originally to

7. NT. a Jewish Apocalypse of Zechariah current among the Baptist's disciples. Jesus himself

does not seem to have used the term in any sense. The thought of a new dispensation, so attractive to his disciples, may not have been foreign to his own mind. If it is not found even where it might most naturally be expected, as in Mt. 21:43, the reason may be that his favourite expression, the kingdom of God, was intended to convey a similar idea. His words at the paschal table have evidently undergone successive modifications and expansions; and it is difficult not to trace Pauline influences. At any rate the declaration, 'This is the new διαθήκη in my blood' (1 Cor. 11:25 l.k. 22:20), seems to be an expansion of the earlier, 'This is my blood of the διαθήκη' (Mt. 26:28 Mk. 14:24). It is not inconceivable that Jesus actually said יהוה רַבִּי קִיַּבִּי, meaning thereby 'This is the blood in which I pledge my loyalty' (cp Ps. 50:5 Zech. 9:11). But the Greek translation suggests an Aram. יהוה רַבִּי קִיַּבִּי, in which the last word is likely to be an explanatory addition by a later hand, the original utterance being simply 'This (is) my blood.'

(ii.) *Paul.*—In Gal. 3:15 *f.* Paul compares God's assurance to Abraham with a man's testament (διαθήκη), which cannot lose its validity by any arrangement subsequent to his death, and in addition seeks a proof of the inferiority of the law in the fact that it was given not directly by God himself, but through angels and a human agent (μεσότης, used as in *Assumpt. Mos.* 1:14 3:12). In 4:24 he contrasts the present Jewish commonwealth (ἡ νῦν Ἱερουσαλῆμ), deriving its existence as a theocracy (διαθήκη) from the legislation on Sinai with the heavenly society (ἡ ἀνω Ἱερουσαλῆμ) from which by spirit-birth the new theocracy derives its life (cp Heb. 12:22). The new form of government (διαθήκη), according to Paul, was possible only through the death of Jesus abolishing the authority of the Law (hence the change to ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι, 'through my blood,' 1 Cor. 11:25), and, as opposed to the maintenance of social order by enforced obedience to external statutes, consisted in a free, love-prompted surrender of life to the divine spirit's guidance (2 Cor. 8:6). The idea of a special arrangement (διαθήκη), still in the future, by which all Israel is to be saved (Rom. 11:26 *f.*), does not introduce a foreign element into Paul's conception of the spiritual theocracy (for it implies only deliverance from sin), but is a concession to particularism, out of harmony with his general attitude, and due to his patriotic feelings (Rom. 9:3 *f.*). Paul also uses the word as a designation of the OT (2 Cor. 3:14).

(iii.) *Other writers.*—In the epistle to the Hebrews, the Abrahamian dispensation yields to that of Melchizedek. Abraham is introduced only as an example of partial reliance upon God's promises (6:15), and as a representative of a priestly order inferior to that of Melchizedek (7:4 *f.*); Jer. 31:31 *f.* is recognised as a description of the often promised new constitution (διαθήκη 8:8 *f.* 10:16); but it is argued that, as a man's testament (διαθήκη) is not valid until after his death (9:16 *f.*), and as consequently the Mosaic constitution possessed no validity until a death had taken place (that of the sacrificial animal), so the better Christian dispensation could not be ushered in except by the death of Jesus (9:15 18 *f.*); this departure of Jesus is, besides, regarded as necessary in order that he might be a

priest—as he could not be on earth (7.13 f.)—in the celestial temple (6.20 9.11), and as such bear the responsibility for the new arrangement (ἡμετέρας 7.20), and on God's behalf make it operative (μετέρας 8.6 9.13 12.24) by sprinkling the blood on men's consciences, thus pledging and devoting them to the new priestly service (10.10, cp Ex 29.20 [P] Lev. 8.23 [P]). The 'ark of the law' (διαθήκη) is mentioned in Heb. 9.4 (cp Rev. 11.19). In Eph. 2.12 the one great promise is considered as renewed by a series of solemn assurances (αὐτὴ διαθήκη τῆς ἐπαγγελίας). Peter's contemporaries are represented in Acts 3.25 as 'sons'—i.e., heirs, who might enter into possession of the promise (διαθήκη) to Abraham, whilst in 7.8 the word διαθήκη is used to designate the ordinance of circumcision.¹

The most recent inquiry into the historical meaning of *berith* is Knautsch's *Die Bundesverträge im Alten Testament* (1909). See also Vahman, *Alttestamentliche Bundesverträge* (1907 f.); Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Israeliten u. Juden zu d. Bundesvertr.*, pp. 1. 176, 214 f.; WKS *Rel. Sem.*, pp. 219 ff. 227 ff.; *Kon. 4. H.*; W. M. Ramsay, 'Covenant' in the *Expositor*, Nov. '98, pp. 321-336. N. S.

COVERLET (כִּסְוֵת), 2 K. 8.13 f. RV. See BED, § 3

COVERS (קִשְׁוֹת), Ex. 37.16, etc.; see CUP, 6.

COW (בָּקָרָה), Is. 11.7. See CATTLE, § 2.

COZ, RV strangely HAKKOZ (קֹי); ΚΩΕ [B⁹BA], ΘΕΚΩΕ [ΘΕ SUPPOSIT.] [H⁹BA]. ΚΩΕ (L.) of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4.8). The name is probably not connected with Hakkoz. As it occurs nowhere else, perhaps we should read ΤΕΚΩΑ ΤΕΚΩΑ. ΘΕΚΩΑ; cp Θ⁹BA. See HAKKOZ, ΤΕΚΩΑ.

COZBI (צֹבִי), 'obesitiful', § 79; cp ASS. *kuzbu*, 'lavandress', Haupt, *SIOT* on Gen. 38.5, daughter of Zur (Nu. 25.15 18), a Midianite, who was slain by Phineas at Shittim (Nu. 25.6-18, P; χασβ[ε]) [BAFL], χασβία [Jos. *Ant.* iv. 6.10 12].

COZEBA, AV CHOZEBA (צֹזְבָה), 1 Ch. 4.22 f. See ACHZIB, 1.

CRACKNELS (קִרְיִים), 1 K. 14.3. See BAKEMEATS, § 2.

CRAFTSMEN, VALLEY OF (גֵּי הַחֲרִישִׁים), Neh. 11.35 EV. See CHARASHIM.

CRANE (עֶגְרֵי); CTRPOYIA [BNAQ], Is. 38.14 Jer. 8.7 RV, AV by an error [see below] 'swallow.' In Is. 38.14 there is no 'or' between the first two names in MT, and CTRPOYIA omits *agur* altogether, rendering the other word (צֹב) correctly χαλδών (see SWALLOW, 2); in the second passage where in MT the same two words occur (Jer. 8.7) the connective particle is again omitted, this time by C. Hence it has been suggested that in neither place should both words occur (Klostermann, Duhm, etc., omit עֶגְרֵי in Is.); this receives some countenance from the fact that the MT order of the words is reversed in Targ. and Pesh. in Jer. 8.7. The transposition misled most Jewish authorities as to the real meaning of the two words respectively, and our translators followed them. That צֹב (or rather טֹב : see SWALLOW, 2) means 'swallow' or 'swift' there can be no doubt, and so the words 'crane' and 'swallow' should at least change places (as in RV).

What *agur* means is somewhat uncertain :² probably *Grus communis* or *cinnerea*, which is the crane of Palestine. Once it bred in England. The passage in Isaiah refers to its 'chattering';³ and its powers of

¹ On the meaning of *berithen*, see Hatch, *Essays on Biblical Greek*, p. 47.

² Lagarde suggested that it means 'bird of passage' (עֶגְרֵי = עֶגְרָה 'to turn back, return', *Ubers.* 59).

³ The Heb. (עֶגְרֵי) properly signifies a shrill penetrating sound, and is therefore more applicable to the stridulous cry of the swift than to the deep, trumpet-like blast of the crane.' See the rest of Che.'s note in *Proph. Is.*, ad loc.

giving utterance to loud and trumpet-like sounds both when in flight and when at rest are well known.

Cranes are migratory birds, spending the summer in N. latitudes and the winter as a rule in Central Africa and S. Asia; but some pass the cold season in the plains of S. Judea. While travelling they fly in great flocks, and at times come to rest on the borders of some stream or lake. They appear to have fixed roosting-places, to which they return at night in large numbers. Jeremiah notices the regularity of their seasonal migrations.

N. M.—A. E. S.

CRATES (ΚΡΑΤΗΣ [A], ἩΡΑC [V]), the name of a former viceroy 'in Cyprus' (ἐπὶ τῶν Κυπρίων), who was left in charge of the citadel (of Jerusalem) by SOSTRATUS in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes : 2 Macc. 4.29.

CREATION. 1. Accounts of Creation.—It may be regarded as an axiom of modern study that the descriptions of creation contained in the biblical records, and especially in Gen. 1.1-2.4a, are permanently valuable only in so far as they express certain religious truths which are still recognised as such (see below, § 25). To seek for even a kernel of historical fact in such cosmogonies is inconsistent with a scientific point of view. We can no longer state the critical problem thus: How can the biblical cosmogony be reconciled with the results of natural science? The question to be answered is rather this: From what source have the cosmogonic ideas expressed in the OT been derived? Are they ideas which belonged to the Hebrews from the first, or were they borrowed by the Hebrews from another people?

This question has passed into a new phase since the most complete form of the Creation-story of the Babylonians has become known to us in its cuneiform original. True, the story given in the tablets lies before us in a very fragmentary condition. The exact number of tablets is uncertain. Considerable lacunae, however, have been recently filled up by the discovery of missing passages, and there is good hope that further excavations will one day enable us to complete the entire record. At any rate we are now able to arrange all the extant fragments in their right order—which was not the case a few years ago—and so to recover at least the main features of the connection of the cuneiform narrative. Only a brief sketch of the contents can be given here.³

The 'Creation-epic' begins by telling us that in the beginning, before heaven and earth were made, there was only the primeval ocean-flood. This is personified as a male and a female being (Apsû and Tiamat). Long since, when above | the heaven had not been named, when the earth beneath | (still) bore no name, when Apsû the primeval, —the generator of them, the originator (9)Tiamat, | who brought them both forth their waters in one | together mingled, when fields were (still) unformed, | reeds (still) nowhere seen—

1 On conceptions of creation, see below, §§ 25-29; on words, see § 30.

² It may be observed here that Gen. 2.4a was, originally, the superscription, not the subscription. Schr., in his reproduction of the two narratives of the primitive story, rightly restores it as the heading (*Studien zur Kritik der Uebers.*, 1863, p. 172). In that case the priestly narrator can hardly have continued with Gen. 1.1. Restore therefore with Di. (*Genesis*, 17, 39) 'This is the birth-story of heaven and earth when Elobim created them (אֱלֹהִים אֱמִרָתָם). Then continue, 'Now the earth, etc. (v. 2). 'Then God said, Let light be; and light was.' See Knautsch's translation (*Kon. 1.3*).

³ Cp Del. *Das Bab. Welterschöpfungsepos* (97); Jensen, *Kosmol.* 268-300; Zimmern, in Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 401-417; and Ball, *Light from the East*, 1-21 (90). The metrical divisions are well marked. The epic is mainly composed in four-line stanzas, and in each line there is a caesura.

⁴ [Ass. *Mammûm* : *mamûm*. In line 17 of this first tablet we meet (most probably) with a so-called *Mammûm*. The name corresponds to the *Mammûs* of Damascus (see below, § 15, end), and is rendered by Frd. Del. in *L. 4*, 'the roaring.' This is by no means certain right; for the grounds see Del. 110. Pinches renders, Lady Tiamat (*Exp. Times*, 3 166). But Jensen warns us that there is another *mammûm*. At any rate, the supposed connection with צֹב must be abandoned.]

long since, when of the gods [not one had arisen, when no name had been named,] no lot [been determined], then were made [the gods, . . .].

Thus the world of gods came into being. Its harmony, however, was not long maintained. Tiamat, the mother of the gods, was discontented with things as they were, and from hatred (it would seem) to the newly produced Light, rebelled against the supreme gods, and drew some of the gods to her side. She also for her own behoof produced monstrous beings to help her in her fight. This falling away of Tiamat called for divine vengeance. To reply to the call, however, required a courage which none of the upper gods possessed, till at last Marduk (Merodach) offered himself, on condition that, after he had conquered Tiamat, the regal sway over heaven and earth should be his. In a solemn divine assembly this was assured to him. He then equipped himself for the fight, and rode on the war-chariot to meet Tiamat and her crew. The victory fell to Marduk, who slew Tiamat, and threw her abettors into chains.

This is followed by the account of the creation of the world by Marduk. The process is imagined thus. Marduk cuts in two the carcass of Tiamat¹ (the personified ocean-flood), and out of the one part produces heaven, out of the other earth.²

He smote her as a . . . [into two parts];
and half he took, [he made it heaven's arch,
punched bars before it,] stationed watchmen,
not to let out its waters [he gave them as a charge.

Thus the upper waters of Tiamat, held back by bars, form heaven, just as in Gen. I the first step to the creation of heaven and earth consists in the separation of the upper from the lower waters by the firmament. Then follows a detailed description of the making of the heavenly bodies ('stations for the great gods').

After this most unfortunately comes a great *lacuna*. We can venture, however, to state so much as this—that the missing passage must have related the creation of the dry land, of plants, of animals, and of men. In support of this we can appeal (1) to separate small fragments, (2) to the account of Berosus, (3) to the recapitulation of the separate creative acts of Marduk in a hymn to that god at the close of the epic, and (4) to the description of the creative activity of Marduk in a second cuneiform recension of the Creation-story lately discovered (on the various Babylonian Creation-stories, see also below, § 13 ff.).

What then is the relation between this Babylonian and the chief biblical cosmogony? We have no right

3. Relation to

Gen. 1-2^{aa}.

The Hebrew myth of Creation appears in its original form in Gen. 1-2^{aa}. The present writer is entirely at one with Hiernann Gunkel, whose work entitled *Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*³ ('95) contains the fullest collection of the relevant evidence, that this myth has passed through a long development within the domain of Hebraism prior to the composition of Gen. 1-2^{aa}. Only with a clear perception of this does critical method allow us to compare the latter document directly with the Babylonian Creation-epic. Then, however, our surprise is all the greater that in spite of the preceding development there is still in the main points, a far-reaching coincidence between the myths. For instance, both stories place water and darkness alone at the beginning of things, and personify the primeval flood by the same name (Tiamat = Tehôm). In both the appearance of light forms the beginning of the new order. Whether the production of light in

¹ Jensen denies that Tiamat is anywhere in the Creation-epic represented as a dragon; she is always, he thinks, a woman. It is, however, not probable that the popular view of Tiamat as a serpent had no effect on the poet of the Creation-epic. See Berosus, § 4 ff.

² [Possibly the head of Tiamat is referred to at a later point of the story by Berosus. See below, § 15.]

³ The sub-title of this work, which will be referred to again, is: *Die religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. i. und Ap. Joh. xii. Mit Beiträgen von Heinrich Zimmern.*

the Babylonian account was specified as a separate creative act or not (a point on which complete certainty cannot as yet be obtained), Marduk is at any rate the god of light κατ' ἐξοχήν, and, consequently, his battle with Tiamat is essentially a battle between light and darkness. In both accounts the creation of heaven is effected through the divine creator's division of the waters of the primeval flood, so that the upper waters form the heaven. In the Babylonian epic this division of the waters of the flood is in the closest relation to the battle with Tiamat; nor can we doubt that a parallel description once existed in the Hebrew myth of creation, though it is but faintly echoed in Gen. 16 f. The list of the several creative acts runs thus in the two accounts:—

BABYLONIAN.	GEN. I, IN PRESENT ORDER. ¹
1. Heaven.	1. Heaven.
2. Heavenly bodies.	2. Earth.
3. Earth.	3. Plants.
4. Plants.	4. Heavenly bodies.
5. Animals.	5. Animals.
6. Men.	6. Men.

There is much, however, to be said for the view that the present position of the heavenly bodies after the plants is secondary,² and that originally the creation of the heavenly bodies was related directly after that of heaven; the order will then be the same in both accounts. Further coincidences can be traced in points of detail: e.g., the stress laid, in both accounts of the creation of the heavenly bodies, on their being destined to serve for the division of time (see also below, § 6). Can we doubt that, between accounts which have so many coincidences, there is a real historical connection?

We must now inquire how this connection is to be represented. There are two ways which are historically conceivable. Either the

4. Distinctively Babylonian background.

Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts are independent developments of a primitive Semitic myth, or the Hebrew is borrowed directly or indirectly from the Babylonian. Dillmann proposes the former view in connection with a remark that the Hebrew story cannot have been simply borrowed from the Babylonians on account of the patent differences between the two narratives. 'There is no doubt a common basis; but this basis comes from very early times, and its data have been developed and turned to account in different ways by the Israelites and the Babylonians.'³ In reply we may concede to Dillmann that the cosmogony in Gen. I cannot have been simply taken over from the Babylonians, and that there are strong *a priori* reasons for admitting the existence of a common stock of primitive Semitic myths. Still, that the Hebrew myth, which is still visible in Gen. I, was borrowed at a later time from the Babylonians, is the only theory which accounts for the phenomena before us. There are features of the utmost importance to the story which cannot be satisfactorily explained except from the Babylonian point of view.

At the very outset, for instance, why, from a specifically Hebrew point of view, should the waters of the *tehom* be placed at the beginning of all things? Or we may put our objection to Di's theory thus, the question to be answered by a cosmogony is this, 'How did the visible heaven and earth first come into existence?' The answer given in Gen. I is unintelligible in the mouth of an early Israelite, for it implies a mental picture which is characteristically Babylonian. As the world still arises anew every year and every day, so, thought the Babylonian, must it originally have been produced. During the long winter the Babylonian plain looks like the sea (which in Babylonian is *tiamtu, tiamat*), owing to the heavy rains. Then comes the spring, when the god of the vernal sun (Marduk) brings forth the land anew, and by his potent rays divides the waters of

¹ Most critics, however, reckon eight or seven creative acts. Cp. Wellh. *U. H.* 187 ff.; H. v. Lippow, *U. H.* 188 ff.; H. v. Lippow, *U. H.* 189 ff.

² See Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 14 f. 'this unnatural arrangement may be explained by supposing that when the framework of the seven days was introduced, the plants, for which no special day remained, were combined with the earth, and so came to stand before the stars.'

³ Di, *Gen.* (pub. p. 11; cp. his *Ueber die Herkunft der Urgeschichte*, Sagen (Berlin Acad. 1882), p. 427 ff., and Ryle, *Early Narratives of Gen.*, 12 f.

Tiāmat which previously, as it were, formed a whole, and sends them partly upward as clouds partly downward to the rivers and canals. So must it have been in the first spring, at the first New Year, when, after a fight between Marduk and Tiāmat, the organised world came into being.¹ Or (for Marduk is also the god of the early morning sun), just as the sun crosses and conquers the cosmic sea (Tiāmat) every morning, and out of the chaos of night causes to appear first the heaven and then the earth, so must heaven and earth have arisen for the first time on the first morning of creation. To imagine a similar origin of the myth from a Hellenic point of view is impossible. The picture requires as it were an alluvial land, which Babylonia is, and Palestine or the Syro-Arabian desert is not, and it requires further a special god of the spring sun, or of the early morning sun, such as Marduk is and Yahweh is not.²

In short, rightly to understand the Babylonian account as, in its origin, a mythic description of some of the most familiar natural phenomena of Babylonia gives the key to the problem before us. The Israelitic cosmogony must have been borrowed directly or indirectly from the Babylonian (compare §§ 5 and 11).

The preceding sections contain (1) an account of the great Babylonian creation epic (§ 2), (2) a comparison

of this with the chief Hebrew cosmogony, and a criticism of Dillmann's theory (§ 3), and (3) an explanation of the Babylonian myth and of its pale Jewish copy (§ 4). Of these § 3 and § 4 relate to subjects on which it is not unbecoming for the present writer to speak.³

That there is more than one Hebrew cosmogony, will be shown presently; we will begin with that in Gen. 1:1-2:4a. It is a very unfortunate statement of Wellhausen⁴ that the only detail in this section derived from mythology is that of chaos in v. 2, the rest being, he thinks, due to reflection and systematic construction. Reflection, no doubt, is not absent—e.g., the framework of days is certainly late—but the basis of the story is mythical. Nor can we content ourselves with comparing the data of Gen. 1 with any single mythology, such as the Babylonian. Circumstanced as the Israelites were, we must allow for the possibility of Phœnician, Egyptian, and Persian, as well as Babylonian influences, and we must not refuse to take a passing glance at cosmogonies of less civilised peoples. For some elements in the Jewish Creation-story are so primitive that we can best understand them from the wide point of view of an anthropologist.

The Babylonian parallels may be summed up briefly (cp above, § 3). The points of contact are—(1) the primeval flood (מְהַיְמָה = Tiāmat),

6. Paralleliams:

Babylonian. (2) the primeval light (Marduk was a god of light before the luminaries were created), (3) the production of heaven by the division of the primeval flood, (4) the appointment of the heavenly bodies to regulate times and seasons, (5) the order of the creative acts (the parallelism, however, in the present form of Gen. 1 is imperfect), (6) the divine admonitions addressed to men after their creation.⁵ To these may be added (7) creation by a word (see below, § 27), an idea which was doubtless prominent in the full Baby-

¹ [The Babylonian New Year's festival called Zakmuk, which has clearly influenced the corresponding Jewish festival, stands in close relation to the cosmogonic myth. For the 'tablets of destiny,' on which the fates of all living were inscribed on New Year's Day, were taken by Marduk from Kingu, the captive consort of Tiāmat (Tab. iv. 112). In its popular conception, Zakmuk was probably at one the anniversary of creation and the day of judgment. So Karppe.]

² Cp Jensen, *Kosmog.*, 377-382; Gunkel, *Volkerk.*, 342-345.
³ The germ of what follows is to be found in *EB*, art. 'Cosmogony,' 1877. The view of the history of mythological ideas among the Israelites is that which the writer has advocated in a series of works (some of them are referred to later), and which, with a much fuller array of facts, but with some questionable critical statements, has been put forward lately by Gunkel (95). On the general subject of cosmogonies, cp Fr. Lukas, *Grundriss der bibl. Kosmogonie*, 1897; *Volkerk.* (93), pp. 1-14, on the Babylonian myths and Genesis.
⁴ *Procl.*, F.T. 106.

⁵ See the fragment in Del. *Welttschöpfungsgesch.*, 54 f. 112. The admonitions relate to purity of heart, early morning prayer, and sacrifice. The passage on the creation of man has not yet been found; but there is an allusion to this creative act in the concluding tablet.

lonian epic, and (8) the creation of man in the divine image, and the participation of inferior divine beings in the work.¹

Phœnician mythology is an embarrassing combination of Babylonian and Egyptian (possibly we should add

7. Phœnician. Jewish) elements, and is, moreover, known to us only from fragments of older works cited by Philo of Byblus and Damascius.² Still, distorted and discoloured as the myths presented to us may be, the main features of them have a very primitive appearance. The source of all things is described in the first of Philo's cosmogonies³ as a chaos turbid and black as Erebus, which was acted upon by a wind (the *πν*) of Gen. 1:2 [cp below, col. 944, n. 2] which became enamoured⁴ of its own elements (*ἀρχαί*). These *ἀρχαί* are the two sides or aspects of the divine being referred to⁵—the male and female principle, the latter of which in another of the Byblian cosmogonies (Müller, *op. cit.* iii. 500 f.) is called *Baau*. We may perhaps compare this *Baau* with Bôhû⁶ in the Hebrew phrase *tôhu wa-bôhu* (wastefulness and wideness = chaos) in Gen. 1:2. *Wa-bôhu* would also connect it with the Babylonian *Ba' u*, the 'great mother.' True, this goddess was held to be the consort of Ninib, the god of the rising sun, whereas *Baau* is the spouse of *ἄνεμος κόλπιος* and her name is said to mean 'night' (= chaos?). The connection of *Ba' u* with Ninib, however, may perhaps be of later origin. The result of the union of the two divine *ἀρχαί* was the birth of *Μωτ*—i.e., according to Halévy,⁷ *τὸ Μωτ* = מוֹתָה (cp Prov. 8:24, מוֹתָהּ בְּקֶרֶן מַיִם). *Μωτ*, we are told, was egg-shaped. Here one may detect Egyptian influence, for Egyptian mythology knows of a world-egg, which emerged out of the watery mass (the god Nun). This is confirmed by a reference in the cosmogony of Mochus (in Damascius, 385) to *Χορσάω* 'the opener,' whom it is tempting to connect with P'tah, the divine demiurge of Memphis; the name of P'tah may have been explained in Phœnician as the 'opener' (פֶּתַח), viz. of the cosmic egg. To the same cosmogony (Philo here gives a different account) we owe the statement that this *Χορσάω* split the egg in two,⁸ upon which one of the pieces became

¹ See the Berosian story referred to below (§ 12). In the epic the creation of man was ascribed to Marduk (cp Jensen, *Kosmog.*, 292 f.); but it is possible (see Del. *op. cit.*, 110) that Marduk committed some part of the creation of the world to the other greater divinities. May we thus account for the evolutionary language of some parts of Gen. 1:11? 'Let the earth bring forth' would then mean 'Let the earth-god (a divine being inherent in the earth) cause the earth to bring forth.'

² Considering the late date of the reporter, we cannot exclude this possibility.

³ Cp Hecataeus, *Strochl. sur cosm.*, *Rel. gr.* 2. i. (Essay I); Gruppe, *Die griech. Cosmog.*, 112 f.

⁴ Müller, *Antiqu. Hist. Græc.*, 370.

⁵ The two later Targums explain מוֹתָהּ פֶּתַח in Gen. 1:2 by פֶּתַח אֱהוּי 'the spirit of love' (cp Wisd. 11:24). The love expressed here, however, is that called forth by the need of help.

⁶ The *Nachtr.*, *Wörterb.*, 1007.

⁷ Holzinger (note on Gen. 1:2) objects to the combination of *Baau* and Bôhû, that *Baau* appears as the mother of the two first men, which will not suit Bôhû; but the Byblian mythologist is in error, as WRS (Burnett Lectures [MS]) has pointed out. *Atau* is not properly a 'mortal man,' and *ἄνεμος κόλπιος* is a late invention based upon a wrong theory; here as elsewhere the dualism is artificial. *Atau* is identical with the *Ὀδάμωτος* of Mochus, the *χρόνος* of Eudemos—i.e., *ἔθνη* 'the world' (see Eccl. 3:11). The connection with Bab. *Ba' u* is more doubtful. Cp Jensen, *Kosmog.*, 245; Hummel, *Die sem. Völker*, i. 379 ff., *AIT.*, 66, G.B. 1, 255; Haupt, *Beitr. zur Assyriol.* i. 181; and see K.B., 3a 21. Whether Tôhû (תְּהוֹ) also was from the first a mythic word, is uncertain. The combination of *tôhû* and *bôhû* may be artificial; cp Jabal, *Jubal*, *Tôhû* (Gen. 4:22), תְּהוֹ וְבֹהוּ (Gen. 1:2), תְּהוֹ וְבֹהוּ (Ezek. 6:14).

⁸ *Mit.*, 387; WRS in Burnett Lectures agrees.

⁹ Elsewhere *Χορσάω* and his brother are said to have discovered the use of iron, like the Hebrew Tubal-Cain, himself probably a divine demiurge (see CAIMITES, § 10). WRS (Burnett Lectures) suggests that he may have invented iron to cut open the cosmic egg (cp the arming of Marduk in the Creation-epic, Tab. iv.). This is clearly correct. *Κρόνος* in Philo's theology makes *ἀστὴρ* and *δέρου* to fight against *Θυράρος*. Originally, however, the weapon of the demiurge was the lightning; see Jensen, *Kosmog.*, 333.

heaven, and the other earth. Here we have a point of contact with the Babylonian and also with the Hebrew cosmogony, for the body of Tiamat is, in fact, as Robertson Smith in his Burnett Lectures¹ remarks, 'the matrix or envelope of the dark seething waters of primeval chaos,' and the separation of the lower from the upper waters in Gen. 1 is only a less picturesque form of the same mythic statement. These are 'poor and beggarly elements,' no doubt; but then Phœnicia lacked what Babylonia possessed, a poet who could select, and to some extent moralise, such parts of the tradition as were best worth preserving. We shall see later (§ 28) that Judea had a writer who in some important respects excelled even the author of the epic.

Egyptian mythology, which had perhaps an original kinship to the Babylonian² cannot be passed over, when

8. Egyptian. we consider the close relations which long existed between Egypt and Canaan. The common Egyptian belief was that for many ages the latent germs of things had slept in the bosom of the dark flood (personified as Nut or Nüit and Nun). How these germs were drawn forth and developed was a story told differently in the different nomes or districts.

At Elephantine, for instance, the demiurge was called Hnum; he was the potter who moulded his creatures out of the mud of the Nile (which was the earthly image of Nun); or, it was also said, who modelled the world-egg. His counterpart at Memphis, the artisan god Ptah, gave to the light-god, and to his body, the artistically perfect form. At Hermapolis it was Thoth who made the world, speaking it into existence. "That which flows from his mouth," it is said, "happens, and what he speaks, comes into being." In the east of the Delta, a more complicated account was given. Earth and sky were originally two lovers lost in the primeval waters, the god lying under the goddess. "On the day of creation a new god, Shu, slipped between the two, and seizing Nüit with both hands, lifted her above his head with outstretched arms." Thus, among other less striking parallels, we have in Egypt, as well as in Babylonia and in Palestine, the primeval flood, the forcible separation of heaven and earth, and creation by a word, as elements in the conceptions of creation.³

The subject of Iranian parallels has been treated at great length by Lagarde,⁴ who argues for the depend-

9. Iranian. ence of the Priestly Writer as regards the order of the works and days, on a Persian system, against which, however, in the very act of borrowing from it, this writer protests. It is not probable, however, that the indebtedness of the Jews to Persia began so early; it is not before the latter part of the Persian rule that the direct influence of Persian beliefs (themselves largely influenced by Babylonian) begins to be clearly traceable in Judaism. If we could venture to identify the ARTAXERXES (q. v.) of Ezra with Artaxerxes II., it would be easier to adopt Lagarde's view. In the present stage of critical inquiry, however, this course does not appear to be advisable. Nor is it at all certain that the Iranian belief in the creation of the world in six periods goes back so far as to the time of Artaxerxes II. It is referred to only in the late book called Bundeish, and in one or two passages of the Yasna (19:248) and the Vispered (74), which, on philological grounds, are regarded as comparatively late. Caland, indeed, has endeavoured to show⁵ that in the Yasht of the Fravashis (or protective spirits) a poetical reference is made to the creative works of Ahura Mazda, in the order in which these are given in the Bundeish.⁶ But what object can we have in tracing the Hebrew account to the Iranian, when we have, close at hand, the Babylonian story, from which the Iranian is plainly derived? The reference, or at least allusion, to chaos

¹ Second series (MS).

² Cp. Hommel, *Der bab. Ursprung der ägypt. Kultur*, 102a (*Güter aller*, the Egyptian Nun is connected with Bab. Anu, the god of the heavens or ocean).

³ See Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. der alten Ägypter*, 20, 107, 108 and elsewhere; Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 128, 146; Meyer, *G. A.* 74.

⁴ *Parsin. von Pers. u. Arab. u. Arab. u. Arab.*, 107.

⁵ *Jahrb.* 23, 179; 185 f. 189.

⁶ The order is—heaven, the waters, earth, plants, animals, mankind. Light, the light in which God dwells, is itself uncreated—an inconsistency due to Babylonian influence (see col. 230 n. 13). In Job 37 there may be a tendency to this belief (see § 21 [c]).

in Gen. 1 is at any rate not Iranian; why should the other features in the narrative be? It would no doubt be possible to give the epithet 'Iranian' to the ascription of ideal perfection to the newly created world in the Hebrew cosmogony. But it is by no means necessary to do so. Such idealisation would be naturally suggested by the thought that the evil now so prominent in the world cannot have lain within the purpose of the divine creator.¹ Besides, Jewish thinkers would inevitably be repelled by Zoroastrian dualism. The existence of the two primeval antagonistic spirits is not indeed alluded to in the rock-cut inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes; but the best scholars agree that it formed part of the old Zoroastrian creed; it is indeed expressly recognised in the Gāthās (Yasna xxx.). Ahura Mazda, the 'much-knowing Lord,' assisted by the six Amshaspands, is the creator of all the good things in the world. He is opposed, however, by Angra Mainyu, to whom the material and moral possession of the world is ascribed. All that we can venture to suppose, is a possible indirect influence of the high Zoroastrian conception of Ahura Mazda on the conception of Yahwé formed by the Babylonian Jews. The details of the Jewish Creation-story arose independently of Persia.

Points of contact with more primitive mythologies also are numerous. Abundant material will be found in

10. More primitive mythologies. Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, and vol. vi. of Waitz and Gerland's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*.

That dry land and animate life, but not matter, had a beginning, and that, before the present order of things, water held all things in solution, are opinions common among primitive races, and one of the most widely spread mythic symbols is the egg. The expression in Gen. 1, "and the breath of Elohim was brooding² (נָשָׁף) over the surface of the waters," has its best illustration (in the absence of the mythic original which probably represented the deity as a bird) in the common Polynesian representation of Tangaloa, the god of heaven, and of the atmosphere, as a bird which hovered over the ocean-waters, till, as it is sometimes said, he laid an egg³ (the world-egg). This egg is the world-egg, and we may suppose that 'in the earliest form of the [Hebrew] narrative it may have been said "the bird of Elohim"; "wind" appears to be an interpretation.'⁴ The forcible separation of heaven and earth (Gen. 1:7-10) is illustrated, not only by the interesting Egyptian myth mentioned above (§ 8), but also by the delightful Maori story told by Sir George Grey, and illustrated by Lang in a not less delightful essay (*Custom and Myth*, 45 ff.). The anecdotal character of myths like these adds to their charm. It is only in the last stage of a religion that cosmogonies are systematised,—

Greek endings, each the little passing-bell

That signifies some faith's about to die,

though the death-struggle may be prolonged, and may issue in a higher life.

We have thus seen that the Creation-story in Gen. 1 is

¹ Gunkel less naturally thinks that in the formula, "And God saw that it was good," there is an implied contrast to the evil state called *tohu-bohu* (chaos).

² The word נָשָׁף (Piel) occurs only twice, and both times (as in Syriac) of a bird's brooding. See Dt. 32:11, and Driver's note (*Deut.* 358, foot), also We. *Prol.* (6) 395 (127) Jer. 23:9, should be נָשָׁף (Grätz). Hence the Talmudists compared the divine spirit to a dove (cp. Mt. 23:6 Mk. 1:10 Lk. 8:22). The Phœnician myth, in the very late form known to us, has lost all trace of the bird-symbol; it speaks only of a wind (נִיחַ).

³ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol.* 6:241. In Egypt, too, the first creative act begins with the formation of an egg; but it is the egg of the sun, and nothing is said of a bird which laid the egg (see Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. der alten Ägypter*, 105 ff.).

⁴ EB art. "Cosmogony," 1877. In 1855 the same idea occurred to Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 8). It is of course not a storm-bird that is meant; storm-birds are not uncommon; see, e.g., the Babylonian myth of Adapa, in which the south wind is represented as having wings, and cp. Ps. 18:10 [11]. See WINDS.

2:47 is not, as Wellhausen represents (above, § 5), merely

the product of reflection. It has a considerably mythic substratum. That substratum is mainly Babylonian; but Egyptian and even Persian influence is not excluded. Indeed, for that singular passage Gen. 1:2, Egyptian influence, either direct or more probably (through Phœnician or Canaanitish mythology) indirect, seems to be suggested. We are thus brought face to face with a new problem. How is it that the Priestly Writer, with his purified theology, and his comparatively slight interest in popular tradition, should have adopted so much mythology as the basis of his statement that 'God created the heaven, the earth, and all that is in the earth, and hallowed the seventh day'?

If the Yahwist had given a creation-story, corresponding to his Flood-story, the phenomena of Gen. 1:2 would not be so surprising. The Priestly Writer might thus be taken to have acted consistently by giving an improved version of both traditional stories.¹ But we have no Yahwist creation-story, except indeed in a fragmentary form, and though the lost portion of the cosmogonic preface to J's Paradise-story (based probably on a Canaanitish story) must have differed greatly from the cosmogony in Gen. 1, yet it is most improbable that P would spontaneously have thought of competing with J by producing a new semi-Babylonian cosmogony. In the next place it should be noticed that the Flood-story which J has borrowed, directly or indirectly, from Babylon, stands in Babylonian mythology in close connection with the creation-story; the two events are in fact only separated by the ten antediluvian Chaldean kings and an uncertain interval between creation and the foundation of a dynasty. The list of the ten kings is certainly represented, however imperfectly, by J's Cainite genealogy (see CAINITES § 3 f.); it is probable therefore that J (as represented by the stratum called J₂) originally had a creation-story with strong Babylonian affinities, and that P used this story as the basis of his own cosmogony.

Accepting this hypothesis, we are no longer surprised at the echoes of mythology in Gen. 1:1-2:47. Underneath P we recognise the débris of the cosmogony of J₂. The Priestly Writer did not go out of his way to collect Babylonian mythic data; he simply adopted and adapted the work of a much earlier writer.

The hypothesis is due to the sagacity of Bédé,² and more clearly we discern the mythic elements in P's cosmogony, the more probable and indeed inevitable does the hypothesis become. That the old cosmogony has been lost, is much to be deplored; but we can easily believe that it would have been too trying to devout members of the 'congregation' to have had before them in the same book the early and almost half-heathenish recension of a Canaanitish-Babylonian cosmogony produced by J₂ and the much more sober but in all essentials thoroughly orthodox recast of this recension due to the Priestly Writer. Whether the latter found any reference to the sabbath in the older story which might seem to justify his insertion of the divine appointment of the sabbath, we do not know. Jensen finds a reference to the 17th and 14th days of the month in the fifth tablet of the epic (*Il.* 17 f.), and Zimmermann even inserts conjecturally 'on the sabbath' (line 18); but whether any part of this obscure passage lay in any form before J₂, must remain uncertain.

The explanation given by Zimmermann (above, § 4) does justice, as no other explanation can do, to the circumstances and the ideas of the ancient Babylonians at a comparatively remote period. If it somewhat closely resembles the explanation of the Babylonian flood-story, this is no objection. The post-diluvian earth may in a qualified sense be called a new earth, and some mythologies expressly recognise that the present creation is rather a re-creation.³ Still, it

¹ P has in fact given his own Flood-story in which the tradition of J is harmonised with P's theory of the history of cultus. See DEUTERONOMY, § 4 f.

² *Utrecht*, 470-492; *ZATW* 6:37 ff. [186]. Cp Bacon, *Gen.* 335 ff. (note).

³ See, e.g., the legend of the (non-Aryan) Santals of Bengal in Hunter's *Rural Bengal*, 150 f.

would be rash to suppose that even this explanation entirely accounts for the Babylonian myth. It may very possibly have been the theory of the most thoughtful of the Babylonian priests—of those who did most for the systematising of the mythic details. The details, however, are themselves so peculiar that they invite a close examination and a fuller application of the comparative method. When this has been given we see that a long mythic development must have preceded the story of the creation epic, which is not like an isolated rock rising out of a vast plain, but like a tree which derives its sustenance from a rich vegetable mould, itself of very gradual formation. It is out of the mould of primeval folklore that the great creation-myth has drawn its life; later ages recombined the old material, and gave the result a new meaning. Man invents but little; the Babylonians, we may be sure, borrowed their dragon-myth, and much besides, from earlier races, whose modes of thought lie outside of our present field of study.

The comparative lateness of the 'epic' (the title is not inappropriate) which Asur-bani-pal added to his royal library, is too obvious to require argument; but it is plain also that it is based upon archaic materials. In particular the myth of Apšu and Tiamat can be traced as far back as to 1500 B.C. through inscriptions which refer to the 'abysses' or 'seas' of Babylonian temples (see NEHUSHTAN § 2); these 'seas' were in fact trophies of the victory of the young Sun-god over the primeval, cosmic sea, with which Tiamat is to be identified. In 1500 B.C. this myth was doubtless already of immemorial antiquity.

Other less elaborate creation-stories are known to us—specimens of the very varied traditions which had at least a local circulation. Some are

14. Parallel forms.

Damascus, others have only lately been revealed to us by T. G. Pinches and his predecessor the lamented G. Smith, whom Asur-bani-pal would certainly have recognised as worthy to have been one of the *dupārri*, or scribes, of his library, for it was he who was the discoverer and the first translator of Asur-bani-pal's great 'Creation-epic.'

The Greek-reading world owed its chief acquaintance with Babylonian mythology to a Greek-writing priest

15. Berosus.

of Bēl named Bērōssus (about 280 B.C.). It is unfortunate that we know his book *sian*, etc. *Χαλδαϊκά* only from very imperfect extracts;¹ but, considering his competence and his unique opportunities of consulting ancient documents, we cannot afford to neglect these extracts. One of the most important of them is a fragment of a cosmogony. Its resemblances to statements in both the creation-stories of Genesis, especially the first, are obvious. Among them we may mention (1) the description of the primeval darkness and water, (2) the name *Θαυρε* (cp. *תַּוַּרַע*), translated *θαλασσα*, which is given to the woman who ruled over the monsters of chaos,² and (3) the origin ascribed to heaven and earth, which arose out of the two halves of the body of *Θαυρε*, cut asunder by Bēl, while the creation of man by one of the gods (at Bēl's command), who mixed with clay the blood which flowed from the severed head, not of Bēl, but of the dragon Tiamat,³ may be compared, or contrasted, with Gen. 2:7.

¹ See Müller, *Frage. Hist. Græc.* 2:407; Bédé, *Genes.* 473-481; and cp. Tiele, *Bibl. 11*; Scher., *op. cit.* 1:105.

² According to Robertson Smith's happy restoration, *ZA* 6:336. The text here was *ἄσπασσ*.

³ Cp. those monsters with the 'helpers of Rahab' in Job 9:13 RV, and with the 'four beasts' which came up from the 'great sea' (Dan. 7:2-4). The latter passage is eschatological. The powers of evil will again be let loose and rule upon earth, but will at last be overcome (cp. ANTICHRIST, § 4).

⁴ The correction of *ταυρο* (twice) in the text of Bērōssus (in Syncellus, 59 f.) is due to Dindorf; but its importance was noticed first by Stucken (*Astralmythen* 1:53). The text is translated by Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1:507, and Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 19. Just before mention has been made of the formations of earth

The theogony of Damascius¹ (6th cent. A.D.) is at first sight of less importance. It shows, however, more clearly than the Berossian fragment that the essential features of the story of the epic were well known, for the two chief mythic names mentioned by Damascius—viz. *Tiāntē* and *Amāraū*—are plainly derived from Tiāmat and Apšū, whilst the only begotten son of this couple is Mōūpas, which corresponds to the obscure name Mummu in the epic (Tab. 1, ll. 4, 13; see above, § 2, second note).

We now turn to the cuneiform records, among which the so-called Chaldean cosmogony *IKP² 1.100.7 ff.* is not to be included. The chief of these is the great Creation-epic, of which the reader has already heard. Its place of origin was, of course, Babylon, as appears

from the fact that its hero is the god Marduk, who was the patron of Babylon. Obviously this is only one of several local versions of the primitive myth. In the original story Bel of Nippur was, no doubt, the great god who overcame Tiāmat, and prepared the way for creation. The priests of the other sacred cities, however, had to protect the interests of their patron deities, and local Creation-myths were the result.

(b) In another version of the myth,² the fight between the divine champion and Tiāmat occurs after the creation, and is waged for the deliverance of gods and man alike. 'Who will set forth (to slay) the dragon, to rescue the wide earth and seize the royal power? Set forth, O God SŪĪ, slay the dragon, rescue the wide earth, and seize the royal power.' An extravagant account is given (in the manner of the Jewish Talmud) of the dragon's size, and it is said that when the dragon was slain its blood flowed night and day for three years and three days and months. This may suggest the ultimate mythic origin of 'a time, times, and a half' in Dan. 12.7 Rev. 12.14.

(c) A much fuller and, if we assume its antiquity, more important narrative is the 'non-Semitic' one translated by Pinches in 1890 from a bilingual text discovered by G. Smith.³ It is a mixture of creation- and culture-myth, and as a culture-myth we have already had occasion to refer to it (see CAINTES, § 3). The creation-story is given only in allusions. It is stated that once upon a time there was no vegetation, and 'all the lands' (of Babylonia?) were sea. Then there arose a movement in the sea, and the most ancient cities and temples of Babylonia were created. Next the subordinate divine beings called Anunnaki were created, after which Marduk set a reed on the water,⁴ formed dust, and poured it out beside the reed. Then, 'to cause the gods to dwell in a delightful place,' he made mankind (cp Gen. 1.26 f.) with the co-operation of

¹ See the text of the two parts of *Quaestiones* (with which the reporter of Bérōssus identifies Tiāmat). It stands to reason that the severed head spoken of in connection with the creation of man must be Tiāmat's, not that of the Creator, though Eusebius already had before him the reading *ἑαυτοῦ* (see Biddle, *Utrecht*, 479). The passage is therefore not a statement of the slaying of the goddess and man (WESK. *Rev.*, Nov. 2, 1910, though it is of course to be assumed that the god spoken of made man in his own physical likeness (cp Maspero, *Daum of Civ.* 110). Strange to say, the name *Quaestiones* seems to have come into the text of Bérōssus by mistake. For most likely it is a corruption of Marduk (Jastrow, *Rev. of Bab. and Ass.* 5; cp J. H. Wright, *ibid.* 110). The story, however, is only intelligible on the theory adopted in this note.

² See *Schöb.*, I, 122; Jastrow, *Kosmog.*, 270 ff.

³ See Zimmern, *Z.A.*, 1897, 317 ff. The story relates to the mythical history of a king of the primitive age, and is not cosmogonic.

⁴ See Zimmern's transl. in Gunkel, *Schöb.*, 417-419. The colophon assigns this tablet also to the library of Āsur-bāni-pal.

⁵ Pinches, *R. P.*, 2, 109 ff.; cp Hamard, *Deutsche Rundschau*, (97), pp. 105-114. A. Jeremias represents this and similar myths as artificial products, composed in a Babylonian interest (*Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, iii. 1. 108); but the priests certainly did not invent altogether.

⁶ Cp the name 'land of reeds and canals,' given to S. Babylonia on the vessels of Eaagana, king of Erech, before 4500 B.C.; and see the illustration of gigantic Chaldean reeds, Maspero, *Daum of Civ.*, 55a.

the goddess Aruru (whom we shall have to refer to again, col. 9.49, n. 4). We are allowed to infer that this waste of water had been converted into a fruitful plain by the industry of the newly created men, acting under the direction of the gods; and to these gods is ascribed the greatest of all human works, the erection of the sacred cities of Babylonia with their temples. Thus the most characteristic part of the Babylonian myth—viz., the fight of the sun-god with Tiāmat—is conspicuous by its absence. The reader should notice this, as it illustrates one of the two chief Hebrew cosmogonies (see below, § 20 [c]).

The statement that the myth which underlies Gen. 1 is of Babylonian origin may now be supplemented thus.

1. The epic of Āsur-bāni-pal's library stands at the height of a great mythic development. We cannot

therefore presume that we have recovered the exact form of the Babylonian myth on which the narrative in Gen. 1 (or the earlier narrative out of which that in Gen. 1 has grown) is based.

2. Since there were several creation-stories in Babylonia, it is *a priori* probable that other stories besides that referred to may, either as wholes or in parts, have influenced the creation-stories in Palestine.

These reasonable inferences suggest two fresh inquiries. We have to ask, 1. What is the earliest date at which

the adoption of Babylonian myths by the Israelites is historically conceivable? and 2. What evidence have we of the existence of other Hebrew creation-myths than that in Gen. 1.1-2.42, some of which may even enable us to fill up incomplete parts of that narrative?

In reply to the first question it is enough to refer to recent studies on the Amarna tablets. The letters in Babylonian cuneiform sent by kings and governors of Western Asia to Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. prove that, even before the Egyptian conquests and the rise of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonian culture had spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. 'Religious myths must have formed part of this culture.'¹ It is therefore in the highest degree probable that Babylonian creation- and deluge-myths penetrated into Canaan before the fifteenth century B.C., and as soon as the Israelites became settled in Palestine they would have opportunities enough of absorbing these myths.

At the same time it should be noticed that there are also several other periods in Israelitic history when either an introduction of new or a revival of old myths is historically conceivable.² The first is the time of David and Solomon. The former appears to have had a Babylonian secretary (see SHAVSHA); the latter admitted into his temple a brazen 'sea' (representing, as shown already, the primeval *ḥām* or *tiāmat*) and a brazen serpent (representing the dragon; see NEHUSHTAN). The second is the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when Aramæan, Assyrian, and neo-Babylonian influences became exceedingly strong, and were felt even in the sphere of religion. The third and fourth are the exilic and post-exilic periods, when (see e.g., Job and Is. 40-55) there was a revival of mythology which the religious organisation of Judaism could neutralise but not put down.

In replying to the second question (as to the evidence for other cosmogonic stories in the OT), we must of course be satisfied with very incomplete references. Such we can find both in pre-exilic and in post-exilic writings. Pre-exilic references occur in (a) Gen. 49.25, in (*in*) Judg. 5.20, and especially in (c) the introduction to the Eden-story; post-exilic in

1 Che. *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1891, p. 964.

2 This has been repeatedly shown by Cheyne (see e.g., *Job and Solomon*, 26-28; *OP.*, 202, 258-270, 279, 321); cp Gunkel, *Schöb.*, which, in spite of some critical deficiencies (see notice in *Crit. Rev.*, July 1895), is too ingenious and instructive not to be recommended to advanced students.

(d) Job 157 f. (e) 384-11 (f) Prov. 822-31 (besides the passages on the DRAGON).

(a) The phrase in the Blessing of Joseph, 'the flood (*shohor*) coming¹ beneath' (cp Gen 712), is certainly the echo of a Tiamat-myth, and (b) the 'stars from their roads' (a Babylonian phrase²) in Judg. 520 of a myth like that in the fifth tablet of the epic.

(c) Gen. 246-7 needs more special, even if brief, treatment. It runs thus, the original introduction of the Eden story having been abridged by the editor of JEP.

... when Yahweh [Elohim] made earth and heaven. Now there were no bushes as yet upon the earth, and no bushes as yet sown seed, for Yahweh [Elohim] had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was no man to till the ground, but a flood³ used to come up from the earth and drench the whole face of the ground; then Yahweh [Elohim] formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils breath of life, and man became a living being.

Evidently this belongs to the second section of a mythological creation-story, and its details are all of Babylonian origin. Like Pinches' non-Semitic creation-story (above, § 16 [d]), it describes, though with mythic exaggeration, the phenomena witnessed by the first colonists of Babylonia. The extremely small rainfall in Lower Mesopotamia was remarked upon by Herodotus (I 193); consequently, without the careful direction and control of the yearly inundation of the Euphrates and the Tigris the land would be either marsh or desert. Water-plants there must have been for a season even in the most desolate tracts; but the myth-writers imagine a time when even reeds had not yet appeared, and when 'all the lands were sea' (myth. I. 10), since 'a flood used to come up (it seemed) from the earth' (Gen. 26). Next, the Hebrew writer tells us that Yahweh formed man out of dust (27), just as, in the myth (II. 20 f.), Marduk, with the help of the potter-goddess Aruru,⁴ makes man (no doubt) of clay, and somewhat as, in the story of Berosus (see above, § 15), one of the gods forms men out of earth moistened with Tiamat's (not Bel's) blood. The sequel in the Hebrew story has obviously been abridged. There must have been some reference to the peaceful subjugation of the yearly flood, otherwise how could Yahweh have 'planted a garden (or park) in Eden' (v. 8)? So in the old myth we hear next that Marduk made the Tigris and the Euphrates 'in their places,' the reeds and the woods, and the green of the fields (II. 23-26). Besides this affinity of its contents to the non-Semitic Creation-myth the Yahwistic passage has a striking resemblance in form to the first tablet of the Creation-epic, which, as it now stands, is of course a Semitic work.

On (d) Job 157 f., (e) 384-11, (f) Prov. 822-31 we must be brief.

In (d) we have apparently a reference to a more heroic *πρωτόγονος* than the Adam of the Yahwist (like 21. Post-exilic. the Yima of the Avesta and the Maui of New Zealand mythology, and somewhat like the Adapa of a Babylonian myth),⁵ who shared the privileges of the divine or semi-divine members of the council of Elohah. This first man was an embodiment of absolute Wisdom, and it is noteworthy that the

¹ The name suggests a wild beast (Gen. 499). The same epithet (*ribis*) is given to Nergal, the god of the nether world in the Gilgames-epic (Tab. xii., in Jeremias, *Vorstellungen*, 63a).

² *שָׁמַיִם* Bab. *shamim*, plur. *shamim* (שָׁמַיִם). Cp *ka kakkabini shamme al-kat-su-nu* 'the way of the stars of heaven' (Ibid., *ss. III*).

³ = Ass. *shu* (*shu*), 'flood, waves, high tide' (so Frd. Del., Lyon, *Hommes*). The cylinder inscription of Sargon states that he planned great irrigation works for desert lands, opening the dams, and causing the waters to flow everywhere *ki giish edii*, 'like the exuberance of a flood.'

⁴ Aruru probably means 'potter' (Jensen). In the Gilgames-epic (834) this goddess kneads Eabani out of clay (*utu*). The Yahwist puts 'dust' (*ayin*) for 'clay' (*ayin*); but we find the latter word in Job 33⁶, *ayin* (the same root *ayin* is used in the epic).

⁵ Cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 659 ff.

same word *shamim* 'to be brought forth,' is used of this wondrous personage and of the Wisdom who is described in Prov. 8, and that, equally with the Wisdom of Proverbs, the first man spoken of by Eliphaz came into existence before the hills. This myth has a very Babylonian appearance, and may conceivably belong to the same cycle as the myth of Enoch (= Noah, the 'first man' of the second age of the world), who was said to have derived his wisdom from his intercourse with angels.

In (e) Job 384-11 we find the singular notion (v. 7) that the stars are older than the earth. In the creation-epic the creation of the stars as 'stations for the great gods' (see STARS, § 3 d), follows on the subjugation of the dragon of chaos and the creation of heaven and earth (out of the carcass of Tiamat). The Hebrew poet, however, does not perhaps consider this story, or even its purified offshoot in Gen. 1, to be a worthy representation. Heaven and its stars must always have existed for Yahweh and the 'holy ones' to dwell in (cp Is. 2619, 'dew of lights' and the 'endless lights' where Ahura dwells, I in the Avesta). He admits, indeed, that the ocean once on a time resisted Yahweh, and was forced into obedience (cp Ps. 1046-9). Of a separation of upper and lower waters, however, he has nothing to say.

In (f) Prov. 822-31 we find the same careful restriction of the mythological element. The mysterious caprices of the ocean still suggest a primeval rebellion on its part against Yahweh; but this is described in the simplest manner. Of a time when chaos reigned supreme we hear nothing. Yahweh and Wisdom were together before the earth was.² In fact the new quasi-mythic representation of Wisdom was incompatible with the antique Babylonian cosmogony.

These passages seem to show that there was a great variety of view in the post-exilic period respecting the

22. Prophetical and historical writers.

best way of imagining creation. Some writers seem to have refused the dragon-myth (except in the palest form); others seem to have found it symbolically useful. To this we shall return presently (§ 23). There is a remarkable phenomenon respecting the pre-exilic time which has a prior claim on our attention. Though both J₁ and J₂ have a cosmogony (§ 12), there is an almost complete silence respecting such myths in the pre-exilic prophetic literature. There is, in fact, only one passage (Am. 9) that remotely suggests the existence of a creation-myth. This obscure passage has been considered elsewhere (see SERPENT, § 3 f.), and it may suffice here to point out that mythology did not come naturally to the early Israelites, and that one great aim of the prophets was to recall their countrymen to old Israelitish ways: Solomon who affected foreign fashions was no true Israelite. We need not be surprised, therefore, at the scanty references in the greater prophets to such figures of the Babylonian and Canaanitish myths as the Dragon, the Cherubim, the Seraphim. It is to a historical writer that we are indebted for the information that there was a brazen serpent, symbolising probably the Dragon (see NEHUSHTAN, § 2), in Solomon's temple. At a later period (post-exilic) references to the Chaos-dragon, to the subjugation of the primeval sea by Yahweh, and to some other features of mythic tradition, abound. Nor was the spring of mythic imagery dried up even in still later times, as the apocalyptic writings show. See DRAGON, RAHAB, SERPENT, ANTICHRIST, ABOIMINATION OF DESOLATION, ABYSS, ARMAGEDDON, APOCALYPSE.

If the above presentation of facts be correct, it is a

¹ So, in Babylonian mythology, the sky-god Anu dwells in the highest region of the universe, in the north towards the pole, where no storm can dim the perpetual brilliance (see Jensen, *Kosmos*, 65). It is the 'heaven of Anu, in which the inferior gods take refuge at the Deluge' (Deluge-story, I. 108).

² The text of this fine passage is not free from corruption. See *Che. Jewish Rel. Life*, Leut. ix., and cp Gunkel, *ibid.* 93 f.

mistake to assert that the Israelites had, from their entrance into Canaan onwards, a fairly complete creation-myth, in which Yahwè took the place of Marduk, and *Ēhōm*, *Īyūyāthān*, *tannin*, *rahab*, etc., that of the dragon *Tiamat*. This theory has indeed been vigorously defended by Gunkel; but it is liable to grave critical objections. It is a significant fact that Amos (see last §) has little if any comprehension of the mythical serpent (שָׂרָפ), and that the Israelites who worshipped in Solomon's temple completely misunderstood the true meaning of 'Nehustan,' while from the time of the Babylonian 'exile' unmistakable references to the dragon-myth abound. This implies, not of course that there was not previously a Hebrew dragon-myth, but that a revival of mythology had brought the old myth into fresh prominence. It is probable that before the 'exile' the cosmogonic myths of the Israelites at large were in a very fragmentary state, and that if the myth on which the creation-story of Gen. 1 is based then existed (as it most probably did), it was uncomprehended by the people, and had no influence upon their thoughts. It appears, however, that, from the last pre-exilic century onwards, increased contact with Syria and (especially) Babylonia brought about a reawakening of the mythological interest, and that the myths which at a very early date had been derived by the Israelites from the Canaanites, were revived by religious writers (not prophets, at any rate in the proper sense of the word) and adapted to general use. This was done, sometimes with a rougher, sometimes with a gentler hand, but always without any dangerous concession to antiquated, naturalistic religion—a grand result, which the Babylonian priests, noble as their own higher religion was, never accomplished. To inquire into the cause of this success belongs to the history of Jewish religion.

The question has been raised whether Gen. 1:1-2:4 is, or is not, a poem. The theory was first propounded by d'Étallat, *Texte primitif de premier récit de la Création* (175), who found a true poem, composed of perfectly regular strophes, but was then distorted by the editor (32 f.). Briggs (*Old Test. Student*, April '84) added to this the discovery of a metre (five tones in each line with caesura). The possibility of this is established by the undoubted existence of metre in the Babylonian creation-epic (see Del. *Weltgeschöpfung*); but unless we had before us l_2 's form of the creation-story, how could we expect to restore without arbitrariness the true Hebrew metre?

II. *Conceptions of Creation*.—It has been shown above that here circulated in Judah in the regal period at least two mythic stories of creation (cp § 22), both of which were directly or indirectly of Babylonian origin. It is still with the former that we are specially concerned for the present. That there is no clear reference to this myth in the fragmentary remains (cp below, § 29) of the pre-exilic prophets, is, no doubt, a fact which has to be accounted for; but when we consider the Canaanitish-Babylonian origin of the myth we cease to be surprised at it. Certainly Isaiah and the other great prophets believed in the creatorship of Yahwè; but they could not have given their sanction to even a simplified edition of any of the grotesque and heathenish myths of the Canaanites and the Babylonians. Why, then, it may be asked, did they not, like the Second Isaiah (Is. 40-48), preach the creatorship of Yahwè without any mythic ornamentation? The answer is, that their object was not to teach an improved theology, but to dispel those illusions which threatened, they believed, to involve good and bad Israelites alike in one common ruin. The pre-exilic prophets were preachers of judgment: the truth they had to announce was that Yahwè was not merely the god of Israel, but also the moral governor of the world,

who would punish all guilty nations, and more especially the most favoured nation, the Israelites. It was for the late exilic and the post-exilic prophets and other religious writers, whose function was, not so much threatening, as edification and consolation, to draw out the manifold applications of that other great truth that Yahwè is the creator of the world.

On the pre-exilic conception of creation, therefore, not much can be said. There were, no doubt, hymns to

26. Pre-exilic traces. Yahwè as the creator; but the divine creatorship was not a central truth in that early age, and could not have been expressed in a form congenial to the later worshippers. We have, however, a fragment of a song in the Book of Jashar (1 K. 8:12 f.), which the narrator who quotes it ascribes to Solomon. With the help of the LXX we may restore it thus:—

The sun did Yahwè settle in heaven,
But he said he would (himself) dwell in dark clouds.
I have built a lofty house for thee,
A settled place for thy perpetual habitation.¹

Here Yahwè is described as the creator of the sun. He is therefore greater than the solar deity Marduk, the creator in the Babylonian cosmogony. None of the heavenly bodies serves Yahwè as a mansion; dark clouds are round about him (cp Ps. 97:2 18:1, שָׁמַיִם again). It is of his condescension that he dwells in Solomon's temple, which will therefore be as enduring as the sun in the firmament (cp Ps. 78:69). Considering that Solomon (it would seem) put up in the temple a trophy of Yahwè's victory over the Dragon of chaos (see NEHUSHTAN), it is conceivable, though scarcely probable, that a hymn to the creator which contained these four lines was actually written for use at the dedication of the first temple. At any rate, even if not of the Solomonic age, the fragment is presumably pre-exilic, and confirms the idea that the creation of the world (*i.e.*, the world known to the Israelites) was early spoken of as a proof of Yahwè's greatness. Nor can we be surprised that some scanty reference to Yahwè as the Maker κατ' ἔξοχῆς is traceable in pre-exilic proper names (see NAMES, § 30, and cp the Bab. and Ass. names Sin-bani, Bel-bani, Bel-ibni).

It was the Second Isaiah, however, so far as we know, who made the creatorship of Yahwè a fundamental Jewish belief. Is. 40 gives the key to the later doctrine of creation. Living after the collapse of the ancient state, and amidst new scenery and other men, gifted moreover with a tenderly devout spirit and a rich poetic imagination, the Second Isaiah felt what was needed to regenerate Jewish religion—a wider view of the divine nature. To him Yahwè was far too high for the common sacrificial cultus, far too great to be merely a local deity; both nature and mankind owed their existence to Yahwè. He had indeed chosen Israel for a special possession; but it was for purely moral ends. Therefore Israel's fall could not be for ever; Israel's and the world's creator would certainly, for his own great ends, restore his people. Let Israel then look up to him as the creator of all things, and therefore also as the Redeemer (בַּרְא) of Israel. However the Second Isaiah does not stop here. He rectifies some of the notions which were presumably current among the Israelites—old notions, now awaking to a fresh life under Babylonian influence. Israel was, no doubt, one of the youngest of the nations; but Yahwè was not, like Marduk, according to the old myth, one of the youngest of the gods; 'before me (Yahwè) no god was made' (Is. 43:10). Nor

¹ The passage is given in a fuller form in \mathfrak{B}^{93a} : after ν : 33 (than in MT), with an introductory and a closing formula. The former runs, 'Then spake Solomon concerning the house when he had finished building it'; the latter, 'Surely it is written $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ θεοποιος τις $\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ '. In line 1 read $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ ν : 37, with \mathfrak{B}^{93a} , rather than $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ ν : 37, which K. prefers, and in line 2 $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ ν : 37 [AL] rather than $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ ν : 37. Cp JASHAR, BOOK OF, § 3.

instead of Γαλατίας in 2 Tim. 4.10. Gallia is a natural emendation, possibly a right interpretation, of Galatia—'in accordance with the later usage as regards Gaul, both Galatia and Gaul having in St. Paul's time usually, if not always, alike been called Γαλατία by the Greeks' (W.H.). Cp GALATIA.

In the list of the seventy apostles compiled by the Pseudo-Dionysius (see *CRISTO*, *Παύλος*, Bonn Ed., 2.100) Crescents is enumerated as 'bishop of Chalcidion in Gaul' (Χαλκιδόνος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Γαλατίας); it that division are by Pseudo-Hippolytus the apostles as 'Cresces' bishop of Chalcidion in Gaul'. According to the Pseudo-Dionysius, who enumerates Timothy, Titus, Crescents, and the Ethiopian eunuch immediately after the twelve apostles, he was founder of the church of Vienne in Gaul. The Latin church commemorates him on June 27; the Greek on July 30 (along with Silas, Andronicus, and Erastus). See Lipsius, *Die 70 Apostel*, 1.100.

CRESCENTS (הַרְרִיטִים), Judg. 8.24 RV (AV 'ornaments'), Is. 38.17 RV (AV 'round tires like the moon'). See NATURE.

CRETE (κρήνη; mod. *Candia*), the largest island in the Ægean sea, of which it is also the S. limit.

Crete extends 140 m. from W. to E., consisting of an irregular ridge of mountains which fall into three distinct groups, the central and loftiest (mod. *Pisioriti*) being the Mount Ida of the ancients. The N. coast is broken into a series of large bays and promontories; on the S. there are few harbours, and only one considerable bay—that of Messara, under Mt. Ida. The physical character of Crete is succinctly described by Strabo (4.7.2; *ἡ κρήνη οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσημερία, ἀλλὰ ἀνισόμοτος ἀνισοπέδιλος*).

Lying at almost equal distance from Europe, Asia, and Africa, Crete was one of the earliest stages in the passage of Oriental civilisation to the W. In historical times it was of little importance—chiefly as a recruiting ground for mercenary troops (Pol. 31.26. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4.3; cp 1 Macc. 11.31).¹ Quintus Metellus reduced the island in 67 B.C., and it was combined with the Cyrenaica to form one province—senatorial under the emperors.

The Jews were early connected with Crete (cp the story told in Tac. *Hist.* 5.2 that the Jews were originally fugitives from Crete). In *CRISTO** of Ezek. 25.16 and Zeph. 2.5 [BNAQ] *Krētes* is read for the 'Cherethites' or 'Cherethims' (כְּרִיתִים) of EV, and *Krēthē* [BNAQ] in Zeph. 2.6 for כְּרִת, which, however, is certainly not Crete, but denotes 'land of the Cherethites'—i.e., Philistia. *Krētes* also occurs in *CR* of Ezek. 30.5 apparently for כְּרִית. See CHERETHITES; and, on the hypothesis connecting the Philistines with Crete, CAPITOR, PHILISTINES. Gortyna (near modern *H. Deka* in the Messara, the only considerable plain in the island) is mentioned as containing many Jews (1 Macc. 15.23 cp 10.67), and Philo (*Leg. ad Cai.* 36) says that Crete, like all the Mediterranean islands, was full of them (cp Acts 2.11 Tit. 1.10.14, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 12.1, *I'ta*, § 76).

The account of Paul's voyage to Rome furnishes several geographical details. From Cnidus his ship ran under the lee of Crete (Acts 27.7 *ὑπεκλείψαμεν τὴν κρήνην κατὰ Σαλιμόννην*), and some time appears to have been spent in the shelter of the Fair Havens. Whether the apostle was able to accomplish there any missionary work cannot even be guessed; and, we are thus left without any information as to the process of the evangelisation of the island. When we next hear of it the gospel has apparently been widely established (see PASTORAL EPISTLES).

The character of the Cretans as gathered from the epistle to Titus, is entirely in accord with what is known from other sources. The epistle (Tit. 1.12) quotes 'a prophet of their own' (i.e., Epimenides, called *θεὸς ἀνθρώπων* by Plato, *Lives*, 1.642; *θεοφάνης* Plut. *Sol.* 12), who stigmatised them as liars and beasts. It was a popular saying that it was impossible to out-crate a Cretan (Pol. 8.21, cp Pol. 6.46. f. 8.18 33.16). Polybius (6.46) writes that 'greed and avarice are so native to the soil in Crete, that they are the only people

¹ They were mostly archers: Paus. i. 23.4, 'Ἐλάσσον ὄντι μὲν Κρητῶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἢ τοξόταις. Their internal divisions kept the Cretans in military training: cp Pol. 4.4.24.

among whom no stigma attaches to any sort of gain whatever' (cp Tit. 1.11, 'teaching things which they ought not for an ignominious gain'—a similar phrase occurs in Tit. 1.7). The repetition of the thought of Tit. 1.7 *ἢ ἢ παροικῶν*, 2.2 *ἐπαρρησιώσιν*, 2.3 *μηδὲ οὐκ ὠμῶν δειδουλωμένον* is equally ominous (Cretan wine was famous in antiquity; cp *Juv. Sat.* 14.270). Tit. 3.1 bears obvious reference to the turbulence of the Cretans, a characteristic which runs through their history.

For Crete as the 'stepping stone of Continents,' see A. J. Evans on 'Primitive Pictographs from Crete' in *J. H. Sted. Stud.* 14 (1941). W. J. W.

CRIB (כַּרְסִי), Is. 13, etc. See CATTLE, § 5.

CRICKET (הַרְרִיטִים), Lev. 11.22, RV. AV BEETLE *שְׂרָיִל*.

CRIME (צַדִּיקָה), Job 31.11; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10.7.

CRIMSON, תוֹלַעַת, *tōla'*, a word common in the fem. form תוֹלַעַת, *tōla'ah*, or תוֹלַעַת, *tōla'ath*, is used in Ex. 16.20 in the general sense of 'worm' [EV], in Is. 1.13 (EV 'crimson'), Lam. 4.5 (EV 'scarlet') for the crimson dye prepared from the body of the female *Coccus ilicis*, a Homopterous insect belonging to the family Coccidae.

The female, which grows to the size of a grain of corn, is in the adult or imago stage attached by its inserted proboscis into the leaves and twigs of the Syrian Holm-oak, whose juices it lives on. The male is winged and flies about. The bodies of the females are collected and dried, and from them are prepared the colouring matters known as Cochineal, Lake, and Crimson. Since the discovery of America a Mexican species of *Coccus*, *C. cacti*, which lives on the India fig, has largely supplanted the first-named species as the source of the pigment, and at the present day both have lost their commercial value owing to the invention of aniline dyes. In old literature the name *Kermes* (see below) is frequently used for *Coccus*.

Other names for this colour are כֶּרְמִים, *kāri* (Jer. 4.30, RV 'scarlet'; elsewhere EV 'scarlet'; see COLOURS, § 14) and the late equivalent כַּרְמִיטִים, *karmi't* (2 Ch. 27.14 [6.13] 3.14²). The origin of the termination *-it* in כַּרְמִיטִים is obscure; it can scarcely be explained (as in Ges.⁽¹⁰⁾) by the Pers. affix *-in*; for there is no word *kirmīn* in Pers., nor would it signify the colour if there were.

For Is. 63.1 (כַּרְמִיטִים) RV^{MS} 'crimsoned,' EV 'dyed', see COLOURS, § 13.7. N. M.—A. E. S.

CRISPING PINS (כְּרִיטִים), Is. 3.22. See BAG (2).

CRISPUS (κρίσπος [Ti. WH]; a Roman name), ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, and one of Paul's converts there (Acts 18.8 i Cor. 1.14).

In *Ap. Const.* 7.46 he is said to have been ordained bishop of Ægina. In *Mart. Rom. Vet.* he is commemorated on Oct. 4.

CROCODILE. 'Beasts of the reeds' is an alternative rendering (in AV^{MS}) of קַנָּה הַיָּמִית, Ps. 68.30 [31] (ἑθρία τοῦ κάλαμου), AV 'company of spearmen,' RV rightly 'wild beast of the reeds.' This means the crocodile (hardly Behémôth—i.e., the hippopotamus), used to symbolise the Egyptian power. Cp Hupfeld and Del. *ad loc.*

According to *CR* the צַב of Lev. 11.29 (AV 'tortoise') was a 'land-crocodile'; see LIZARD, 1. For 'land-crocodile,' RV's rendering of צַב, a kind of lizard (Lev. 11.30), see CHAMELEON, 1. For Jer. 14.6 RV^{MS} (כַּרְסִי; AV 'dragons,' RV 'jackals'), see DRAGON, § 4. For Job 41.1. RV^{MS} [40.25] (EV 'Leviathan,' AV^{MS} 'whale,' 'whirlpool'), see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN.

The animal described poetically in Job has generally been identified with the crocodile (see especially Boehart 3.737.7). Until recent times, when the propriety of

¹ Probably from Pers. *kirm*, 'a worm,' and perhaps akin to our 'crimson' and 'carmine' (see Skeat, *s.v.* 'crimson'). Cp Sans. *krimi*, which is probably identical with our word 'worm' (*ib. s.v.* 'worm'). On the other hand, Del. (*ZLT* 89.593 [78]) may be right in connecting Ar. and Pers. *kirmān*, from which *carmesīn* and *carmine* are most naturally derived, with an independent Turkish root beginning with *k* instead of *k*.

² The word כַּרְמִיטִים seems to have been read for כַּרְסִי by *CR* in Cant. 7.5 [6]. See HAIR.

and cp the symbolical phrase in Mt. 10:38 16:24) to which he was bound, along the public roads to an eminence (see GOLGOTHA) outside the city gates (Cic. *Verr.* 5.69; *Plaut. Mil. glori.* ii. 46). In front of him went a herald bearing a tablet (*titulus*; Suet., *Cal.* 32) of condemnation, or he himself carried the *atria* (cp *stipes*, Suet. *HE* 1:7; *πίναξ*, *lassos*, *HE* v. 1:44; *λέκωμα*, *Soz. HE* 1:17) suspended by a cord from his neck (Suet. *Calig.* 32; *Domit.* 10; Dio Cass. 54:3; Euseb. *HE* v. 1:44). On arrival at the place of execution the *cruciarus* was stripped of his clothing and laid on the ground upon his back. The cross-beam was then thrust under his head, and his arms were stretched out across it to the right and left and perhaps bound to the wood (cp *Lucan, Phars.* 6:543 f. *Plin. HN* xviii. 4:11), the hand being fastened by means of a long nail (cp *cruci figere, affigere*). Already, before or after the arrival of the condemned (see Cic. *Verr.* v. 66, and cp *Polyb.* i. 86:6; *Diod.* xxv. 5:2; *Jos. BJ* vii. 6:4), the upright stake had been firmly fastened in the ground. The cross-beam was then, with the help of ropes (cp perhaps *Plin. HN* xxix. 4:57) and perhaps of some other simple contrivance, raised to its place on the stake. Here it was hung provisionally, by a rope attached to its ends, on a firm nail or notch,¹ whilst the body was placed astride the lower peg in the stake, and the legs bound. The beams were then probably bound and nailed together at the point of intersection. Nails like those already used for the hands would be employed to fix the feet (Lk. 24:39; cp *Plautus, Mostel.* ii. 1:13; *Just. Dial.* chap. 97; *Tert. Adv. Marc.* 3:19, etc.), which were only slightly elevated above the ground. The nails were driven through each foot either in front, through the instep and sole, or at the side, through the *tendo Achillis*.² The body remained on the cross until it decayed (*Hor. Ep.* i. 16:48 *Lucan, Phars.* 6:543), or (from the time of Augustus) until it was given up to the friends of the condemned for burial (*Quintil. Decl.* 6:9; cp *Jos. BJ* iv. 5:2). Soldiers were set to watch the crucified (*Cic. Pro Rabir.* 4:11; *Petron. Sat.* 3; *Quint. Decl.* 6:9; *Mt.* 27:66 *Jn.* 19:23). Death resulted from hunger (Euseb. *HE* 8:8) or pain (Seneca, *Ep.* 101). To alleviate the latter the Jews offered the victim a stupefying draught (*Mk.* 15:23 *Mt.* 27:34 *Bab. Sanh.* f. 43:1). Breaking of the legs (*σκελετομία*; see § 6) was a distinct form of punishment among the Romans (Seneca, *De Ira* 3:32; Suet. *Aug.* 67; cp, however, Origen on *Mt.* 27:34).

M. A. C.

Modern realism takes an interest in these painful details which was unknown to primitive Christianity and to the evangelists. From an archaeological point of view this may be justified; but it is necessary to point out that the evangelists are entirely indifferent to the archaeology of the circumstances of the Passion. All indeed that they seem to care for is (1) the opportunity which the Cross gave for Christ to make fresh disclosures (in speech) of his wonderful character, and (2) the proofs which the Passion gave, as it appeared to them, of a pre-established harmony between prophecy and the life of Jesus. When the *ἐμπυριμένους ὄσους* (wine mingled with myrrh) or *ξίος* (vinegar) is mentioned, it is chiefly, we may presume, to suggest a connection with Ps. 69:21.³ So the 'casting lots' doubtless fixed

¹ Jeremy Taylor (*Life of Christ*) and Farrar (*Life of Christ*), assume that the body was nailed to a prostrate cross which was afterwards raised and fixed in its socket. Cp however, the expressions *crucem ascendere, in crucem excurrere, arripuerunt enim rōm etc.*

² See Brandt, *Die Evangelische Geschichte*, from which this part of the description is borrowed. For the two nails cp *Plautus, Mostel.* ii. 1:13 and see Meyer. Others (Keim, Farrar, etc.) think that only one nail was used.

³ This seems to be plain from the expression in *Mt.* 27:34 (WH and RV) 'wine mingled with gall'. The allusion is to Ps. 69:21 (χολή, 'gall,' would never have come in otherwise), and one remembers that Ps. 22 (from which the 'Eli, eli,' etc., of *Mt.* 27:46 is taken) is a fellow psalm to Ps. 69. See also Lk.

itself in tradition because of the parallelism of Ps. 22:16.¹ The only NT passages in which a clear trace of sympathy with the physical pains of Jesus is discernible are Lk. 22:44 and Heb. 5:7, especially the former. Here also great reserve is noticeable. Though Wetstein (*NT*, 1751) quotes several ancient writers who state that sweat, in some circumstances, is really tinged with blood,² yet the early writer of Lk. 22:43 f.³ contents himself with saying that the sweat of Jesus in his agony was 'as it were clots of blood' (*ὡσεὶ θρόμβου*

6. Death of Jesus.

NT writer had formed the idea that Jesus died of a broken heart, as W. Stroud, M.D., supposed (*Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, 1847)—certainly an idea for which many modern readers of the Gospel would be glad to find sufficient evidence. The hypothesis is based on *Jn.* 19:34, where we read that 'one of the soldiers with a spear pierced (ἐπέξε) his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water.' From a critical point of view, we can hardly say that the fact that Jesus received this wound after he had breathed his last is well established; theorising upon it therefore, with a view to determine the cause of Jesus' death, is excluded. We have reason to believe (see Origen, on *Mt.* 27:54) that a lance wound was sometimes given to those who were crucified to accelerate death. The probability is (if the kernel of *Jn.* 19:31-37 be accepted as historical) that the two malefactors first had their legs broken (*crucifragium*) and then received their *coup de grâce* by being pierced with a lance. This is not opposed to the literal interpretation of v. 34, for all that the evangelist denies is that the legs of Jesus were broken. That the statement of the 'eye-witness' (ὁ ὤψακός) has come down to us in its original form, cannot, however, safely be asserted, because of the impossibility of explaining the issuing of 'blood and water' from an internal source physiologically. Perhaps one may suppose that the writer of *Jn.* 19:31-37 in its present form has accommodated the facts of tradition (the tradition attested by the 'eye-witness') to his theological needs. There is a theological commentary on the 'blood and water' in *Jn.* 5:7 8 f., where the 'water' and the 'blood' have become, as it were, technical expressions for permanent supernatural channels of divine grace, though the commentary may to us (not to its first readers) be as obscure as the text.

¹ With regard to the hypothesis of Dr. Stroud (*viz.*, that death was sudden from rupture of the heart, and that the blood and water were the separated clot and serum of the escaped blood in the pericardial sac, which the spear had pierced), it is sufficient to mention the invariable fact, of which this physician appears to have been ignorant, that the blood escaping into a serum cavity from rupture of a great organ, such as the heart (aneurysmal aorta) or parturient uterus, does not show the smallest tendency to separate into clot and serum ("blood" and "water," as he takes it), but remains thick, dark-red liquid blood. The notion that the wound was on the left side is comparatively late. It is embodied in some of the newer crucifixes, where the wound is placed horizontally about the fifth costal interspace; but in most modern crucifixes, and probably in all the more ancient, the wound is placed somewhat low on the right side. That it was deep and wide, is inferred from the language of *Jn.* 20:27, where Thomas is bidden to "reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side"—namely the side of the spiritual body.

² The ordinary view of the motive of the soldier (*Jn.* 19:34)—*viz.*, that he wished to make sure of the death of Jesus—is of course a mere conjecture. If, therefore, the expression *ἐπέξε-θησαν* (= ἔρηξε, 'they thrust through,' in *Zech.* 12:10) will permit it, some may prefer to accept a new hypothesis that the wound inflicted by the lance was only a slight one. The author of this hypothesis thus explains it.—E.B. 'May it not have been a thoughtless, rather than a brutal act, the point of the lance being directed at something on the surface of the body, perhaps a dis-

2:33 and especially *Jn.* 19:28 f., which allude to the same passage (the *δύψος* of *Jn.* corresponds to the *εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου* of the psalm), ὄψος is most naturally rendered VINEGAR (*q.v.*); cp quotations in Wetstein. This too suits Ps. 69.

³ This is not inconsistent with the fact that the second part of *Mt.* 27:35 is wanting in the best MSS, and omitted by recent editors. See *Jn.* 19:24.

⁴ Numerous more or less unauthentic modern instances have also been needlessly brought together.—c.c.

⁵ An early addition to the original text (WH).

priestly עֲטָרָה (cp Ecclus. 45:12), see MITRE; and for other Heb. words to designate distinguished head-gear, see DIADDEM, TURBAN.

Crowns or garlands were worn by brides (Ezek. 16:12 כִּנְיָהּ וְעֲטָרָה) and by bridegrooms (Is. 61:10 חָפְזֵי, RV

3. Bride-groom's crown. garland).¹ The 'oil of joy' (ib., vs. 3) recalls the royal anointing (see CORONATION), and it may be that the bridegroom wore a chaplet as king of the festival. Delitzsch thinks that the bridegroom's פֶּ'עֵר was a turban. Solomon (Cant. 3:11) is represented as wearing a diadem or אֲדָמָה on the day of his espousals (cp CANTICLES, § 9). In the time of Vespasian the bridegroom's chaplet was abandoned (Mish. Sotah 9:14). In the Middle Ages the Jews resumed the use of wreaths for brides.

Josephus asserts that after the return from the exile Aristobolus, eldest son of Hyrcanus I., was the first to put 'a diadem on his head' (דְּיָדֵמָא, Ant. xiii. 11:1). From Zech. 6:9-15, however, it would appear that Zechariah was directed to select from the exiles' gifts enough gold and silver to make crowns (כִּנְיָהּ) or a crown (קִרְיָהּ, We., Nov.) for Zerubbabel.² Josephus was perhaps thinking solely of the Hasmonean kings; those priest-kings wore 'buckles of gold' on their shoulders, not crowns on their heads (1 Macc. 10:29 11:44, πόρπηρ χρυσῆρ; see BUCKLE, 3). The Talmud thinks that Hyrcanus, the 'second David,' wore two separate crowns, one royal and one priestly (Kid. 66 a); and Josephus reports a present to this king of a golden crown from Athens (στέφανος, Ant. xiv. 8:3).

The Gr. στέφανος, which properly denotes the badge of merit as distinct from διάδημα the badge of royalty (see DIADDEM), is frequently used by G to represent קִרְיָהּ; but the distinction between διάδημα and στέφανος was not consistently observed in Hellenistic Greek. In the NT στέφανος is used of the garlands given to the victors in games (1 Cor. 9:25; cp 2 Tim. 2:5), of the ornaments worn by the 'elders,' etc. in the visions of the Apocalypse (Rev. 4:4 10:62 9:7 14:14 [here, the Son of Man]), and of Jesus' crown of thorns. The last perhaps affects the Roman rather than the Jewish idea as to the symbolism of the crown; but Judean ideas on such matters must by that date have been assimilated to the Roman.

In RV 1 Macc. 10:29 11:44 cp 2 Macc. 14:4 στέφανος 'crown' (AV 'crown tax' [refers to a 'fixed money payment like the Roman aurum coronarium' (Cic. in Pisum, ch. 37), in room of the wreath or crown of gold which at one time it was customary, and even obligatory, for subject peoples to present as a gift of honour (cp 2 Macc. 14:4 § 2 above) to the reigning king on certain occasions' (Camb. Bib. ad 1 Macc. 10:29); see TAXATION.

On the 20r of the altar (Ex. 30:3f. 37:26 f. EV 'crown,' RV 90g, 'rim' or 'moulding'), see ALTAR, § 11; on that of the ark (ib. 25:11 37:2), see ARK, § 13; and on that of the table of shewbread (ib. 25:24 f. 37:1 f.), see ALTAR, § 10. G renders by κιάνη στέφανον and στέφανον.

See CHAPLET, MITRE, TURBAN; and cp GOLD.

I. A.—S. A. C.

CRUCIFIXION. See CROSS.

CRUSE. 1. The cruse of water (חֲרִיטָה, saphishath) which stood by Saul's head when he was surprised by David (1 S. 26:11 26:19; cp 1 K. 19:6) was probably a small water-jar of porous clay like the 'ibriḳ' (vulgar pronunciation, briḳ) of the modern Syrians and Egyptians. The porosity of the clay enables the water to be kept cool if the briḳ is placed in a draught.

¹ This reading is difficult. Many follow Hitziq and read יָרַח for יָרַח (see, SBLP, 110): 'like a bridegroom who aridates his groomal'. Crowns, it may be added, are still used in the marriage rites of the Greek Church.

² The MT assigns Zechariah's crown to Joshua the high priest; but this can hardly be maintained (see ZERUBBABEL, and cp § 10) ad loc.

The same vessel was used by the poor to hold oil (cp 1 K. 17:12 14:16, where it is distinguished from the larger 7r or water-jar [EV 'pitcher' in which the household supply was fetched from the well [Gen. 21:14 f. G ἰσθῆνα]).

In 1 K. 17:12, in 10g, and in Judith 10:5, G uses the word κρύβητος, also written κρυβητος, which, if from κρύβω, would suggest the shape of the Roman ampulla.

2. The cruse of honey which Jeroboam's wife took as part of her present to Ahijah (1 K. 14:3) was the βαβυλῆς or earthenware bottle (see BOTTLE). The Greek translators (G¹⁷ Lq.) render by στάμινος, a wine-jar, which, it is interesting to note, is also used by G¹⁷AVL for the sigeneth (EV 'pot of manna') laid up in the sanctuary (Ex. 16:33). This cruse or jar of manna was of earthenware according to the Targum, but of gold according to G (loc. cit.).

3. The cruse (חֲרִיטָה, ὑδρίσκον) of 2 K. 2:20f, used by Elisha to hold salt, was probably a flat dish or plate rather than a bottle or jar (cp חֲרִיטָה, 2 Ch. 35:13 [G και εὐδοσῶτη]; חֲרִיטָה in 2 K. 21:13; ὁ ἀλάστρατος [B. τὸ ἀλάστρατρον [A. τὸ πῖλῶν [L. PANI.

4. On the cruse (ἡ ἀλάστρατος; AV Box, 2) of Mt. 26:7, etc., strictly a jar or phial of alabaster, usually pear-shaped or pyramidal (Pliny, HN 9:56), see ALABASTER. A. R. S. K.

CRYSTAL. There can be little doubt that rock crystal is intended by the κρυστάλλος of Rev. 21:11; glass is represented by ὄλαος (see GLASS). Theophrastus (54) reckons crystal among the pellucid stones used for engraved seals. In modern speech we apply the term crystal (as the ancients apparently did) to a glass-like transparent stone (commonly of a hexagonal form) of the flint family, the most refined kind of quartz.

In G κρυστάλλος represents—

a. חֲרִיטָה, 'frost' or 'ice,' perhaps even in Ezek. 1:22.¹

b. אֲבָרָה [עֲבָרָה] (Is. 54:12, EV¹⁷ 'carbuncles'),—that is, 'stones of fire' (cp Ass. aban isīti, 'stone of fire' = hipindu), on an assumed derivation from אָרָה, 'to kindle' (lit. by rubbing): hence the rendering of אָר. לִב. תַּרְטָר־וּשְׁמֹב, Sym. Theod. [לִב. γλαφῆρ, Vg. lapides sculptos [sculptos]. LXX and Pesh. have κρυστάλλου (חֲרִיטָה).

c. חֲרִיטָה, EV 'bellellium' No. 117 (cp Field, Glossar.).

d. קִישוּר, EV 'vapour' (Ps. 148:8).

For Job 28:17 AV (ובותיה), RV 'glass'; see GLASS. חֲרִיטָה, gibib' (Job 28:18; RV 'crystal,' AV 'pearls'), is of obscure origin; cp perhaps Ass. gabāsu, 'be thick, massive.'

The RV 'crystal' finds support in the Heb. חֲרִיטָה, 'hall' (on the relation of meanings see BDB, s.v. חֲרִיטָה), and possibly in the Targ. חֲרִיטָה (אֲבָרָה) חֲרִיטָה חֲרִיטָה חֲרִיטָה [Dan. 10:5 2 Ch. 9:5 Vg.; cp ΟΥΡΑΝΗ], which, like Ar. Pers. billawān (the word is strictly transparent; translates 'crystal, or green glass, as well as 'bery'; Blau understands 'glass pearls').

חֲרִיטָה transliterates חֲרִיטָה and so Theod. γλαβῆ: the Pesh. is too paraphrastic to be of any use, and ὑπερβαρῶνα [Evam.] חֲרִיטָה (Syr. Hex., mg. חֲרִיטָה) are appellatives derived from MH חֲרִיטָה, 'to heap up,' חֲרִיטָה, 'heap,' 'hill.'

CUB (כֹּבֵט), Ezek. 30:5 RV; AV CUB (ז.ז.).

CUBIT. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The common term is אֲמָתַי, 'ammah' (prop. length of fore-arm? see BDB); Ass. ammatu, אֲמָתַי in the Silem inscription [L. 7, D. No. 6:15; cp אֲמָתַי, 'an ordinary cubit' (Dt. 3:11) אֲמָתַי וְכַפְּתָה אֶחָד אֲמָתַי longer than the usual cubit (Ezek. 40:5), etc.

7r, gomed, Judg. 8:16f seems to be a short cubit; so Jewish tradition; see Moore, JBL, 12:104 [93]. The NT term is ἄγκυλος, Mt. 9:21 Lk. 12:25.

CUCKOW, RV 'seamew' (חֲרִיטָה; λάρος [BAFL];

¹ Hitzi and Co. delete 'terrible,' חֲרִיטָה (so G¹⁷A, but not G¹⁷ Vg. Pesh.). It is of course possible that we should read חֲרִיטָה; cp 6.

Lev. 11 16 Dt. 14 15†), is mentioned among unclean birds. It cannot be identified with certainty. The Heb. root probably signifies leanness; thus the kindred word נָחַץ, *nahhaphath* (cp Ar. *subaf*), denotes consumption or phthisis. There is no settled Jewish tradition; but Ⓢ and Vg. are very likely right in understanding some kind of aquatic bird, perhaps the term (*Sterna fluviatilis*, FFP, 135). The AV 'cuckoo' comes from the Geneva Bible.

Two species of cuckoo spend the summer in Palestine: *Cuculus canorus*, the widely-spread common cuckoo, which returns from its winter quarters towards the end of March; and the great spotted cuckoo, *Cuculus glandivorus*, which arrives rather earlier. (Cano. Tristram enumerates numerous species of tern belonging to two genera found in Palestine, some of which are plentiful along the sea coasts and around the inland waters, especially in winter. The shearwater, *Puffinus*, is another identification suggested for the *Sabaph*. P. *selemaurus*, an inhabitant of the Mediterranean and other seas, has acquired the name of 'âme damnée' from the French-speaking inhabitants of the Bosporus, its restless habits having given rise among the Mohammedan population to the notion that it is the corporeal habitation of lost souls. N. M. —A. E. S.

CUCUMBERS (צִמְצִימִים, *ḥimṣimim*; ΚΥΚΥΛΑΙ [-YOI HOUTI], Nu. 11 4) and **Garden of Cucumbers** (גַּרְדֵּן הַצִּמְצִימִים, *garden ha-cimṣimim*, Is. 18 Bar. 67 [68]). Forms analogous to the word rendered 'cucumber' occur in Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Assyrian, and Carthaginian; and probably Gr. *σκύνη* is the same word with the first two consonants transposed.² It is thus known that what is meant is some kind of gourd, cucumber, or melon, perhaps primarily *Cucumis Chate*, L. (Löw, 330), which is now regarded as a variety of the melon (*Cucumis Melo*; see HANDELMAIST, *Der Paläst.*, 491).

The cucumber itself, *Cucumis sativus*, originated in NW. India, and certainly the Sanscrit name *saukari* looks strikingly like *σκύνος*. It seems clear that the cucumber reached the Mediterranean region pretty early. De Candolle (*Or. Pl. Cult.* 212) says that there is no evidence that it was known in ancient Egypt; this, however, applies equally to the melon (208).

צִמְצִימִים (for צִמְצִימִים) is simply 'place of cucumbers'; Ar. and Syr. have similar words with the same meaning. Cp FOOD, § 5. N. M. —W. T. D.

CUMMIN (צִמְמִין; ΚΥΜΙΝΟΝ, *cymimum*, Is. 28 25 27 Mt. 23 23†) is the seed of an umbelliferous herbaceous plant (*Cuminum cyminum*, L.) which is used as a condiment with different kinds of food. A native of the Mediterranean region,³ it was from an early period largely spread over W. Asia.⁴ The Heb. name, which is of unknown origin, is found also in Arab., Syr., Eth., and Carthaginian, and has passed into Greek, Latin, and many modern languages, including English.

Cummin is often referred to by ancient writers. Thus two early Greek comedians include it in lists of condiments (Meineke, 8 78 437); Dioscorides (361, 7) and Pliny (20 14 157) describe its medicinal properties, the latter noticing especially its effect in producing paleness—referred to by Horace (*Ep. I.* 19 18, 'exanguine cuminum') and by Persius (v. 55, 'pallentis grana cumini').

The mention of the seed in Mt. 23 23 as a trifling object on which tithes was rigidly imposed by the Pharisees reminds us of the Greek use of *κίμινον* (Arist. *Eth. N.* iv. 139). In Is. 28 27, where Yahweh's varied discipline of Israel is illustrated by the care and discrimination with which the husbandman performs his appointed task, it is noticed that finer grains, cummin and *ḥayz* (see FITCHES), are threshed with staff and rod, the heavier treatment by the threshing wain being reserved for coarser seeds. N. M.

CUN (כִּן), 1 Ch. 188 RV; AV CHUN.

CUNNING WORK. CUNNING WORKMAN. The 'cunning workman,' חָכֵם, is distinguished from the 'craftsman'—חָכָם—in Ex. 35 35 38 23, and the recurrence of the phrase חָכֵם הַחָכֵם in connection with certain

1 Theophrastus has *cucucue* and *cucuin*; according to Fraas the former was the cucumber, the latter the melon.
2 So Ges. *Thes. s.v.*; Lag. *Arm. s.v.*, 1175, *Mith.* 2 356.
3 Bentham and Hooker, *Gen. Pl.* 1 206.
4 Dioscorides knows it chiefly in Asia Minor.

textile fabrics (Ex. 26 1 : 28 6 : 26 36 30 38 [P]) suggests some specialised meaning (see I. MROODERY).¹

Ⓢ usually has *ḥakamim* or *ḥakamot*; Vg. usually *polimasticus* or *opus polimasticum*, the work of the damask weaver (see WILKINSON). AVING (Ex. 26 1), perhaps less accurately, has 'embroiderer' (see EMMERTON). On the other hand, the 'cunning work' (25 27) of Is. 41 25 19 21 : 42 1 13 is mainly that of the metal worker and jeweller; in 2 Ch. 20 15 it is that of the military engineer.

CUP. The seven Hebrew and Greek words rendered 'cup' in EV can be but imperfectly distinguished; see, however, FLAGON, GORGET, METALS, POTTERY; also, on Joseph's divining cup, DIVINATION, § 3 [3], JOSEPH; and on the 'cup of blessing' (1 Cor. 10 16), EUCHEARIST, PASSOVER.

The figure of a wine-cup occurs frequently to express the effect, whether cheering (Ps. 23 5) or the reverse,² of providential appointments.

Special applications. The prophets being primarily messengers of war, the second of these applications predominates. In the NT the figure describes the sufferings frequently accepted by Christ and his followers (Mt. 20 22 f. 26 39, etc.), and is used in the older Jewish sense in Revelation (e.g., 14 10 16 19). Nowhere does the term 'cup' stand by itself in the sense of 'destiny'; the use described above never produced what may be called a technical sense of כּוּס, 'cup.' In Ps. 116 16 5 it is a second כּוּס, meaning 'appointment, destiny,' from *כָּסַת*, 'to number, to determine,' that is used. 'The portion of my (or their) cup' should be 'my (or their) destined portion.' No one can drink 'fire and brimstone, nor can 'cup' and 'lot' stand as parallel expressions. From the list of passages we designedly omit Ps. 116 13; 'lift up the cup of salvation' should be 'lift up the ensign of victory' (reading *עֵי*; see ENSIGN).

For *aggân*, *יָגָן*, Is. 22 24 EV, see BASON, 1. For Jer. 35 5, 2 22; *gûlîm*, Joseph's silver divining cup, Gen. 44 2 20 17, see above. For the bowls upon the golden candlestick (Ex. 25 31 ff. 37 17 ff.) see CANDLESTICK, § 2. For *cup*, see the common term (Gen. 40 11, etc.), see METALS, § 19. For Jer. 52 26, 7 22, *menakîth* ('AV' cup), and Jer. 52 19, *ḥap* (RV' cup), see BASON, 4. For Nu. 17 RV, 1 Ch. 29 1 LV, *ḥupîm*, *ḥupîm*, see FLAGON. The NT term is *ποτήριον* (Ⓢ 10 4), Mt. 23 25 26 27, etc.

CUPBEARER (כַּוְּשָׁן, lit. 'one who gives to drink'; ΟΙΝΟΧΟΟΣ). In Eastern courts, where the fear of intrigues and plots was never absent, cupbearers were naturally men whose loyalty was above suspicion; they frequently enjoyed the sovereign's confidence, and their post was one of high importance and honour (so, e.g., at the court of Cambyses, Her. 3 34; cp Marquart, *Philologus*, 55 229). The only reference to cupbearers in Israel is in the unique chapter describing Solomon's court, 1 K. 10 5 (*οἰνοχοοὶ* L. 1—2 Ch. 9 4). Elsewhere cupbearers are spoken of in connection with Egypt (Gen. 40 1 23 41 6), Shushan (Neh. 1 11 *οἰνοχοὶ* [Neh. 1], and Nehemiah (Tob. 1 22). It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that the Assyrian RABSHAKH [g. r.] has nothing to do with 'cupbearer.'

In Gen. 1 c., EV 'butler' *כַּוְּשָׁן*, 'chief butler' (40 2 *ἀρχιοἰνοχοὸς* [A' L]). In v. 13 Ⓢ apply uses *ἀρχιοἰνοχοῖα* where the Hebrew has *ḥ*, 'position, office.' With reference to Neh. 1 11, it is worth noticing that Nehemiah was only one of the cupbearers to Artaxerxes (not the cupbearer; cp He. RYS.). Ⓢ finds a reference to male and female cupbearers in Eccles. 2 8 (*יְהִי עָרְבָה*, *οἰνοχοοὶ* [m. s.] καὶ οἰνοχῶναι; but see ECCLESIASTES, § 2. The chance allusion in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 8 1 shows that at the court of Herod (as was also the case in Assyria) the cupbearers were eunuchs (Ⓢ' *οἰνοχοὶ* above may, of course, be nothing more than an error). See, generally, METALS, § 11 end.

CURDS (חֶמֶץ). Is. 7 15 RV⁹⁸. See MILK.

CURSE. See BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, BLAS-

1 Cp Fr. *genie*, applied in a specialised sense to civil and military engineering (*ingenium*), and the Eng. *engine*.
2 Ps. 60 1 [70 1] Is. 51 1 Jer. 25 13-17 40 12 Lam. 4 21 Ezek. 23 32-34; cp also Jer. 51 7 Zech. 12 2.

PHEMV. BAN, COVENANT; and ep URIM AND THUMMIM.

On בָּרָךְ , *berach* (Mal. 4.6 [3.24], etc.), see especially BAN. On בָּרָךְ in Nu. 5.21 (*RV* 'adulation'); בָּרָךְ (בָּרָךְ Lam. 3.65); בָּרָךְ , DL. 28.20 (*RV* 'cursing'): בָּרָךְ , *karabaiya*, Rev. 22.3 (*RV* 'being long-cursed'), and בָּרָךְ , Gal. 3.10.1; see BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS.

CURTAIN. For Ex. 26.1 ff., etc. ($\text{כַּסְיֵה$), and Nu. 3.26 [31], etc. (כַּסְיֵה), more usually 'hanging' in AV, generally 'seam' in RV, see TABERNACLE כַּסְיֵה (*kasaiya*: Is. 40.22). *RV* 'gauze', is properly inf. of כַּסְיֵה , 'to be fine or thin'. This is also linked to a fine gauze response. The rendering 'curtain' is loose, and is due, no doubt, to the use of כַּסְיֵה in the parallel Ps. 104.2.

CUSH. 1. A (non-Semitic) people called Kašše is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions as dwelling in

the border country between N. Llam and Media. Sennacherib (Nal. Cyl. 16.4 ff.; *AB* 187) describes this region as difficult to traverse, and as not subjugated by any of his predecessors. In fact, it was a conquering race that dwelt there. To it belonged the dynasty which ruled over Babylonia for nearly six centuries—a lengthened rule, the consequence of which was the infusion of a large Kašše element into the population of Babylonia, especially S. Babylonia, which might fitly be called the land of Kaš. It is this Kaš or Koš (whence MT's Kūš)¹ that is intended in Gen. 10.8, where NIMROD [7.7.] is called the son of Cush. That the N. Arabian Kaš is meant in Gen. 2.13 as the passage now stands, is much less easy to make out (see PARADISE), while to hold with Winckler (*AT Untersuch.* 146 ff.) that Isaiah refers to the S. Babylonian Kaš in the difficult prophecy, Is. 18, can be rendered possible only by somewhat improbable textual criticism and exegesis.

Wi.'s result (1892) that the embassy mentioned by Isaiah is that of Merodā hehalkān to Hezekiah in 720 B.C., and his strongest argument is that 'the streams of Cush' in 18.1 is not applicable to the kingdom of Ethiopia, which had but one stream, the Nile. The answer is that the geographical knowledge of the writer was naturally but small, and that the island of Merodā, to which the residence of the Ethiopian kings was removed after Fabarka's time, is formed by the union of the Nile, the Atbara, and the Blue Nile. On grounds independent of Wi.'s hypothesis, the words $\text{אֲרָם לְהַרְיָבוֹת}$ are correctly held to be a late interpolation. (See further Che. and Haupt in *Zeitschr. f. d. N. O.*)

2. The question of the existence of an Arabian Cush has passed into a new phase since the discovery by

Winckler (*Musri*, 2 [98]) of a N. Arabian Musri or Musri, and together with it forming the region called Meluhha (see MIZRAIM, § 26). The land being known as Kūš (כּוּשׁ) to the Assyrians, we cannot avoid a re-examination of the more difficult OT passages in which כּוּשׁ (Cush) or כּוּשִׁי (Cushi) occurs. Referring first to the Pentateuch and reserving the complicated question arising out of Gen. 2.13 for subsequent consideration, we see at once (a) how probable it is that in the list of names in Gen. 10.6 Cush is an Arabian and not an African country; for none of the eleven names in Gen. 10.6-7 can be supposed to be African except Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Seba, and of these Mizraim (read rather Mizrim) has been claimed elsewhere for Arabia, while PUT [7.7.] is at any rate not Libya, and Seba (סֶבָא), which resists all attempts to localise it in Africa, may well be suspected to be only another form of Sheba (שֶׁבָא)—i.e., the well-known Arabian Sabaeans. It is true Sheba appears in v. 7 as a son of Raamah; but no objection can be based upon that. The same name probably fixed itself in slightly different forms in different localities, and in Ps. 72.10 we even find כַּנָּא (which has intruded into the

text) as a variant to כּוּשׁ. (Possibly Shebā, שֶׁבָא should everywhere rather be Šebā, שֶׁבָא.) This conclusion greatly reduces the error committed by the redactor of Gen. 10 in inserting the § 10.6-13 (10.6-13) which belong to J between vv. 6f. and v. 20 (which belong to P); for the population of the Babylonian land of Kaš, to which Nimrod belonged, was largely formed by the immigration of 'Chaldean' tribes (כַּדְרִי) whose home was probably in E. Arabia. If Kaš be taken, not ethnically but geographically, as a designation of the Arabian home of the ancestors of a large part of the people of S. Babylonia, it was not incorrect to regard Nimrod as related to the Cush mentioned in v. 6f. (For J's view see NIMROD, MIZRAIM.)

(b) In Nu. 11.1 (E) we hear of 'the Cushite woman' whom Moses had married. In Ex. 2.6.21 (J) his wife Zipporah is represented as a Midianite. A northern locality for Midianites is probable even without the very doubtful passage 1 K. 11.18 (cp HADAD, 3). There is no necessity to follow Wellhausen in his exclusion of the whole of Nu. 12.16; at any rate 'the Cushite woman' comes from an early source. See MOSES.

(c) On 2 S. 18.21 see CUSHI, 3.

(d) Am. 9.7. Who are the כַּשְׁיִים? Hardly the 'children of the Ethiopians' (EV). What evidence have we that the Ethiopians were regarded with contempt in Amos's time? Probably the prophet looked nearer home, and saw the misery inflicted on the Arabian Cush by some great mischance in war (cp Wi., *op. cit.* 8).

(e) Hab. 3.7, 'the tents of Cushan.' כַּשְׁיִן should perhaps become כּוּשׁ, Cush; at any rate, N. Arabian peoples are meant in both parts of the verse. See CUSHAN.

(f) Job 1.7. It is quite possible to read כּוּשִׁי and כַּשְׁיִים, Cushi(yim) (Che. *JQR* 4.575) for כַּדְרִי (EV 'Chaldeans' [7.7.]), which is not without difficulty, and to explain this of the N. Arabian Cushites, who must at any rate be referred to.

(g) In 2 Ch. 21.6 we hear of 'Cushites' beside the Arabians (cp ARABIA), a reminiscence of whose predatory raids probably underlies the distorted tradition of 'Zerah the Cushite' (see ZERAH) in 2 Ch. 14.9 ff.

(h) Ps. 83.7 [8]. עֲרֵבְיֵי צוּר, 'with the inhabitants of Tyre,' should be בְּנוֹת צוּר, 'Musri and Cush'; a similar emendation is required in Ps. 87.4. The combination of Philistines and Tyrians, Tyrians and Ethiopians, presented in MT, is extremely improbable.

(i) Besides Wi. *Musri* 2 [MDFG, 1898], cp Glaser, *Nihsor*, 2, 20 ff.)

3. Egyptian. See ETHIOPIA. T. K. C.

CUSH כּוּשׁ, $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ [ἐν] [ΧΩΝΑΡ', *chui* Vg.] קִיִּשׁ [Tg.] a Benjamite (Ps. 7, heading). The text, however, is corrupt.

Cushi (Ch. al.) is a very poor conjecture (see CUSHI, 3). No doubt 'Cush' should be 'Kish' (see Tg.), and the text should run כִּישִׁי בְּנֵי־קִישׁ . . . מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל. The missing name was either Mordecai (Esth. 2.5; cp Che. *OP* 220 ff.), or perhaps more probably, SHIMEI (q.v., 10), a member of the clan of Kish (so Kay, Che. *Ps.* 12). In the former case, David was supposed to be speaking in the name of Mordecai; in the latter, the curses of Shimei are the supposed occasion of the psalm.

CUSHAN (כּוּשִׁי); $\alpha\theta\iota\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ [BN^{c.a.} c.3AQ], $\epsilon\lambda$. [N^{c.}], Hab. 3.7. The name should mean '(a) clan' belonging to Cush', on the analogy of Ithran, Kenan, Lotan (but see CUSH, i. § 24). It is at any rate parallel to Midian. This agrees with OT passages which appear to place the Midianites in N. Arabia, where, according to the evidence produced by Winckler, there was a region known to the Assyrians as Kūš or Cush. See CUSH, i. 2; MIDIAN.

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM RV; AV *Cushan-rishathaim* (כּוּשִׁי רִשְׁתַּיִם), i.e., 'Cushan of double wickedness'.

1 Ps. 7 was a Purim psalm.

¹ Unless we suppose the vocalisation Kūš (כּוּשׁ) to be produced by the confusion of the Babylonian and the African קּוּ.

The versions have: *Χουσαρραθίμ* [BA], *ουσαρραθίμ* [L] [but original] Vet. Lat., *Chusarathaim*; *Ναυσις Σιναίτιος*, *Ναυσις* [see *ibid.*]; *Jos. Χουσαρραθίμ* [see 1] Vg. *Ναυσις Ραβασθαίμ*; (see *Mex. Die Bibel des Jos. 11*; Lagarde, *Septuag. Studien*, 117 f., 274).

The name of a king of Aram (MT ARAM-SAHARAIM [2: 8]); a very rare expression, who is said to have

1. The story... oppressed the Israelites after their conquest of Canaan for eight years, till

Othniel ben Kenaz overthrew him [Judg 3: 7-10]. The story of this oppression and deliverance is introduced as a typical illustration of the edifying theory of Israelitish history put forward in Judg 2: 1-18, and was wanting in the pre-Deuteronomic book of heroic stories which forms the basis of our JUDGES (*q. v.*, §§ 35). Hence we are not surprised that it presents none of the characteristics of narratives founded upon genuine popular traditions, and that only two assertions emerge out of the phrases of which it mainly consists—viz., that the land of Israel was conquered by an early Aramaean king, and that the Israelites were delivered by the Judahite (Kenizite) hero Othniel. These assertions, however, are contradictory. Even in the early time of David the clans of Judah had but a slight connection with Israel, and in the time of Deborah's insurrection, it appears, they stood entirely aloof from the Israelites (see Judg. 5). It is historically impossible that the Judahite clan of Othniel could have played the glorious part ascribed to it in the story. Budde (*Ri. Sa.* 95), therefore, while admitting that the oppression of Cushan-rishathaim may conceivably rest on a traditional basis, rejects Othniel's championship. The editor of Judges, he remarks, belonged no doubt to the tribe of Judah, and took a pleasure in giving it a representative among the 'judges.' Similarly Wellhausen and Stade.

It is more probable, however, that the whole trouble is caused by an error in the text.

There is some reason to think that the true reading of Θ in Judg. 3: 7 is $\dots \chiουσαρραθίμ \epsilonλαρραύς$ (Edomite) $\Sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (note the position of $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in 2: 16, and see Field's *Hebr. crit.* 267). Even apart from this,

2. **Probable origin of the name.** $\chiουσα$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. 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Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. 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Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. Edomites in 2 K. 16: 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. $\theta\alpha\iota\mu$. 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mentions among his pious acts that he restored the temples of the great gods at Kuti (אֲשֶׁר בְּכִּוְיָ). It was from the temple of Nergal that one of the creation-stories brought from Ašur-bāni-pal's library is stated to have come (R¹⁹ 1147-153); see CREATION, § 25. The name 'Cuthans' lies hidden under ANANIAS (אֲנָנְיָא) in Ezra 4.9. In the paratextology of the latter Jews' Cuthans is equivalent to 'Samaritans' (60 in Jos. and the Talmud). With this name is probably to be connected the GOTHYR of 1 Esd. 9.32 (not in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah).

T. K. C.

CUTTING OFF. This penalty ('I [Yahwē] will cut him off from among his people,' 'he shall be cut off from his people,' 'from Israel,' 'from the assembly,' and the like: אֲשַׁרְתִּי אֶת מִצְרַיִם אֶתְּמָרָהּ אֶתְּמָרָהּ אֶתְּמָרָהּ) is first met with in H¹ (see LEVITICUS), where it is attached to a variety of offences, many of them of a ceremonial or technical character (Lev. 17.49, failure to bring slain ox, lamb, or goat to the tabernacle; 17.10-14, eating blood; 18.29, various 'abominations'; 20.5 f., Moloch-worship; 20.17 f., incest, etc.; 22.3, unclean approach to holy things). It occurs frequently in P (Gen. 17.14, neglect of circumcision; Ex. 12.15, eating leaven in paschal season; Ex. 30.33-38, imitating or putting to secular use the holy oil or incense; Ex. 31.14, sabbath profanation; Lev. 7.20 f., unclean sacrificial eating; 7.25-27, eating of fat or blood; 19.8, eating sacrifice on third day; 23.29, non-observance of day of atonement; Nu. 9.13, failure to keep the passover though clean and not on a journey; 15.30 f., high-handed sin, insult to Yahwē; 19.13, contact with dead; 19.20, failure to remove uncleanness from contact with dead by sprinkling).

The view of the older interpreters was that the expression meant the death penalty. It is worth noticing, however, that in Ex. 31.14 f. separate emphasis is laid on 'he shall be put to death' (בְּמִתָּהוּ) as distinguished from 'that soul shall be cut off' (וְנִכְרְתָה הַנְּשָׁמָה הַהִיא) cp Lev. 20.27 (death penalty on witchcraft), the Deuteronomian expression וְנִכְרְתָה הַנְּשָׁמָה 'put away the evil,' Dt. 13.5 [6] (in connection with the death penalty on the false prophet or dreamer of dreams), and perhaps also Lev. 23.29 f., נִכְרְתָה followed by תִּכְרְתוּהוּ, gradation of penalties. If account be taken of the actual circumstances amid which H and P arose, it seems more probable that the writers had in their mind either some such idea as that which was carried into practice under Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 10.8, 'separated from the congregation of the captivity,' || 1 Esd. 9.4, 'cast out from the multitude of them that were of the captivity'), and ultimately develop it into the minor and major excommunications of the synagogue (see SYNAGOGUE), or that they thought only of death through divine agency, not of punishment inflicted at the hands of the community (Driver on Lev. 7.20 f.). See, further, BAN.

CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH (Ceremonial Mutilations).

The former heading is derived from the EV of Lev. 19.28 21.5. It is, however, too narrow in its range. Circumcision cannot altogether be left out in dealing with the 'cuttings' referred to in these passages; nor can we forget how intimately the laceration of the flesh in mourning is associated with the practice of shaving the head or cutting off part of the hair. The origin and significance of CIRCUMCISION [y. v.] is treated elsewhere. The present article will deal with (1) incisions (§ 1 f.), (2) the cutting off of the hair (§§ 3-5), and (3) tattooing (§ 6 f.), regarded as ceremonial mutilations (see further SACRIFICE).

The technical Hebrew terms for ceremonial incisions are אֲשַׁרְתִּי אֶתְּמָרָהּ (verb אֲשַׁרְתִּי); ² the verb וְנִכְרְתָהּ also is used.

1. References In Lev. 21.5 [H] we read (with reference to cuttings. 'They shall not make . . . any cuttings in their flesh' (point אֲשַׁרְתִּי, as plur. of אֲשַׁרְתִּי?). The practice

¹ It may be noted that the 'I' is peculiar to H, as also the phrase 'I will set my face' (Lev. 17 to 20.3 & 26.17) or 'put my face' (20.5) against the offender.

² Aram. אֲשַׁרְתִּי, Ass. *Iarāšu*, Ar. *Iarāfa*, strictly 'to cut into,' 'nick,' or 'notch.'

was forbidden especially to the priests, who would thereby 'profane' themselves. The substantive אֲשַׁרְתִּי occurs in Lev. 19.28: 'Ye shall not make any cutting in your flesh for a (departed) soul.' (On the only other passage [Zech. 12.3] in which אֲשַׁרְתִּי occurs no stress can be laid.)¹ There is no exact parallel for this Hebrew usage in Assyrian; but we do find *iarāšu* used of rending a garment in token of grief (a passage in Sargon's *Annals*, 294, gives a striking parallel to 2 S. 12), and probably enough this rending was an attenuation of the more savage custom of rending the flesh.² Ašur-bāni-pal (de Smith, 127.81) too speaks of his warriors as those who 'at the behest of the gods let themselves be hacked to pieces in the fray' (*ittanāratu*). On this it may be remarked that the case of mourners who shed their blood to feed the manes of departed friends is analogous to that of soldiers who do this on the battlefield in obedience to the gods. A supposed second term for ceremonial incisions (נִכְרְתָה) is simply due to misunderstanding. In Jer. 48.37 we should read with אֲשַׁרְתִּי כָּל יָדָיִם (all hands are cut into); the prefixed אֲשַׁרְתִּי in MT is an error; נִכְרְתָה, in fact, participial. The reflexive form וְנִכְרְתוּ occurs in Dt. 14.1 (parallel to the already cited passage of Lev.), and at least six times elsewhere. The primary meaning of the simple stem is obviously 'to cut off'; cp Ar. *jadda*, *jadāfa*, *jadāfa*. The ceremonial cutting referred to was an ordinary custom of mourners in the time of Jeremiah, to dispense with which would have been something very strange and unusual (Jer. 16.6 41.5 47.5); evidently the contemporaries of the prophet did not recognise the law in Dt. 14.1. The incisions referred to in Mic. 5 [4.14], 'Now hack thyself [so Nowack], O daughter of attack,' must also be signs of mourning; and this may well be the case too in Jer. 5.7, where וְנִכְרְתוּ, 'they would cut themselves,' implies that the apostate Jews who resorted to the Whore's House (*i.e.*, the idol temple) wished to bring over the Deity to their side by self-mutilation. This description of the prophet may be illustrated by 1 K. 18.28, where the 'cutting' practised by the priests of Baal is said to have been after this custom or ritual, and to have followed the ritual dance by or round the altar (see DANCE, § 5). Hosea, too (7.14), speaks of Israelites who 'because of corn and new wine cut themselves,' to propitiate their god (reading וְנִכְרְתוּ אֶתְּמָרָהּ, We, Che., V¹⁹ 18).

The practice of shedding the blood in one way or another as an honour due to the dead is world-wide.

2. Significance. It is found not only among the Hebrews and the Arabs (We. *Heid.* 181 i.), but also among the ancient Greeks and the modern African and Polynesian peoples. 'The blood is the life'; and it is probable that when in primitive times the mourning kin 'cut themselves for the dead,' they did it in the belief that the departed drank in new life with the blood thus poured out by the willing self-sacrifice of sorrowing friends, and at the same time renewed their bond of union with the living (cp ESCHATOLOGY § 3.4).

Such acts doubtless had a sacrificial or sacramental aspect; and in view of the fact that the disembodied spirit was conceived as possessing a quasi-divine or demonic character, with undefined potencies for good and evil, it may be assumed that the blood-offering was, or became, as much a conciliatory present to the manes of the dead as that of slain victims was intended to be to the higher gods. It may even have been thought that, as the deceased man had passed into another world on leaving the circle of his kin, he had in some sense become a stranger to them, and that therefore it was necessary to make a blood-covenant with him, and so secure his good-will for the tribe or family. The radical change of death might suggest that as the corporate unity of the departed with his clan had been broken, it must be

¹ If the text is correct the meaning must be 'to strain oneself to pieces,' 'to break down under a load.' Nowack, however, holds that a gloss has been taken into the text.

² There was no longer any consciousness of this when the post-exilic prophet Joel wrote, 'Rend your heart, and not your garments' (Joel 2.13). Else he would have said, 'Rend your heart, and not your flesh' (cp Jer. 4.4).

restored by giving the dead to drink of the blood of the living kindred.

Bearing in mind that ritual practices acquire a new symbolism as time goes on, and that affection for the dead has often evinced itself, even at a high stage of culture, by suicide over the corpse, and by such customs as the Hindu Sati, we may be inclined to see in the 'incisions for the dead,' as practised in the period of the great prophets, a symbolical expression for the willingness of the mourner to depart and be with the loved and lost one.

The passages which mention incisions of the flesh also mention cutting off the hair as a sign of mourning.

3. Cutting off hair.

This Lev. 21 § 11: 'They (the priests) shall not make a bare bald patch on their head, and the corner of their beard they shall not shave off' (cp Lev. 19:27 Dt. 14:1, 'And ye shall not set baldness between your eyes'—i.e., on the forehead—for one that is dead'); Ezekiel, too (44:20), forbids artificial baldness to the priests. The prevalence of the custom of cutting off the hair in token of deep grief is, however, presupposed by the earlier prophets, who take no exception to it. Micah says, addressing a city community, 'Make thee bald and shear thee for thy darling children; make thy hair baldness like the vulture's; for they are carried away captive from thee' (Mic. 1:16). See also Am. 5:18 Is. 22:12 cp Jer. 7:29 16:6 Ezek. 7:18; such passages show that the prohibition of the custom referred to belongs to a later age of religious legalism. In Dt. 14: these practices are forbidden to Israelites generally, on account of their relation to Yahwè, on the principle on which Aaronites with any physical defect are excluded from the service of the altar (Lev. 21:16-23).

Cutting off the hair was also the most characteristic expression of an Arab woman's mourning. When Hâlid b. al-Walid died, all the women of his family offered their hair at his grave (Agh. 15:12; We. *Heid.* (2) 182). It was a sacrifice to the dead, and the underlying idea of the offering is suggested by the story of Samson. 'If I be shaven,' said that hero, 'my strength will go from me' (Judg. 16:17). In other words, the hair, the growth of which was continually renewed, appeared to the ancients a centre of vitality, like the blood;¹ and thus to offer it, whether to deity (Nu. 6:18) or to the spirits of the dead, had essentially the same import and purpose as to offer one's blood, the aim being to originate or to renew a bond of vital union between the worshipper and the unseen power. Regarded as sacramental acts, both blood-letting and offering the hair were 'private ceremonial' acts of worship, performed by the individual for his own good as distinct from that of the community; and both are common elements in ceremonies of initiation by which youths are admitted to the rights of manhood, especially to marriage and participation in the tribal worship. Thus CIRCUMCISION [g.v., § 4] was originally a rite preliminary to marriage (Ex. 4:24-26); and Lucian (*Dea Syr.* 60) informs us that the long locks of young people were shorn and dedicated at the old Syrian sanctuaries on the same occasion. In the course of time the barbarous character of the blood-offering caused it to lapse from general use, except among certain priesthoods and votaries; whilst the hair-offering, which in origin and principle was identical, survived to the close of Paganism, and may be recognised in the tonsure of early Christian Monachism.

The passage Lev. 19:27 (H; about 570 B.C.) has already been referred to. It is a prohibition of a practice, in vogue among certain Arabian tribes, of shaving off the hair all round the head, a circular patch being left on the crown (Herod. 38)—a practice identical with the hair-offering, which in origin and principle was identical, survived to the close of Paganism, and may be recognised in the tonsure of early Christian Monachism.

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¹ See WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 324, and note the Chinese phrase, *mao hsiieh*, 'hair and blood,' and the saying, 'Am I not of the same hair (scil. as my father)?'

cated, it seems, by the nickname 'Shorn-pates' (שָׂרְפָה) applied by Jeremiah to some Arabian peoples (RV, also AV mg., 'all that have the corners [of their hair] pulled'; Jos. 9:26 [25] 25-29 49-52). There can be little doubt that, like most other ancient tribal badges and customs, had religious associations and a religious significance; in fact, Herodotus (38) expressly says that the Arabs pretended to imitate their national god Orotal-Dionysus by their peculiar tonsure. Hence, no doubt, the practice was forbidden to the Jews by the older Levitical code (Lev. 19:27), the object being to isolate the people of Yahwè from the neighbouring nations and their worship. On the other hand, there were some important religious customs which, though of ethnic origin, were not abolished by the law. Hence it was that the Nazirite continued to make an offering to Yahwè of his shorn hair (see NAZIRITE)—a practice which survived, in a shape modified by circumstances, in the days of Paul (Acts 21:23-26; cp 18:18). See *Heb.* § 2 f.

What we call 'tattooing' also is prohibited (Lev. 19:28). The expression טָטַעַן טָטַעַן does not occur again

Tattooing, in the OT; but in New Hebrew טָטַעַן means the same as the Greek etc. *στριγαρίζω*, to set a mark on a thing by pricking, puncturing, or branding (see Buxtorf; it is also used of fowls scratching the ground).

The object of graving or branding marks on the flesh would appear to be dedication of the person to his god. Herodotus (2:113) mentions a temple of Herakles at Taricheia, by the Canopic mouth of the Nile, where a runaway slave might find asylum if he 'gave himself to the god' by having certain 'sacred stigmata' made on him.¹ In Is. 44:5 we have a good instance of graving a divine name on the hand, in token of self-dedication: 'One will say, I am Yahweh; and another will name himself by the name of Jacob; and another will mark on his hand *Yahweh's*, and receive the surname Israel' (*SBOT*; cp critical notes). As far as they indicated the ownership or property of the god, such marks are analogous to the *crucium* or cattle-marks of the Bedawi tribes, and may have had their origin in that necessary practice of primitive pastoral life (cp col. 711, n. 1). In Ezek. 9:4 we read of marking a Tau or cross, the symbol of life (cp the Egyptian τ ,

'*nh*, life, with \dagger , the Phœnician form of the letter Tau) on the foreheads of the faithful in Jerusalem, who are to be spared from slaughter; which recalls the sealing of the 144,000 servants of God on their foreheads (Rev. 7:3 f.), and further, the mark of the Beast ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$, something graven, Acts 17:29) on the right hand or the forehead of his worshippers (Rev. 13:16 f. 20:4). The strongly metaphorical words of Paul, too, *I bear in my body the marks (or brands) of Jesus*, *τα στριγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* (Gal. 6:17) clearly presuppose a custom of tattooing or branding the flesh with sacred names and symbols, which would be familiar as a heathen practice to Paul's Asiatic converts.²

In Ex. 13:9 Dt. 6:8 11:18 and elsewhere we have what may be regarded as a substitute for the painful processes

7. Substitutes. of tattooing and branding. The Israelite is to bind the precepts of the Law on his hand for a sign; they are also to serve as FRONTLETS [*g.v.*] (*phylacteries*) between his eyes,—i.e., on his forehead (cp Dt. 6:8 Rev. 7:3). The sign on the hand recalls the sign which Yahwè set on Cain (Gen. 4:15; see CAIN, § 4), whilst those strips of inscribed vellum, the phylacteries (= 'frontlets,' EV of OT) of Mt. 23:5, were looked upon as having magical qualities,

¹ Thus Ptolemy Philopator branded the Alexandrian Jews with the sign of the ox to identify them with the cult of Dionysus; see BACCHUS, Cp Frazer, *Totemism*, 26 ff. For the branding of serfs see EGYPT, § 38.

² Cp Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (95), 262-276 (a new and ingenious theory).

not less than the old tattooings and brandings; they were a protection against harm,¹ and probably also secured health and good fortune (cp Targ. Cant. 83).

For the literature of the subjects here treated of, see the works referred to under CIRCUMCISION, MOURNING CUSTOMS, FRONTLETS, SACRIFICE, etc. See also WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) ch. 9, and the authorities there cited; E. B. Taylor, *Prim. Cult.* 21 (C. J. B.).

CYAMON (ΚΥΑΜΩΝ [BNA]; *chelmon* [Vg.]; ܟܝܡܘܢ [Syr.]), 'which is over against Esdraelon' (Judith 7), looks like a corruption of JOKNEAM or (Movers) JOKMEAM. Robinson, however, noting that *καμωών* means 'beanfield,' identifies it with the modern *El Faleh*, 'the bean,' on the plain itself but 'over against' the city 'of Jezreel.' Cp Bu. *Pal.* 210. The name Cyamion should probably be restored in Judith 14 for *Kawa* [B]. See KONAAL.

CYLINDER (ܥܝܠܢܝܢܐ, Cant. 5:14 RV⁹⁸. See KING.

CYMBALS. For 1 Ch. 138, etc. (צִמְבָּצִים), 2 S. 65 P. 1005 (צִמְבָּצִים), and for 1 Cor. 13:1 (κύμβαλον) see MISTS, § 8 C.

CYPRESS, RV HOLM TREE (צִפְרִי), Is. 41:14. A tree which in the single passage where it occurs is coupled with the oak. The Hebrew *tzirih* does not appear in any cognate language, but may be connected with Ar. *tarizat*, 'to be hard,'² LXX and Pesh. omit the word; Aq. and Th. render ἀγριοβάλανος ('wild acorn'), Vg. has *ilex*, which is defended by Celsius (2269 ff.), and has been wisely adopted by our revisers. It is difficult, however, to be certain; for the evergreen oak (*Quercus ilex*, L.) is at the present day rare in Palestine (*IFP* 412). The heavy, hard nature of its wood would harmonise well with the probable etymology of *tzirih*. 'Cypress' (perhaps a mere guess) comes from the Genevan Bible. David Kimhi and others thought that what was meant was the fir tree; Luther preferred the beech. Cheyne (Is. *SBOT*, Heb.) thinks *tzirih* corrupt, and with Gr., reads צִפְרִי (see PINE).

For Cant. 1:11 3:14 AV⁹⁸, see CAMPHIRE (2: AV); and for Is. 41:19 RV⁹⁸, see FOX TREE (2: EV). N. M.

CYPRUS (ΚΥΠΡΟΣ [Ti. WH]), the third largest island of the Mediterranean, placed in the angle between the coast of Syria and that of Asia Minor (Strabo, 681), called Alasia in the Amarna letters, where its copper is specially referred to (so E. Meyer, Petrie, etc.), 'Asi by the Egyptians, Yavnan by the Assyrians, and KITTIM (*q. v.*) by the Hebrews. Its physical structure is simple.

1. Description. It consists of a central plain running across the island from E. to W., bounded by a long mountain ridge to the N., and by a broader mountain district to the S.

The central plain was likened in antiquity to the valley of the Nile, being flooded annually by the Pediceus, which left rich deposits of mud. Strabo sketches the productiveness of Cyprus (694: οὐκ οὐκ ἴστανται οὐδ' ἄλλοις σποροῦσι ἀποδοῦναι ἀγροῖα). Copper (named after the island) was found in the mountains, and timber for shipbuilding.

In situation, climate, and productions, Cyprus belongs to all the three surrounding continents, and historically it has constantly shared in their vicissitudes. It is most accessible from the E. and the S., and, lying right over against Syria, was early visited by the Phœnicians, who founded Amathus, Paphos, and Citium, the

¹ The Tg. on 2 S. 1 to takes Saul's bracelet for a *fitz'ahin*—i.e., an amulet. The Hexap. on Ezek. 13 18 gives *φουλακτήρια* as a 'Hebrew' or 'Jewish' interpretation of צִמְבָּצִים (EV 'pillows,' see DRESS, § 8), which is connected with Ass. *kaṣāḫ*, 'to bind.' The Rabbin (Talm. *Shabb.* 57b) also explain *fitz'ahin* as amulets. The word cannot be explained from the Semitic languages, and, since the Jewish ideas of magic came ultimately from the Sumerians of primitive Babylonia, may reasonably be explained by the Sumerian *tišibih* (from *tišibān*), 'to bind' (Ass. *kaṣāḫ* (see above), *kaṣāḫ*). For an analogy, cp *ḫaṣāḫ*, Jer. 51:27 Nah. 3:7 from Ass. *kaṣāḫ*, 'tablet-writer, which is of Sumerian origin (*tišib* 'tablet,' *ḫaṣ* 'write'). See *EV* 2:115 f.

² We should perhaps associate with this Syr. *arraz*, 'to be straight.'

last, the Phœnician capital, giving its name to the whole island.¹

The Phœnicians were not, however, the earliest inhabitants of Cyprus. They found in possession a

2. History. people closely connected, as their art and alphabet show, with the primitive races of Asia Minor (for WMM's theory see KITTIM, and cp *As. u. Eur.* 337). The Greek colonists arrived before the eighth century B.C. The discoveries in the island indicate clearly its partition between the Phœnician element in the S. and the Hellenic in the central depression stretching from Soli in the W. to Salamis in the E., at which latter site we find an art that is largely Greek. The Cypriote character was wanting in energy, and the island was almost wholly under the influence alternately of Asia and of Egypt.

(1) In 709 B.C. Sargon II, king of Assyria, was recognised as over-lord by seven Cypriote princes; their tribute was continued to his grandson Esarhaddon, *Schr. A. 1729* 353-55. (2) In the sixth century Amasis, king of Egypt, conquered the island (Herod. 2:182). Perhaps it had been conquered even before his time, by Thamus III. In any case the *πρωτος ἀνδραπομος* of Herod. is an error. (3) After the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, Cyprus fell to Persia, being included in the fifth satrapy (Herod. 3:191).

The connection with Greece and with Hellenic ideals was brilliant but purely episodic (Evagoras, king of Salamis; 410 B.C.). The island fell into the hands of Alexander the Great, and finally remained with the Ptolemies as one of their most cherished possessions until its conquest by the Romans (cp 2 Macc. 10:13; Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, pass.).

The Jews probably settled in Cyprus before the time of Alexander the Great (1 Macc. 15:23). Many would

be attracted later by the fact that its copper mines were at one time farmed to

3. Jewish connection. Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 4:5; a Cyprian inser., Boeckh 2628, refers to one of the family). After the rising of the Jews in 116 A.D. in Cyrene, in Egypt, and in Cyprus had been suppressed, it was decreed that no Jew might set foot upon the island, under penalty of death, even for shipwrecked Israelites (Dio Cass. 68:32. See SALAMIS). In the history of the spread of Christianity Cyprus holds an honourable place (Acts 4:36, Joseph surnamed Barnabas). Its Jewish population heard the Gospel after Stephen's death from those whom the persecution had driven from Judea (Acts 11:19). Some of these were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who fled to Antioch and addressed the Greeks of the city (v. 20). Cyprus was in turn the first scene of the labours of Paul with Barnabas and Mark (Acts 13:4-12), afterwards of Barnabas and Mark alone (Acts 15:39). One of the first Christian missionaries may have been that 'old disciple' Mnason with whom Paul lodged at Jerusalem (Acts 21:16). Returning to Palestine at the close of his third journey, Paul and his companions sighted Cyprus (Acts 21:3, ἀναφάναντες τὴν Κ.; AV 'discovered'), leaving it on the left hand as they ran from Patara to Tyre. In the voyage to Rome from Caesarea the ship 'sailed under Cyprus' (Acts 27:4, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν)—i.e., northwards 'over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia' (v. 5; cp Str. 681)—taking advantage of the northerly and westerly set of the current, in order to reach Myra.

After its seizure by the Romans in 58 B.C. Cyprus had been united for administrative purposes with Cilicia; but in the first partition of the Roman world after Actium it was made an imperial province (Dio Cass. 53:12)—i.e., its governor, if it had one of its own, and were not rather united with Cilicia to form a single province, bore the title *legatus Augusti propretore imperatoris Siciliae et Cypri* (cp Dio Cass. 53:12; in NT always ἡγεμῶν, cp Lk. 22, Str. 840 ἡγεμῶνας καὶ διοικητὰς Καίσαρος πέμψει). Why then does the writer of Acts 13:7

¹ Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6:1) says *Κύπριος* . . . Κύπριος αἰὲν ἦν καλεῖται. Epiphanius, a Cyprian bishop, writes, *Κίτιος ἢ Κύπριος ἢ κισσῶν καλεῖται*. Κίτιος γὰρ Κύπριος, *Illeg.* 30:25 (see KITTIM).

call Sergius Paulus 'proconsul' (ἀνθύπατος, the proper title of governors of senatorial provinces, AV 'deputy' v; cp Acts 13:12 19:35)? Some have argued that he used the word loosely, and appeal to Strabo (1685, ἐγγυρον ἑναρχία ἢ ἡγεσις καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ στρατηγία) to prove that the island was governed by a *praepositor* appointed by the emperor; but the writer of Acts is quite correct. From Dio Cassius (53 12) we learn that, in 22 B.C., Augustus restored Cyprus to the Senate in exchange for S. Gaul (cp Dio Cass. 54,4). In Paul's time, therefore, its governor was properly called 'proconsul'. The passage quoted from Strabo is misunderstood, as is clear from *id.* 840 (τὰς δὲ τὰς δημοσίας ὁ δῆμος στρατηγῶν ἢ ἐπάτους πέπειται, i.e., governors of senatorial provinces were either of consular or of praetorian rank, in either case the official title being *proconsul*). In the case of Cyprus, authors, inscriptions, and coins have preserved the names of some twenty of her proprietorial governors with the 'brevet' rank of proconsul. Lucius Sergius Paulus (governor at the time of Paul's visit, about 47 A.D.) is known to us from an inscription from the site of Soli (see Hogarth, *Devia Cyprus*, 114 f. and *Appendix*).

See P. Gardner, *New Notes on Gr. Hist.* 153 f. For inscriptions in the island *195 pass.* Present and Clippie, *197* on *Paphos* and *Cyrene*. For the mythology *Max Oimetaloch-Richter, Kyrenen, die Insel in Helios* is especially valuable. For Christian times the most recent work is Hackett's *History of the Islands in Cyprus*, 1939. W. J. W.

CYRENE (ΚΥΡΗΝΗ [Ti. WH]), a city on the N. coast of Africa. It was the capital of that part of LIBYA

[*q.v.*] between the Egyptian and Carthaginian territories, which bore the name of **CYRENAICA** or Pentapolis; the phrase in Acts 2:10, 'the parts of Libya about Cyrene,' τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, is equivalent to the *Acrotyl* ἢ *πρωτ.* K. of Dio Cass. (63 12) and ἢ *πρωτ.* Κυρήνη *Acrotyl.* of *Jos. Ant.* xvi. 61. The city was thoroughly Greek in character, and won a high reputation as the mother of physicians (Herod. 3 13; temple of Asklepios, Paus. ii. 269; *Tac. Ann.* 14 18), philosophers, and poets. Callimachus, Carneades, Eratosthenes, Aristippus (Strabo, 837), and Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, are only a few of the many famous men who were sprung from the Cyrenaica. After the death of Alexander the Great, Cyrene with its territory was absorbed by Egypt. Though so thoroughly Hellenic, it had, since the time of Ptolemy son of Lagos (*Jos. c. Ap.* 2,4, end of 4th century B.C.), a large Jewish population. Strabo, quoted by *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 7,2, says that the Jews formed one of the four classes of the inhabitants. The privileges granted to the Jews by Ptolemy were continued and augmented by the Romans (*Jos. Ant.* xvi. 65), who received the Cyrenaica, under the will of the childless Ptolemy Apion, in 96 B.C., though for twenty years they shirked the responsibility of the legacy. In 74 B.C. the territory was made a province, which was combined with Crete when that island was subjugated in 67 B.C. (see CRETE). In 27 B.C. the Cyrenaica and Crete were definitely united to form a single province, under the title *Creta Cyrenae*, or *Creta et Cyrenae* (but either name might be used to denote the dual province: cp *Tac. Ann.* 3 38 70). The province was senatorial—i.e., governed by proconsuls of praetorian rank, and so remained to the time of Diocletian. The subsequent history of Cyrene is connected with its Jewish inhabitants, the chief event being their terrible massacre of the Greek and Roman citizens in the reign of Trajan (Dio Cass. 68 3).

The modern province of *Bardia*, on the E. of the gulf of *Sidra*, represents the ancient Cyrenaica, and in this province *Crennah* marks the exact site of Cyrene, which was placed on the edge of a plateau 1800 feet above the sea-level, overlooking the Mediterranean at a distance of ten miles (Str. 837; πόλις μεγάλη ἐν τραπέζοντι πεδῶν κείμενος, οὗ δὲ τὸν πελάγους ἄκρον αὐτῆν). The port was called Apollonia. The surrounding district was, and is, of remarkable fertility (Str. 166, ἰσπανοτρόπος ἀρίστη, καλλικάρπος; Herod. A. 158 f.). The prosperity of Cyrene was based upon its export of the drug *silphium*, derived from an umbelliferous plant, not yet certainly identified,

growing in the S. desert (see *Mon. d. Inst.*, Pl. 47; a vase representing King Amosiasasporting the weighing of *silphium*; cp the coins; *Antioch. Plat.* 905, 76 *Barron's antiquities*).

That the Jews of Cyrene were largely Hellenised, is beyond question. Jason of Cyrene is mentioned as an

author in 2 Macc. 2:24 (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 21. In the NT we hear of

2. Jewish connection. Simon of Cyrene who bore the cross of Jesus (Mk. 15:21 Lk. 23:26, 'S. a Cyrenian' AV; cp Matt. 27:32, 'a man of C.'; RV, 'of Cyrene' in all three passages; the adj. *Κυρηναῖος* is used in each case). Jews from the Cyrenaica were in the Pentecostal audience of Peter (Acts 2:10; see above on the phrase used). Cyrenians joined with the Alexandrian and Asiatic Jews to attack Stephen (Acts 6), and Cyrenian converts helped to found the first Gentile church at Antioch (Ἐδάσου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας—*ιστάς* WH); Acts 11:20). One of their first missionaries may have been the 'Lucius of Cyrene' of Acts 13:1, one of the 'prophets and teachers' who 'ministered to the Lord' in Antioch. He is said to have been the first bishop of Cyrene. Other traditions connect Mark with the foundation of the Cyrenaic church.

Plan and Description of the site in *Annuaire du Inst.* 1882, at *Antioch*, 217 ff.; cp *Smithsonian*, 8, 373, etc. W. J. W.

CYRENIUS (ΚΥΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]), I. K. 2:2 AV; RV (QUIRENIUS).

CYRUS (ΚΥΡΟΣ; κύρος [BAL]), the founder of the old-Persian empire, belonged to the ancient princely

1. Origin. race of the Achaemenidae, so called after their ancestor Achaemenes (Hakhamanish).

He was the second¹ of his name, his grandfather having been called Cyrus (*Kurush*), in the Babylonian inscriptions *Ku-ra-āš*, *Kur-raš*, *Ku-ur-ra-šū*.² Cyrus was thus, without a doubt, an Aryan and Persian by descent—not an Elamite, as has recently been conjectured. For Darius Hystaspis speaks of Cambyses the son of Cyrus as being one 'of our race' (*amākhām tamāyā* [*Behist.* i. 11]), and calls himself a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent (Naks-i-Rustām, a. § 2; Suez, c. § 3). At first Cyrus was king only of Persia and of Anšan, or Anzan, an Elamite province—probably with Susa (Shushan) for capital—which, after the fall of the Elamite kingdom, and certainly as early as the time of his ancestor Teispes (Cēpis), had come under the dominion of the Achaemenidae.³ In Babylonia Cyrus calls himself by preference king of Anšan; but once, in the annals of Nabū-nā'id (Nabonnedus), col. 2, 15, he is spoken of as 'king of Persia.' Neither state, however, was then of much importance in comparison with the great Median and Chaldean empires; both states, too, were tributary to Media. Nabū-nā'id mentions Cyrus as the 'petty vassal' of Astyages, who had only a very small army at his disposal (5 R. 64, i. 28 ff.). The career of this vassal-king, who rose till he brought under his sway the whole of Western Asia, so struck the popular imagination that a legend of world-wide diffusion respecting the founding prince who was brought up among poor people and afterwards became a famous monarch was applied to him as it had already been applied to others; and this Persian tradition is the source from which Herodotus (1:107 ff.), and the authority upon whom Justinus depends (i. 48-13), may be supposed to have drawn. From Cyrus's own inscriptions, however, it appears that at least three of his ancestors had the same kingdom before him. It is possible, but not certain, that Cyrus in his youth may

¹ In Herod. 5:11, from which Nöldeke (*Ursprung der pers. Gesch.* 15) seeks to show that Cyrus was the third of the name—Herodotus simply places the genealogies of Cambyses and of Xerxes one above the other.

² According to Herod. 1:113 f., Cyrus had previously borne another name, and Strabo (15:220) says that he was originally called Agradates, and that he did not assume the name of Cyrus till his accession to the throne. On this point cp R. Schubert, *Herodotus' Darstellung der Perser*, G. B. Breslau, 30 k.

³ See C. P. Tiele, 'Het Land Aushan-Anzan' in *Feestbundel voor P. J. Veth*, 195 ff. (Leyden, '94).

have attended the Median court, and that either he himself or his father was son-in-law of Astyages.¹

Astyages (*Ishuvegu* on the inscriptions of Nabū-nā'id) is called at one time king of Media, at another king of the *Ummān-manda*,² by which, it has been conjectured, are meant the Scythians.

2. Career. On this assumption, Astyages might with some reason be regarded as a Scythian usurper. In the third year of Nabū-nā'id (553 B.C.) there seems to have arisen within the Median kingdom a revolt against the foreign domination. At least, at that date the *Ummān-manda* who were in occupation of Harrān were recalled (5 Rawl. 64, i. 28 ff.). Some time had still to elapse, however, before Cyrus contrived, by treachery in the Median camp, to become master of Astyages and at the same time of the throne of Media. This happened probably in the sixth, or at all events before the seventh, year of Nabū-nā'id (before 550 B.C.), *Ann.* col. 2 l. 1 ff. The two texts cited can hardly otherwise be brought into agreement with each other. In the following years Cyrus extended his dominion over the whole Median empire, and after subjugating Lydia he directed his energies against Babylon. By the fall of Croesus the alliance between that monarch, Nabū-nā'id, and Amasis of Egypt (Herod. 1.77 ff.) was broken up, and each one had to look out for himself. In 538 the end came. For several years the king of Babylon had withdrawn himself from Babylon, and alienated priests and people alike by neglect of the sacred feasts and of the worship of Marduk, as well as by other arbitrary proceedings. When, in his seventeenth year, he returned to his capital, it was already too late. Cyrus with his victorious bands had been steadily advancing upon the northern frontier of Aecad, which the king's son, probably the Bēl-sār-usur who (in I R 69, col. 2, 26; 59 and 68, n. 1, col. 2, 24 ff.) is called his first-born, was guarding with the army. The brave prince did what he could; but after his army had been defeated—first near the city of Opis (Upē), and again as often as he rallied it—and after the Aecadians or North Babylonians had revolted against the Chaldean king, Sippar opened its gates to the enemy, and Babylon also fell into his hands without further resistance. After Gobryas (Ug-baru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, had taken possession with the vanguard, Cyrus himself made his entry into the city with the main body of his troops on the third day of the eighth month, 539-38, being received (so at least his inscriptions tell us) by all classes, and especially by the priesthood and nobles, as a liberator, with every manifestation of joy. Some days afterwards Gobryas seems to have pursued Bēl-sār-usur and put him to death; but the place where decipherers think this ought to be read (*Ann.* col. 3, 22 ff.) is very much injured. Nabū-nā'id had already been captured. Cyrus reigned about nine years from this time. In his last year he handed over the sovereignty of Babylon to his son Cambyses (see Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses*, Leipzig, 1890, Pref.). Cp BABYLONIA, § 69.

Under the name of Kōrés (see above, § 1), this Cyrus is repeatedly referred to in the OT, usually as 'king of the Persians' (2 Ch. 36.22 ff. Ezra 1.1 ff. § 37 3. Judah's 43 Dan. 10.1), once as 'the Persian' (Dan. 6.29), once as 'king of Babylon' (Ezra 5.13).

Great expectations were cherished of him by the Jews. When, after his defeat of Croesus, he advanced to the conquest of the whole of Asia Minor, there arose one of the exiles in Babylon, who pointed him out as the king raised up by Yahwē to be Israel's redeemer. From his pen comes Is. 40-48 (so much will be admitted by all critics), where Cyrus is represented as expressly called to accomplish the divine judgment upon Babylon,

¹ See Schubert, *lc.* 62 ff., and the works of Evers and Bauer there referred to.

² Del. *Ass. HWB*, writes: '*Ummān manda*, horde of peoples, a general designation of the northern peoples, hostile to Assyria, subject at any one time to Media—*e.g.*, the Gimirai, the Mannai, the Scythians.' Cp Sayce, *PSBA*, Oct. 1896.

to set the captives free, and to restore Jerusalem and the temple (48.14 ff. 44.28 45.13). It was for this end, we are told, that Yahwē had given Cyrus victory upon victory, and would still lead him on to fresh triumphs (41.25 45.1-8). Whether he received recompense for his services or not is left uncertain (cp 43.3 ff. with 45.13); but at any rate he was no mere passive tool in Yahwē's hand. He did not, indeed, know Yahwē before he was called (45.3 ff.); but, once called, he fulfilled his mission invoking Yahwē's name (41.25) and received the honourable titles of 'Yahwē's friend' and 'Yahwē's anointed' (44.28 45.1).

Bitter must have been the disappointment of the Jews; for, whatever else Cyrus may have done for them, he did not realise the high-pitched expectations of the Exile prophet. Hence

4. Transformation. a younger prophet, living in Palestine (see ISAIAH, ii. § 21), announces that, for the deliverance of Israel, Yahwē alone will judge the nations, without any allies from among 'the peoples' (Is. 63.1-6, cp 59.16 ff.), thus reversing the old expectation respecting Cyrus. The later Jews, however, found it difficult to believe that the deliverance which Yahwē was to have wrought through the instrumentality of the great Persian king had never been accomplished. The prophecy must somehow or other have come to pass. Cyrus was not regarded, it is true, as the man who had finally delivered Israel—the deliverance was still one of the hopes of the future—but the Jews desired to recognise in him, at least, the initiator of the restoration of Israel. Such is the reflection inevitably suggested by a strictly critical reading of the work of the Chronicler (see EZRA, ii. § 7).

The restoration of Israel might be considered to have begun with the rebuilding of the temple, and the

5. Building of Temple: three versions. problem now arose, how to bring this event into connection with Cyrus. A difficulty instantly presented itself.

(a) According to the evidence of Haggai, of Zech. 1-8 and of Ezra 5.1-10, the building was first begun under Darius, in whose reign it was also completed. This made it necessary to give another account of the origin and course of the building, if the work was to be attributed to Cyrus. More than one way of effecting this was found. (b) According to the author of Ezra 5.13-17 6.3-5, Cyrus committed the task of rebuilding the temple to his governor Sheshbazzar, and the work thus begun by him was carried on without interruption till the reign of Darius. (c) The Chronicler, however, from whose hand we have Ezra 1.3-4 5.24, gives another version. He too has it that Cyrus ordered the restoration. The work was not taken in hand by the king himself; but permission was given by him to the exiles to return to Jerusalem for the purpose. Immediately after their arrival in the holy city they set up the altar and laid the foundations of the temple; but while Cyrus was still on the throne they were compelled to stop the work by order of the king himself, who had been stirred up by the adversaries of the Jews. Not till the second year of Darius could the building be resumed.

However widely these accounts may differ from one another in detail, they agree in stating that the restoration of the temple was originated by Cyrus, and in representing him as a worshipper of Yahwē, whom he recognised as the one true God. Yahwē is the God of heaven, who has bestowed universal empire upon Cyrus in order that he may restore the true worship in Jerusalem; the temple there is for Cyrus no mere ordinary temple, of which there were so many, but the veritable House of God.

At the same time, the discrepancies which we find in the narratives *b* and *c* are by no means unimportant. According to the older (*b*), the building of the temple was entirely the work of Cyrus, which he caused to be carried on uninterruptedly, defraying the entire cost out

of the royal treasury. According to the other (*c*), it was carried out at the instance of Cyrus; not by himself, however, but only by returned exiles, who, along with their comrades left behind in Babylon, contributed the expenses of the undertaking (146 268 f. 37). So far, indeed, is the restoration of the temple from being, according to this account, the work of Cyrus, that it is actually represented as broken off during his reign at his command. Probably the Jews in the long run found the idea unbearable, that the sanctuary should have been built by a foreigner, even though the foreigner was Cyrus, and therefore his share in the work was reduced by the Chronicler to more modest dimensions.

The importance of Cyrus for Israel lies less in anything he actually did for them than in the great expectations that he excited, expectations which in their turn exercised a great influence on the ideas ultimately formed by the Jews as to the earlier stages of their restoration after the misfortunes of the 'exile.' (Cp. ISRAEL, § 50; DISPERSION, § 5.)

In the OT Cyrus is mentioned also in Dan. 6:28 [29] 10:1; in the first-cited passage as the successor of Darius, that is, of 'Darius the Mede' (Dan. 5:31 [6:1]). See DARIUS, I.

The preceding sketch of the result of a critical examination of the passages of the OT relating to

Cyrus is not contradicted by anything contained in the inscriptions of Cyrus himself discovered some years ago.

It is certainly worthy of note how closely, even down to details, the representation of the Persian conqueror in these inscriptions agrees with that which is found in Is. 44:28 and 45:1. Evidently the second Isaiah had a correct idea of what a Persian king, as opposed to a Babylonian, would be likely to do. In the cylinder inscription (5 R 35; cp. Hagen, 'Cyrus-texte' in *Monat. z. Assyriol.*, 2, 205 ff., and *Kt.* 3:6 220 ff.) Cyrus is the deliverer of oppressed peoples, chosen by Marduk himself, and hailed by all Sumer and Accad as a saviour, exactly as with the Israelite prophet he is called, the anointed, of Yahwè. A difference there is between the joyous hope which the Jewish exiles cherished and the official statements which Babylonian scribes at royal command had to chronicle on their cylinders; but the coincidences referred to are too close to be entirely accidental. Moreover, priests and people alike had reason enough to be dissatisfied with the arbitrariness and misgovernment of their former sovereign, and Cyrus, with fine political tact, knew how to utilise this temper and win hearts by deference towards the national religion, restraint of robbery and violence, and redress of grievances. No wonder that the Jewish exiles also hoped for enlargement at his hands. That he fulfilled this expectation does not appear at least from his inscriptions.

The passage in which some scholars have thought that this may be read demands another interpretation. In (yl. I, 11 the words *šrēš šarāra kullāš matitā* were taken together and translated, 'he (Marduk) decreed return from all lands'; but it is certain that, with Hagen and Del., we must connect the words *šrēš šarāra* with those which precede, and *kullāš matitā* with those

which follow, so that the meaning is: 'After that Marduk, in his wrath, had brought all sorts of miseries upon the land he changed his disposition' and had decreed that 'all lands be looked; he sought [and so found] as the right prince, the fulfiller of his gracious decrees, Cyrus, etc.' In this passage nothing is said of any restoration of exiles to their native land.

More interest attaches to the passage I, 30 ff., where, however, the names on which the question chiefly turns are, unfortunately, obliterated. Here Cyrus says that he returned to their places the gods of a great many towns, brought together the inhabitants, and restored both temples and dwelling-houses. The towns referred to were all named, and it was added that they lay on the banks of the Tigris,² and that their territory extended from [lacuna in the text] to Aššur and Šušan (according to the correct interpretation of Delitzsch and Hagen), by which expressions are intended not the cities of the name but the countries of Assyria and West Elam (the city of Ašur lay on the right bank of the river). The obliterated names (or name) can have denoted only the western and southern boundaries of the district referred to—probably Sumer and Accad, which are separately mentioned immediately afterwards. Accordingly, there can be no doubt that reference is here made to Cyrus's care for the restoration of neglected worship and for the return of the inhabitants of certain cities to their former habitations; this, however, only in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon. At the same time, although in these inscriptions, which doubtless belong to the earlier period of Cyrus's rule over Babylon, no mention is made of any general measure extending also to exiles from the West, there remains the possibility that the Persian conqueror may have taken up this work of restoration at a later time.³ At all events the conciliatory policy of which he had already given positive evidence can very well have aroused among the Jews the hope and expectation that they also would one day benefit by it.

The tomb of Cyrus 'the king, the Achæmenid,' at Marghish (Pasargadæ?) is now assigned by Weissbach (*ZDMG* 48 653 f.) to the younger Cyrus. At any rate the Egyptian head-dress of the king on the monument shows that it can have been erected only after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.

C. P. T.—W. H. K.

¹ Probably the words *šrēš šarāra* ka . . . should be completed so as to read either *kalbitālu* or *kalāh-ha-as-su*. (So Tiele.)

² The words *šrēš šarāra matitā šarāra* are not clear. Schr. translates: 'whose place from of old lay in ruins'; Hagen, Del., 'founded in the most ancient time.' But does *matitā* ever mean this? In our present inquiry the question is of subordinate importance.

³ [Cp. the very interesting inscription in the last section of Briggs's *Hist. of Egypt* ('the Persians in Egypt'), which describes the religious patriotism of an Egyptian Nêhemiah. The deceased is represented on his statue (now in the Vatican) as telling the events of the Persian period of his life. Being in high favour as a physician with Cambyses, he was able to induce that monarch to give orders for the restoration of the temple of Neith at Sais, and of the religious services. He was physician also to Darius, who, when he was in Elam, sent him to Egypt to restore the arrangements for the scribes of the temples. This last mission appears to synchronise with the erection of the (second) temple at Jerusalem. Cp. Meyer, *Ewist.* 71; *Chic. Jew. K'el. Life.*]

T. K. C.]

D

DABAREH (דַּבָּרֵה), Josh. 21:28 AV; RV DABERATH.

DABBASHETH, RV *Dabbesheth* (דַּבְּשֵׁת), § 99; Βαβαρησα [B], Δαβαρθαι [A], -θαι [A]; 'a hump, i.e., 'a hill'; cp Jos. B/iv. 11, a place on the W. border of Zebulun (Josh. 19:11). Conder identifies it with *K'h. Dabsheth*, on the left bank of the W. of KATH (i.e., according to him the Valley of JIPHATAH-EL, mentioned in v. 14); but this spot is too high up in the hills, and is scarcely on the boundary line, in addition to which the name is not a probable one.

ΘΑ reads דבשה; ΘΒ ביהרבה. All the readings may be reconciled by reading דבשה. The initial ב was lost, owing to the preposition ה which precedes; י (י) was transferred to the end of the name, thus producing דבשה; ו was lost, and so MT's reading was produced: דבשה. T. K. C.

DABERATH (דַּבְּרַת or דַּבְּרָת): Δαβραθ [A.]; Josh. 19:12, δαβεραθ [B], דַּבְּרַת [Pesh.]; Josh. 21:28, δεβρα [B], δεβραθ [A], דַּבְּרַת [Pesh.], AV DABAREH; 1 Ch. 6:72 [57], δεβεριε and δαβαρ [B—a doublet], γαβερ [A], δαβεραθ [L], Δαβερ [Pesh.], a Levitical city (Josh. 21:28) on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19:12), but belonging to Issachar (Josh. 21:28 1 Ch. 6:72 [57]), is the δαβαριττα of Jos. (Vit. 62), the *Dabira* (δαβειρα) of Eus. and Jer. (OS 115:20 250:54), the modern *Daburiyeh*, a small and unimportant village, 'lying on the side of a ledge of rocks at the W. base of Mount Tabor' (Rob. BR 321). It occupies a strategic position above the great plain at the mouth of the pass leading northwards between Tabor and the Nazareth hills. Apparently it was here that the Israelite forces mustered under Barak (GASm. HG 394); and it is possible to trace a connection between the name of the village and that of Deborah, without rushing to the extreme represented by C. Niebuhr (*Reconstitution des Deborahliedes*, 11 f.). May not the home of the prophetess have been at Daberath? (so Moore, *Judges*, 13 f.). We learn from Jos. B/ii. 21:3 that there was a Jewish garrison here in the Roman war, 'to keep watch on the Great Plain.'

DABRIA (*DABRIA*), 4 Esd. 14:24, a scribe: cp perhaps the name *DIERI* (q.v.).

DACUBI, RV *Dacubi* (Δακυβι [A]), 1 Esd. 5:28† = Ezra 2:42, AKKUB (q.v., 2).

DADDEUS, RV *LODDEUS* (Λοδαϊος [B]), 1 Esd. 8:46 = Ezra 8:17, IDDO (1.).

DAGGER occurs as a rendering of:

1. דַּגֵּר, *hereth*, Judg. 3:16 21 f. (μαχαίρα; Vg. has *gladium* in vs. 16 22, but *sicam* in v. 21). RV 'sword.' See WEAPONS.

2. δַּגְּרִימוֹן, Bar. 6:15 [14]. This word represents דַּגְּרִי four times in Θ, but in Jer. 50:42 it represents דַּגְּרִי. Bel's 'dagger' was, on mythological grounds, a javelin. See WEAPONS, and cp JAVELIN.

DAGON (דַּגּוֹן; Δαγων [BAL]), a god of the Philistines, who had temples at Gaza (Judg. 16:21 f.).

1. **The name.** 11 4.) It appears from the passages cited, especially from the story of Samson, that the worship of Dagon was general among the Philistines (Jerome on Is. 46:1),² though it would perhaps be a mistake to regard him as a national god. Places bearing

¹ The temple of Dagon in 1 Ch. 10:10 is an error for Bethshan, 1 S. 31:10, and in Is. 46:1 (ΘA-Q) Dagon is a mistake for Nebus. Δαγων in Ezek. 29:46 (21 2) [BA] is corrupt.

² Jerome's knowledge is doubtless derived solely from the OT.

the name BETH-DAGON (7.11.) are found in the Judean Lowlands and on the boundary of Asher; in Christian times there was a Caferdago between Diospolis and Jamnia (Jerome).¹ All these places lie within a region which had been for a time in the possession of the Philistines, and it is conceivable that they received the name from them. This can hardly be the case, however, with Beit Dejan, SE. of Nābulus, which also seems to represent an ancient Beth-dagon; and it is at least equally possible that the worship of Dagon to which these names bear witness preceded the Philistine invasion—in other words, that Dagon was a god of the older Canaanite inhabitants. Philo Byblus gives Dagon a place in his Phœnician theogony, making him a son of Uranos and Gē, and brother of Elos (El) or Kronos, Baïtulos, and Atlas;² but we should hesitate to conclude, on this testimony alone, that Dagon was worshipped among the Phœnicians. A cylindrical seal now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, attributed by Sayce to the seventh century B.C., is inscribed with the words 'Baal Dagon' in Phœnician characters (Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, 327).

Of the character of the god we know nothing definite. Philo Byblus, deriving the name from *dāgān*, corn, interprets *αἰρω*, and makes Dagon a god of husbandry, *Zeus ἀρότριος*. Others derived the name Dagon from *dag*, fish (cp *Shimshon* [SAMSON], from *shemesh*, sun).³ It was natural, therefore, to imagine that the god was represented in the form of a fish (so Rashi). From 1 S. 5:4 we learn, however, that the idol of Dagon at Ashdod had a head, and hands which projected from the body; by its fall these were broken off, leaving only the trunk of the image. The Hebrew text, by some corruption, reads, 'only Dagon was left on him,' which David Kimhi (*ob. circa* 1235 A.D.) ingeniously interprets, only the form of a fish was left, adding, 'It is said that Dagon, from his navel down, had the form of a fish (whence his name, Dagon), and from his navel up, the form of a man, as it is said, his two hands were cut off.'⁴ It is not impossible that this theory, for which there does not seem to be any older Jewish authority,⁵ merely transfers to Dagon, by the help of etymology, the description given by Lucian and others of the goddess Derceto, who was worshipped on the same coast.⁶ Not a few more modern scholars have identified her with Dagon. The prevailing opinion that Dagon was

sea monster, upward man

And downward fish,

has no other foundation than these very doubtful etymological and mythological combinations.

What relation there is between Dagon and Marnas, the principal god of Gaza in the early centuries of our era,⁷ whom the writers of the time identify with *Zeus* 1 OS 235:14 (κεταρ δαγων) 104:15. In the inscription of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, in connection with Dor and Joppa, occur the words דַּגְּרִימוֹן, which Schlottmann interpreted, 'land of Dagon,' others, 'cornlands.' Δαγων near Jericho (Jos. Ant. xiii. 8 1=BT 1. 2 3) = Δακ. 1 Macc. 10:13) has nothing to do with the name of the god (see Docuz).

¹ Müller, *Byb. Hist.* Gr. 3:37 f.; cp *Etyim. Magn. s.v.* Βηθδᾶγον ὁ κρῖνος ἢ φουκίσιον.

² Jer., *psalms tristitia* (111, cp Sidon, *venatio tristitia*). Other interpretations: εἶδος ἰχθύος ἢ λίθου, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὑπόρου ἄγρια ἢ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀρότριος (OS 189:12).

³ Thénius would put this explanation into the text, emending דַּגְּרִימוֹן דַּגְּרִימוֹן דַּגְּרִימוֹן דַּגְּרִימוֹן דַּגְּרִימוֹן; similarly Vg. (אשר דגו דגו). WRKS; cp Dr.

⁴ It is unknown to the Targum, Josephus, and the Talmud. Other Jewish commentators represent Dagon with the head of a fish; see a Lyra, Abarb.

⁵ See ATARGATIS.

⁶ First attested on coins of Hadrian. See Jer. Ep. 107:2, Vit. S. Hilar. 14:20; esp. Marc. Diac., Vit. S. Porphyris, passim.

Κρηταγενής, is not certain. Marnas is the Aramaic *marnā*, our Lord, and it is not impossible that the god worshipped under this appellation was, by his proper name, the old Dagon.

In the fragments of Bērōssus, one of the mythical monsters, part fish, part man, who at long intervals

came up from the Persian Gulf to repeat to the Chaldeans the original revelation of Oannes, is named Odacon (Ὠδάκων)¹; and as, since Kimhi, a like form was generally attributed to Dagon, it was natural to combine the two names (Selden and many others). Layard published a figure of a merman from Khorsabad, and in a note suggested that it might represent Odacon-Dagon (*Vincenzh*, 1840, 246ff.). Some later Assyriologists reproduce Layard's cut with the legend 'the fish-god Dagon.'²

There was a Babylonian god Dagan, whose name appears in conjunction with Anu and often with 'Ninib': he was, therefore, probably a god of heaven (Sayce, Jensen).³ As Sir Henry Rawlinson perceived, there is no connection whatever between this god and Bērōssus's sea-monster, Odacon. Whether the Philistine Dagon is originally the same as the Babylonian Dagan cannot, with our present knowledge, be determined. The long and profound influence of Babylonia in Palestine in early times, which is attested by the Amarna tablets, makes it quite possible that Dagon, like Anath, came there.⁴ Dagon, however, does not seem to have occupied a place of much importance in the Babylonian religion, and is much less often mentioned than the other great gods. The Assyrians do not recognise the name of the god Dagan in the town Beth-dagon, Bit-daganna (Sennacherib, *Prism Inscr.* 265), and possibly the similarity of the names may be accidental.

Of the worship of Dagon we know nothing. According to 1 S. 5 the priests and others entering his temple

at Ashdod were careful not to set foot on the sill (*1 S. 5*; cp *Marc.* Diac. 76).

What we learn from the best-learned author about the worship of Marnas at Gaza—for example, that the god was invoked to send rain; that he gave oracles; that there were certain *marmora* in the temple which were peculiarly sacred, and guarded from the approach (especially of women); that there were wells in the temple precincts—is not distinctive. Whether human sacrifices were offered there in the writer's day may be doubted; the indictment in 66 65 may refer to an earlier time.

See Soblen, *De die Syriae*, 78 with Bayer's *Achtzehnter*; Th. Rosenl., *Die Phoenizier*; *Phoenizien*, 100; in *Ugolini, Theopneustia*, 20; *Ugolini, Staat, Geogr. u. die biblisch-arch. Kunde* (182), 205-206; cp 270-201; Schick, *Geographisches* (177), 200-204; Buhlmann, art. 'Dagon' in *PL 8*; Merz, 'Le mythe de Dagon', *Revue de l'Hist. des Relig.* 11 (1892) 207 ff.; Jensen, *Die Kanaanäer der Bibel* (190), pp. 443-444. G. A. S.

DAISAN (ΔΑΙΣΑΝ [B]). 1 Est. 5:13 in Ezra 2:48, REZIN, 2.

DALAIAH (דַּלַּיָאִה), 1 Ch. 3:24 AV; RV DELAIAH, 3.

DALAN (דַּלָּאֵן [A]). 1 Est. 5:17; RV = Ezra 2:69, DELAIAH, 4.

DALMANUTHA (τὰ μερὴ δαλμανουθα [Ti. WH]) takes the place in Mk. 8:15 of the MAGDAS (g.v.) of || Mt. 15:39. It was 'into the parts of Dalmanutha,' we are told (Mk. 8:10), that Jesus came in 'the boat' with his disciples after he had 'sent away about four thousand' whom he had fed. Since in v. 13

¹ Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 2 600.
² Schneider in Riehm, *Hilf. Bz. (cp KAT 2) 182*; Fr. Del. in *Cabrer Bib. lex.* See esp. Menant, 'Le Mythe de Dagon', *Revue de l'Hist. des Relig.* (1892) 11 205 ff., where a great variety of Assyrian fish-men may be found.

³ According to the Heb. version of Tobit, Sennacherib was killed in the temple of his god Dagon (ed. Neubauer, p. 20, l. 4); but this is a mere blunder.

⁴ Cp the name *Dagantakala* in the Am. Tab., and see Ashdod (vol. 325, n. 2).

he 'departed to the other side' (οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ πέραν), it has seemed natural to look for Dalmanutha on the W. coast of the lake. No such place, however, is known. The name does not appear in Eus. or Jer.; nor is there any trace of an analogy to it in any of the ancient itineraries or mediæval travels.

Lightfoot ('*Deas Choraz.* in *Thoma, 2 245 f.*; cp *Opp. North*, 71) suggested that it might be an Aramaic form of Salomna, *שלמנא*, several times mentioned in Talmudic writings (Mishna, *Yerushalmi*, 100; *Kiddushin*, 10; *Shabb.* 12. *Talm. Tana Berach.* 82 b) as if in the neighbourhood of Tiberias; and similarly Ewald (*Hist.*, ET, 634b, n. 4) interprets it as the Gallean pronunciation of Salomon. Keim (*Jesus*, ET, 4239) takes it for Salomna, i.e. 'Sheloh Plains'. Schwabacher (*Heb. Land*, 189) suggests that Talmanutha, as another name for Magdala, may be derived from the cave of *Ἰεζαβὴλ* (Latin, *Jezus. Denai*, 2), for which he proposes the caves on the cliff behind Mejdell. Neubauer, however (*Geog. Talm.* 268), says that this cave should be in the neighbourhood of Herod's Caesarea. Recently two other derivations from Aramaic have been proposed. Herz (*Exp.* 7, 8 563 (Sept. 97)) suggests that Dalmanuth is a transliteration of *דלמנא*, the emphatic form of *דלמנא*, the Talmudic name for *Arbutha*, i.e. the bay or harbour in which Magdala stood—a designation 'one might expect of the evangelist whose gospel is founded on the preaching of Peter the fisherman.' Then Nestle (*B. 945* (Oct. 97)), after pronouncing Herz's *דלמנא* an impossible form for the emphasis of *דלמנא*, suggests *דלמנא* (דלמנא) 'into the parts', i.e. of Magdala. Herz replies (*B. 945* (Nov. 97)) that *דלמנא* is possible in the laxity of Talmudic transliteration and points out that in Nestle's suggestion the *נ* remains unaccounted for, as well as the intrusion of a needless Syriac equivalent of the Greek. Those who place Magdala on the SE. shore of the lake have sought there for traces of the name, and Thomson (*LB* 393) suggests a ruined site half a mile up the Yarmuk from the Jordan, called Dalmanita or Dalmatia (Robt. *B. 364* Pelletyich); but this is some distance from the lake. None of these derivations and identifications seems perfectly satisfactory.

G. A. S.

DALMATIA (ΔΑΛΜΑΤΙΑ [Ti. WH], Tac., Dio Cass., *Dalmatia*; *Inscr. Dalmatia* and *Dalmatia*). The name does not occur in early Greek writers. The Dalmatians were an Illyrian tribe, or perhaps rather a confederation of tribes, round the town Delmin or Delminium, from which their name was derived (Strabo, 315). They had fifty settlements (*κατοικίας ἀξιολόγους*), but cp Cic. *ad Fam.* 5 10, of which some ranked as cities—e.g., Salone or Salona (mod. *Salona* near *Spalato*). These tribes had in earlier times been loosely dependent upon the rulers of Scodra (mod. *Skutari*), and had therefore suffered from the Roman expeditions directed against Queen Teuta (229 B.C.) and Demetrius of Pharos (219 B.C.). On the accession of Gentius they revolted, and thus escaped the fate of southern Illyricum, which, on the subjugation of Macedonia, became permanently dependent upon Rome (see ILLYRICUM). Brigandage and piracy were the only native trades (Str. 317). In 155 B.C. Publius Scipio Nasica took the capital, and the Dalmatians professed subjection. A series of almost endless wars had to be waged before this central part of Illyricum was finally reduced by Octavian (33 B.C.). In the partition of provinces in 27 B.C. 50 peaceful was Illyricum (τὸ Δαλωατικόν, Dio Cass. 53 12) that it was made senatorial; but sixteen years later the Emperor was compelled to take charge of its two main sections, Dalmatia and Pannonia (*id.* 54 34). A final struggle for freedom (6-9 A.D.; cp Suet. *Tib.* 16, who compares the crisis with that of the Punic Wars) was crushed by Tiberius. The coastland from Lissus to the Arsia was thereafter organised as an independent province (for its importance, see Tac. *Ann.* 45). The title of the province was 'Superior Provincia Illyricum' (*CIL* 3, 1741), or 'maritima pars Illyrici' (Vell. ii. 125 f.). After Augustus 'Dalmatia' is apparently the more usual title (cp Jos. *B. J.* ii. 164). Its northern boundary towards Pannonia is not clearly marked; in the S. it extended to the province of Macedonia. The mention of Dalmatia in the NT is confined to a single instance ('Titus is gone to Dalmatia,' perhaps from Nicopolis: 2 Tim. 4:10).

The connection may be illustrated from Tac. *Ann.* 2:1; *homonym (consulatus) Germanicus mitti apud urbem Achaiae*

Nicopolis, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Dalmatia agente.

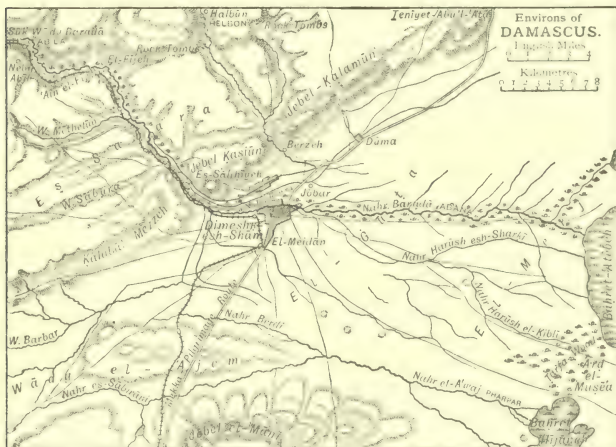
It is unnecessary to suppose that the term 'Dalmatia' is used by Paul in a 'vague and general sense' (Conybeare and Howson, 2 155).

See Cony. *La Province Rom. de Dalmatie*: Evans, *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*. W. J. W.

DALPHON (דַּלְפוֹן; ΔΕΛΦΩΝ [B.M.B.], ΤΟΝ Δ. [N^o]. ΔΔΕΛΦΩΝ [N^o]. ΤΟΝ ΔΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΥΤΟΥ [L^o]), a son of Haman, Esth. 9.7. Cp ΕΣΤΗΡ, § 3.

DAMARIS (ΔΑΜΑΡΙC [Ti. WH]), a woman, apparently of some importance, named in Acts 17.34 as one of those who were converted by Paul's preaching at Athens. Chrysostom (*de Sacrad.* 47) makes her the wife of DIONYSIUS the Areopagite; so Lat. of cod. E (*cum uxore sua*), whilst its Greek has only γυνή. Wetstein (*NT Gr.* 2.573) quotes a gloss, Δαμαρ. γυνή, γαυρηή. λέγεται καὶ Δαμαρ.

DAMASCUS. The English Damascus is the Greek ΔΑΜΑΣΚΟΣ. The Heb. is usually דַּמְשֶׁק, Dammesek; but twice (1 Ch. 18.5 2 Ch. 28.5; cp 2 K. 16.10 דַּמְשֶׁק דַּרְבִּימֶשֶׁק, Darmesek. The origin and meaning of the name are unknown.



Both forms occur in the Targums. The Aramaic form is Dammesek, later Syrian Dammesak; Talmud, Dürmasan. Both forms occur in the Egyptian lists; T-mas-ki in the sixteenth century B.C., and Sava-mas-ki for Ti-ra-mas-ki in the thirteenth (WMM, *As. u. Eur.*). In Assyrian the town is Dimas-ki or Dimassa; the kingdom (in Heb., Aram of Damascens) Mat Sa imerisu, a phrase of uncertain meaning. The Arabic is Dimašk, or Dimišk es Säm—i.e., Damascus of Syria—usually contracted to es-Säm. The instances of the form with *mm* in OT are later than those with double *m*; but, if the Egyptian transliteration be correct, *mm* is as old as the thirteenth century B.C. Whether *mm* arose by assimilation (see below, § 6) from *mm*, or *mm* by dissimilation from *mm*, is not clear.

Damascus has occupied its present site certainly since Greek times, probably from the remotest antiquity.

2. Geography. The city lies in the NW. corner of the Gûta, a fertile plain to the E. of Hermon. To the E. of the city this is known as el-Merj, the Ager Damascenus.

The Gûta is some 30 m. by 8 or 10, and 2300 ft. above sea-level. It is bounded on the W. by Hermon, on the N. by a long barren offshoot of Antilibanus, on the E. by a long line of volcanic hills, the Tellin, which shut out the great desert, and on the S. by the Jebel 'Aswad, beyond which lies Haurân. It is traversed on the N. by the seven streams of the *Baradâ* and on the S. by the *Barâra* and *A'sraf* (see ANASSA, PARSOPH). The fertility is very great. There are many fields of corn and

maize; but groves of poplar and walnut, orchards of apricot, pomegranate, pistachio, and almond, with hedges and underwood, so abundant (see below, § 10), that the distant view of the Gûta is as of an almost unbroken sea of verdure. From this the white, smokeless city rises like an island, near the barren limestone hills on the north of it.

The bulk of the city is set along the main stream of the Baradâ, 2 m. from where the latter breaks upon the plain. It spreads about a mile from

3. The City. E. to W. and half a mile from N. to S.; but from the southern gate a suburb, the Meidân, consisting almost wholly of one street, stretches for another mile. The city is thus mallet-shaped, the head lying N. to the Baradâ, the shaft S. along the Meccan road. Between the Baradâ and the hills there is another suburb, Sâlihiyeh; but it is scattered and half hidden in trees.

The position is almost absolutely level, and commanded by the hills. There is no real citadel; a castle surrounded by a moat lies a little to the south of the river. The wall, pierced by seven gates, runs straight along the river and then round the bulk of the city; the moat head. The upper part of it is Arab or Turkish work; but much of the lower half may date from NT times (Acts 9.25; cp 2 Cor. 11.32 f.). Through the southern part of the city and parallel to the river ran (as through every other Greek town in Cælesyria) a long colonnaded street, generally identified with that 'called Straight' (Acts 9.11). The bases of some columns are still standing. E. of the castle, the Great Mosque (partly burned in 1894) occupies the site and contains some of the structure of the Cathedral of St. John, built by Arcadius in the beginning of the fifth century on the ruins of a Greek temple, which again was probably the successor of the house of Rimmon (2 K. 5.18; cp 16.10-16). The rest of Damascus is occupied by bazaars, mosques, a few open places, and streets of private houses. On its approach to the walls, the Baradâ has much of its water drawn off through channels, by which it is conveyed to every corner of the city. The chief gardens lie along the N. bank of the river; but others, interspersed with cemeteries, stretch all round the wall. Despite various drawbacks, her rich streams, bursting, as they do, on the very edge of the desert, and creating a delicious verdure, have won for Damascus the name of the earthly Paradise of the Arab world.

That a site so defenceless and so shut off by lofty mountains from the most of Syria should yet have held in perennial vigour one of the most ancient of cities, the real capital of Syria, and enabled it to survive wars and changes of empire which have overthrown or reduced to poverty every other great city of that part of the world, is due to the combination of so rich a fertility with a position so forward on the desert and so central to Western Asia. Damascus is an indispensable harbour of refuge on the desert; the market of the nomads; the outpost of the Mediterranean world towards farther Asia; central to Egypt, the Levant, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Khurdistan. Her great roads lead to N. Syria, the upper Euphrates by Palmyra to Baghâd and the Persian Gulf; by the Gulf of 'Aqaba to Mecca; through Syria to Cairo; and by the upper Jordan and Galilee to Acre, which is her natural port on the Mediterranean—though at times political exigencies have connected her more closely with Tyre, Sidon, or Tripoli, and to-day the great French road and railway across the Lebanon carry her western trade to Bêrût. She thus lay on the commercial lines of traffic between Western Europe and India by the Persian Gulf: between the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile; between Arabia and Asia Minor. So

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inevitable an emporium, Damascus was only less favourable a seat of empire. She has always been the natural capital of Lebanon and Eastern Palestine. As long as an Eastern power ruled, she remained the capital also of Syria; but during the Greek and Roman dominion (330 B.C.—634 A.D.) she yielded her supremacy to Antioch.

The Arabs first made for Damascus, and then used her as the base of their Syrian conquests. Under the Umayyad Kufis she was the capital of the Moslem empire from Spain to India.

With so many communications Damascus has always been the home of a motley crowd—Syrians, Arabs,

5. Arts.

Greeks, and Kurds, with Turks and Jews. Yet it has preserved, apparently through all ages, a very distinctive character for skill in handicrafts. Damascus, though it has never been a great school of letters, has always been a school of arts; even more a manufactory than a market or a garden. The English terms, Damask (originally any figured or patterned textile)¹ and Damascene blade; the German Damast and Damascieren and Damascere; the French Damasquinerie and Damasquinerie (embossing on steel) are proofs of the inventiveness and technical skill of the people, which seem to reach back to a very remote time. In the middle ages Damascus was famous for its patterned and brocaded cloths, especially silks and wools ('an inimitable perfection of work' according to Idrisi), its glass, sword-blades, and embossed and enamelled metal-work. In the beginning of the Christian era, to 'carry wool to Damascus' was, according to the Talmud, a proverb, equivalent to our 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' Ezekiel (47 18) speaks of the city's exportation of wine and wool for the manufactures of Phoenicia (cp Toy, *SBOT*, but see Cornill, *ad loc.*); 2 K. 8.9 mentions the 'goods of Damascus.' Ahaz made a copy of its richly decorated altar (2 K. 16 10 ff.).

The extreme antiquity of Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* i. 6.4.7) was not an unnatural inference from its perennial vigour throughout historical times. Down

6. Early History.

to the eleventh century B.C., however, references to it are few and uncertain. A local tradition (found also in Nicolaus Dam. *Fr.* 30, *ap. Jos. Ant.* i. 7.2) connects Damascus with Abraham; and there is twice mention of it in the JE narrative of the patriarch's life (Gen. 14 15 15.2; see BOWEN, *ELIEZER*, 1). In the sixteenth century Ti-mas-ku occurs as the thirteenth in the list of the Syrian conquests of Thotmes III. (*RP*² 5.44); Ti-mas-gi, Ti-mas-ka are read in the Amarna tablets (15th cent.) (139.63 142.21). These tablets describe the invasion of N. Syria by the Hittites, before whom the Egyptian outposts had to give way, and for the next three centuries Damascus lay upon the vacillating frontier between the two powers. In the fourteenth century, Rameses II. extended his conquests to Beirüt and probably included Damascus. At the close of the thirteenth century, in lists of the conquests of Rameses III., Sa-ra-mas-ki for Ti-ra-mas-ki (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 227) is mentioned. The addition of *r* to the name is taken (*ib.* 234) as proof that the regions of Damascus had meanwhile come under Aramitean influence (but see ARAM), and so when at last they appear in the OT historical books, in the campaigns of David toward the end of the eleventh century, we find them possessed by a number of Aramæan states, for the rise of which room had been made by the overthrow of the Hittites nearly a hundred years previously by Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1106). The chief of these Aramæan states was Šöbah (see DAVID, § 8 *b*) under king Hadadezer, to whose help against David came Aram of Dammešek (2 S. 8.5; cp 1 Ch. 18.5). David,

¹ It is not at all probable that Damascus had acquired a reputation for the manufacture of damask as early as the time of Amos, though RV of Am. 8.10 assumes this; 'Damask' and 'Damascus' may have no connection. In Ar. the forms are different—*dimaḳ* for the stuff, and *Dimaḳ* for the city. Probably (as Franke, *Iranianische*, 40, referred to by Driver, *ad loc.*, is of opinion) *dimaḳ* comes by metathesis from *midaḳ*. On Am. Lc., see Amos, § 5 n.; BEB, § 5.

after his victory, is said to have planted garrisons in the territory of Damascus; but that these had no permanence is plain from what we hear of Kešön ben Eliädä the freebooter, who 'came to Damascus, and dwelt there, and reigned in Damascus, and was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon' (1 K. 11.23-25).

We have now reached the point at which Damascus becomes chief of the Aramæan confederacy, and enters

upon her first great period of political supremacy (*circa* 1000-733 B.C.). Her history is articulate, and we have a pretty full, though not complete, list of her kings. Who Rešön b. Eliädä (1 K. 11.23) was is disputed; probably (see, however, HEZION) he was the same as Hezion, father of Tabrimmon, father of the Ben-hadad (Bir-idri, known as Ben-hadad I.) who about 925 B.C. helped ASA (*q.v.*) against Baasha (1 K. 15.18 ff.). It was perhaps the same Ben-hadad who, some twenty years later, defeated Omri and won the right of 'establishing quarters' (see TRADE AND COMMERCE IN SAMARIA, K. 20.4; NIE, *Dam. Fr.* 31). The son of Ben-hadad I. (or Ben-hadad himself? See BEN-HADAD, § 2), whom also the OT calls Ben-hadad, but a contemporary inscription of Shalmaneser II. of Assyria (854 B.C.) calls Hadadezer (see, however, BEN-HADAD, § 2), besieged AHAB (*q.v.*) in Samaria, but was repulsed there and again at Aphek, on which Ahab received the right to 'establish quarters for himself' in Damascus. In 854 the combined forces of N. Israel, Damascus, and other states were defeated at Karkar (see AHAB) by Shalmaneser II., who again, in 850 and in 847, overthrew Ben-hadad. The Assyrian empire was thus steadily advancing on Damascus; but the latter was still the terror of Israel (2 K. 5.7, the story of Naaman), made regular raids over Jordan, and even besieged Samaria (2 K. 6.7; see JEHORAM, 1) till Ben-hadad was drawn off by rumours of northern war. Disgraced by defeats

so numerous, he was slain by HAZAEL (*q.v.*), at least in the text of 2 K. 8.15 is correct. Hazael then became king, and warred with Jehoram (*ib.* 28 f.), also with Shalmaneser II., by whom he was defeated in 843 and in 840, the second time with the loss of four cities and much spoil out of Damascus. Still, he succeeded in depriving Jehu of all Israel's territory E. of Jordan, and in extending the dominion of Damascus southwards to the Arnon (2 K. 10.32; cp Am. 13). He also took Gath, and was bought off from an invasion of Judah only by large tribute from Jehoshaphat (12.17 [18] f.). Hazael and his son Ben-hadad III. (or II.) were able to oppress Israel through the reigns of Jehu's successors Jehoahaz and Joash (2 K. 13.3 25), for under Sami-ranmiän the Assyrian armies did not cross the Euphrates (ASSYRIA, § 32), and Damascus was free for the time from the Northern terror. By 805 Assyria was again pressing towards Palestine, and in 803 King Mari

9. Mari. (Ben-hadad II.?) of Damascus (see BEN-HADAD, § 3) was successfully besieged by Rammän-nirari III. This disaster to Damascus permitted JEROBOAM II. (*q.v.*) to recover the territory that Hazael had taken from Israel, and for a time Israel held part of the territory of Damascus (2 K. 14.28; not necessarily the city). In 773 Damascus again suffered from the Assyrians, who invaded the country (see *ib.* 77.2, 77.7, 78.5, and 78.4 ASSYRIA, § 32).

10. Rezin. It was the beginning of the end. In 743-740 Tiglath-pileser III. made his first Syrian campaign, and his annals (*KP* 2.30) contain the name Ra-sun-nu (*nat*) Gar-imeri-šu (*i.e.*, of Damascus) as paying tribute. This Ra-sun-nu is the Rezin of the Syro-Israelitish war (see AHAZ, *TABEEL*), whose invasion of Judah brought about an Assyrian intervention (2 K. 16.7 ff.). Perhaps the danger which now threatened Damascus was the occasion of the allusions to the city in Is. 17.1. In 733 Tiglath-pileser—whether before or after his subjection of N. Israel and the

Philistine cities is not quite clear—defeated Rezin, shut him up in Damascus, cut down the plantations (see above, § 2) round the city (he numbers the trees at 13,500), took the city, executed Rezin, and carried the people into captivity (Schr. *COT* 152 ff.; cp 2 K. 169). It was after this, in 732, that Ahaz visited Damascus, and obtained the pattern of the altar which he saw there (*ib.* 10).

Up to this time Damascus had possessed great political influence: her confidence in herself, her power

11. Decline. of recuperation, and her military skill are amply proved by her restless energy in Syrian politics, even while she was bleeding from the reiterated attacks of Assyria. The blow which Tiglath-pileser inflicted, however, absolutely destroyed her political power. She seems to have been reduced to the same position as Samaria.

Shalmaneser IV., Sargon, and Sennacherib mention no king of Damascus in all their Syrian lists, and the only notice of the town for a century is in the Khorsabad inscription of Sargon, where (about the year 713) Damascus is said to have joined Arpad, Simirra (see ZEMARITE), and Samaria in a league formed by Hamath against Assyria. The allied forces were crushed by Assyria at Karkar (*A B* 27). Next century Damascus is omitted from the list of twenty-two kingdoms given by Esarhaddon.

She is not mentioned by the prophets, except in a doubtful passage of the Book of Jeremiah (49:23-27) where she is given over to fear and flight, and by Ezekiel who names her, only in passing, as a customer of Tyre (27:16), and a point of measurement for the Holy Land (47:19 ff.). If then important, she would be certainly occupied by Pharaoh Necho in 610 and Nebuchadrezzar in 604 ff.

Under the Persians Damascus was a seat of authority, and very prosperous (Strabo xvi. 220).

Cambyses died there (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2), and there Darius deposited his family and treasures before the battle of Issus, after which they were surrendered to Alexander's general Parmenio (Quint. Curt. 3:3). After an unsuccessful revolt the Greek supremacy was established (*ib.* 4), and there are extant coins of Alexander issued from the city.

At the death of Alexander, Syria with Phœnicia fell to Laomedon, the capital being Damascus (*ib.* 10:10).

12. Supplanted by Antioch. The western people, however, to whom Syria was now subject, required a centre near the Levant, and Damascus became second in Syria to Antioch, the upstart capital of the Seleucidae.

The diminished importance of Damascus is well illustrated by the small part it plays, as contrasted with Antioch, in those books of the *Antiquities* of Josephus (xii. f) which deal with the third and second centuries B.C. Its more natural connection with N. Syria than with S. kept Damascus in the hands of the Seleucidae, even when Palestine and Phœnicia were held by the Ptolemies; but several times it fell to the latter: e.g., in 320 under Ptolemy I. (regained by Antigonus in 314); in 250 when Ptolemy II. probably occupied it (regained by Antiochus I. 240-262); in 246 when, however, it was only besieged by Ptolemy III. and relieved by Seleucus II. in 242 (cp Schürer, *Hist.* 3:1).

In the Books of the Maccabees Damascus is mentioned only as being twice visited by Jonathan (*circa* 144 B.C.: 1 Macc. 11:62 12:32; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5:10).

The kingdom of the Seleucidae was divided in 111 B.C., and Damascus must have fallen with the southern part to Antiochus IX. or Kyzikenus (cp Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schoene. in Schür. *op. cit.* 97, and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13:4). It was retained by Antiochus' son, and then fell to Demetrius Eucætes, and after his overthrow (*circa* 86 B.C.) to Antiochus XII. or Dionysius, from whom it was transferred (though only for a short time) by Mithridates, the governor of the citadel, and the populace, to his brother Philip (Jos. *ib.* 15:1).

Antiochus XII. was defeated by ARETAS (*q.v.*), the Nabatean, and with Coele Syria Damascus continued

in Arabian hands (though pressed hard by Alex. Jannæus [*ib.* 15:3], and Ptolemy Menneus, against whom Queen Alexandra of Judæa [78-69 B.C.] sent her son Aristobolus [*ib.* 16:3; *BJ* i. 5:3]) till the occupation in 65 by the Roman legions under Lollius and Metellus (*Ant.* xiv. 2:3; *BJ* i. 6:2), who were followed in 64 by Pompey.

After this the exact political position of Damascus is difficult to define.

Though Josephus does not know Damascus as a member of the Decapolis (he calls Scythopolis the greatest town of the latter), the name is in Pliny's list (*HN* 5:16). Under Cassius (44-42 B.C.) there was a Roman commandant, Fabius, in Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11:7 12:1; *BJ* i. 12:1), and the Nabateans appear to have been driven to the E. and to the S. of Haurân. Somewhere about 38 B.C. Mark Antony gave Cleopatra 'Coele Syria' and parts of the Judean and Arabian territories (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 38:4 1 f.; *BJ* i. 8:5); she visited Damascus, and we have coins of 37, 36, and 33 that were struck in her honour, though other coins of about the same date do not bear any mark of her (De Sauley, *Numism.* de la Terre sainte, 39 ff.).

In 31 B.C. occurred the battle of Actium, and the Damascene coins bear till 33 A.D. the names of Augustus and Tiberius, under the latter of whom the Damascenes had a dispute with the Sidonians about their boundaries (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6:3), a fact which shows how extensive their territory must have been (Schürer, 98). There are, however, no coins of Caligula nor of Claudius, nor any of Nero till his ninth year in 63. It was during this time that the apostle Paul tells us (see ARETAS) that not the Romans but 'an ethnarch under Aretas the king held the city of the Damascenes' (a form of expression which betrays the fact that it was usual to think of Damascus as an independent city); see ETHNARCH.

We do not know to what degree power in Damascus passed from the Romans to the Nabateans. Nor, indeed, whether Rome actually held it then (cp Schür. *II* 2:356 ff. 3:98; M'Guffert, *Apost. Age*, 164 n. 2). At any rate, the city again came under Nero's rule (63-68 A.D.); but the Nabateans continued to hold the neighbourhood to the E. till 106, when Trajan brought their whole kingdom into the Empire. Under Hadrian and his successors Damascus bore the title *μετρόπολις* (De Sauley, 37 ff.), under Alexander Severus, *colonia* (*ib.* 43).

Under both Romans and Byzantines the city continued to flourish; yet so long as these Westerns ruled Syria she was only second to Antioch; and it was not till

14. Under Islam. the Moslem invasion—they took Damascus in 634, Antioch in 635—that the city in the desert resumed the first rank, and the city on the Levant began to decline. For a century, 650-750, Damascus had the Khalifate under the Omayyads; she was never taken by the Crusaders, whose pivot was Antioch; she was the capital of Saladin, and being burnt to Mecca by the Hâjji, which starts from her gates, she has kept her place in the regard of Islam, while her fertility and her unique position have enabled her to survive the depopulations to which she has been subjected by conquerors like Timur, and the awful pestilences with which she has again and again been infected by her annual connection with Mecca.

Besides the works mentioned above and general treatises on the history and geography of Syria, see NORIS, *Annus et Episcopus Syriacus*, etc., etc., Leipzig, 1794.

15. Literature. Maundrell's *Journey to Damascus*; Arnold's *BL*; in *PAL* (1), and Nöldeke's art. in Schenkel's *BL*; Rob. LBR, 3:442-468; Porter, *Geogr. Journal*, 20:2, 'Five Years in Damascus'; Kinglake's *Eastern*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; GASM, *HG*, chap. 30. G. A. S.

DAN (דָּן) see below, § 1; דָּן [BAL]; gentilic Danite, דָּנִי [BAL]; דָּנִי [BAL]; דָּנִי [BAL]; דָּנִי [BAL]

1. Name. [BNA I Ch. 12:35], eponymous head of the tribe of the same name. The name, like many other tribal names, is obscure. It appears, however, to bear the same relation to the personal names Daniel and Abidan as the clan name Ram does to Jehoram and Abiram, or on the other hand Jacob and Joseph to two ancient town names ending in -el (see JACOB, JOSEPH, § 1). It is therefore no doubt a divine title, 'judge' (i.e., 'deliverer'?). Cp the Assyrian repeatedly recurring royal name *Asur-dan*—'Asur is judge' (cp Nabudan)—and the name of Shalmaneser II.'s general Dayan-Asur, as also the epithet *dānu* (*daianu*) applied to the sun-god (cp SAMSON, § 1) and the moon-god.

Dan is apparently etymologically related to the name of another Israelitish tribe of whose history still less is known (see DINAH); but it would be less safe to assume any etymological connection with Midian. That the meaning of the name was not quite forgotten appears, e.g., from the popular derivation in Gen. 30:6 (E) and the paronomasia in Gen. 49:16 (J), although the latter passage applies the epithet to the tribe itself, not to its god.

The verb *dan* is used quite freely, not only in the earlier literature (1 S. 13: 14; 1 S. 23: 10) but also (especially) from the 'exile' onwards (Jer. Psa. etc.); so also the derivatives; but, as in the case of other old tribe names, the root does not seem to have been used in the formation of proper names in later times (see ARABIAN, *ESCHOL*, § 13, his place being apparently taken by the synonymous *shaphaf* (see JEHOISHAPHAT), which on the whole prevailed in Hebrew and Phoenician, while less used in Assyrian and not certainly used at all in the southern Semitic dialects where *dan* continued to prevail.

Dan evidently belonged to the N. (Joseph) group of Israelitic clans. Not, however, in the same sense as Benjamin. Dan was a Bilhah clan and

2. Relations to other tribes.

may, not improbably, have been older than Joseph, as the patriarch stories represent (see BILHAH). If so, the onward pressure of Joseph, though probably not hostile, may have co-operated with the other influences that prevented it from settling permanently in central Palestine—though the apparent southward movement of the Danites from Zorah-Eshtaal to Kirjath-jearim (Judg. 18: 12) could not well be quoted in support of such a possibility (see MAHANEH-DAN). Whilst Dinah, if it was a pre-historic clan of the same or a kindred stock (it is called indeed daughter of Leah; but Dan took as its priest a Levite of Judah), suffered the fate of absorption (see DINAH), Dan, though it may have allied itself with Joseph for a time, was eventually compelled by its own energy and the force of circumstances to emigrate, just as perhaps the older Leah tribes emigrated in the opposite direction. If Dan was not older than Joseph, it must be regarded as an unsuccessful precursor of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 1 f.; so Stade).

The earliest mention of the tribe is in the 'Song of Deborah.' The poet upbraids Dan for seeking protection of (or living heedlessly by) the ships, instead of coming forward manfully like the brother Bilhah tribe to fight 'on the heights of the open field' (see NAPHTALI). This reference to ships is obscure. It has been interpreted of the southern seat of the tribe;¹ but its proximity and resemblance to the phrase about Asher seems to suggest that the tribe is thought of as in its northern seat (so Moore and Bu., *ad loc.*).

The expression used of Dan is quite unique. One shrinks from drawing any definite conclusion from the passage. If the text is sound, it may mean that Dan was, like Asher, though no doubt to a less extent (1 S. 7), under the sway of Phœnician influence. It is much more likely, however, to have been involved with the Arameans than with the Phœnicians; for although Tell el-Kadi is fully 40 m. distant from Damascus and not so far from Tyre, the latter was not in historic times so energetic in extending its influence in the Palestine hinterland as Damascus was (cp DAMASCUS, § 4). Although we do not know when the Arameans began to press southwards, there is no reason to suppose that the Aramean element represented by such places as Beth-Maacah appeared only after the times of the Song of Deborah. However that may be, in time at least the Arameans made their influence felt very decidedly. We are still far from understanding fully the history of their relations with Israel; but it may well be doubted whether there ever was a stable or even a definite line between their respective domains. The population of the border region seems to have been largely Aramean. Benhadad I. had no difficulty in seizing Dan and other places in its neighbourhood, and it does not appear whether Israel was ever able politically to assert a serious, or at least a lasting, claim to them. The fact that the operations of Tiglath-pileser III. (180 years later), in suppression of the plot of Rezon and his accomplice Pekah, were confined to this same district, would be accounted for if it were more unequivocally connected with Damascus than the rest of Israel was (so Winckler).

¹ Nöldeke suggests (in a private communication) that it is not inconceivable that members of the tribe may have taken to fishing.

² מַדְיָן might easily arise by transposition from מַדְיָן (the suggestion was made also by Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 16, n. 2, followed by Marq. *Fund.* 7; cp *Ki. Gesch.* i. 265, n. 1. Bu. has since abandoned it; *AHC, ad loc.*), מַדְיָן, however, occurs oftenest in the phrase מַדְיָן וְיִזְרְעֵל, and Nöldeke argues that neither of the districts in which Dan was settled contained such pastureland. Perhaps מַדְיָן need not be quite so definite in meaning; but if we accept מַדְיָן, this would presuppose the Song's having been committed to writing some time before the Blessing of Jacob was brought into its present form (cp Gen. 49: 13).

When J wrote, Dan was still indeed honoured (2 S. 20: 18 25), but possibly somewhat as a survival of a time gone by; it was not felt to be a living force in Israel—Bilhah was but a subordinate (Gen. 35: 26). It must not, however, be inferred, from the fact that the 'Blessing of Jacob' says Dan judges its people like an Israelitic tribe (v. 16), that, when the Blessing took shape, Dan was felt to be hardly in reality a part of genuine Israel at all. It is clear, from the early authority referred to above (2 S. 20: 18 25), that the city of Dan was proverbial as a well-known home of genuine old Israelitic ideas and practices, which is the more credible that we are told that its priests traced their origin to Moses¹ himself (Judg. 18: 30). We need not wonder, then, if the importance of this sanctuary was formally acknowledged in some way or other (see CALF, GOLDEN, § 1) by Jeroboam I. (*q.v.*). The N. settlement of Dan, however, perhaps did not amount to much more than the town of that name. Nor need the repeated mention of the town in the standing phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba,'² which not unaturally suggests that it had some importance, have really had any political significance. Both places may have owed their celebrity to their ancient sanctuaries.

This may perhaps help us to understand the preservation of such an unrivalled collection of popular legend as we find in the latter part of Judges, unless indeed the stories of the Samson cycle are quite as much connected with the geographical district about Zorah, etc. (cp the mention of a place called Sa-ma-Sa-na in that neighbourhood at least as early as Rameses II.; *Journ. Egyptol.* 14: 17; cp Bu. *Introduction*, 1—2, 3—5, 10—11) as with any particular Israelitic tribe; they involve Hebron, if מְדִיָן in Judg. 16: 3 is correct, and may be thought to have some relation to the stories of SHAMMAH and SHAMGAR (*q.v.*).

In Amos's time the northern Dan still ranked with Bethel (? so We. *ad loc.*) and Beersheba as a representative sanctuary (Am. 8: 14; on the reading cp AMOS, § 20); but, whatever it was then, the troublous time which ended with the fall of the N. kingdom (2 K. 15: 29) and the changed conditions which resulted must have profoundly modified the position even of an ancient sanctuary town. This would perhaps account for the absence of all mention of it from P's geographical scheme. Still, even in the days of Jeremiah, although the phrase 'Dan to Beersheba' had given place to 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23: 8), an invasion was felt to be begun when the enemy passed Dan (Jer. 4: 15 8: 16).

If any legends ever gathered round the name of the epynonymous head of Dan, they have entirely perished.

4. Traditions.

All the more noteworthy is the abundance of traditions about the tribe. These are of two kinds. First there are the stories which, after circulating orally for many generations, were eventually committed to writing, and afterwards given so large a place in the latter portion of our present Book of Judges (*q.v.*, § 16). These are among the best-known of the traditions of Israel. Then there are the most valuable fragmentary notices in Josh. 19: 47² Judg. 1: 34 f.—mere scraps rescued from what the pre-exilic histories had to tell of the fortunes of this tribe (on the 'Blessings' see below, § 8). All these traditions, however,—both those that may fairly be treated as historical in their nature, and those that are mainly legendary—deal with two closely related points, the struggles which the tribe had with its non-Israelite neighbours, and its migration northwards.

Dan, it would seem, made the attempt to push its way down from the highlands of Ephraim (see above, § 2) into the territory still completely dominated by the

¹ On the true reading, see MANASSER.
² This phrase really occurs only seven times (all between Judg. 20 and 1 K. 4: 25 [55]), and in certain of these passages it may be suspected of being late. The Chronicler (perhaps naturally) prefers the reverse order (Beersheba to Dan: 1 Ch. 21: 2 [= 2 S. 24: 6] Dan to Beersheba), 2 Ch. 30: 5). See *Lebanon*, Dec. '98, pp. 411—421 ('Dan to Beersheba: the literary history of the phrase and the historical problems it raises').
³ 25 has *ovba* for *dan* in v. 47 (*i.e.*, 47 *ba* of MT), *ov* having been dittographed from the preceding *ovv*.

Canaanites. Whether it at first succeeded (Josh. 19 47^a, if we read דָּן ; cp ב and 2 K. 6 1) and then was driven back (Judg. 1 34) by the Philistines (cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 18, n. 1) or—since it is difficult to see how 'Philistines' could be changed, editorially or by a gloss, to Amorites—by the Canaanites (Judg. 1 34 *f.*), or whether it never really established itself at all satisfactorily to the SW. of Ephraim, being forced back before it had really settled, we can hardly say. On some grounds it would perhaps seem probable either that it separated quite late from Ephraim or that it settled for some considerable time. Otherwise we should perhaps hardly have such clear traditions of the incidents of the subsequent migration (contrast the legendary character of the Samson stories); although it is not at all clear what the history of these traditions is (see above, § 4). In any case, it seems pretty clear that the main strength of the clan (דָּנִיִּים) migrated northwards; but did not some remain? Probably.

Not so much because the MT represents the 600 fighting men as being *some* of the clan (Judg. 18 11; בְּיָמֵינוּ) of Dan (for the participle proposition בְּ , which here has the same letter not only after it but also before it, might very well be due to dittography), nor perhaps because the existence of a remnant is needed to explain the copious traditions of the early fortunes of the tribe already referred to (see also below), but because it is difficult otherwise to account for the priestly writer assigning it solely to the southern territory.

Those who remained, however, seem hardly to have been able to make good a separate tribal existence; for it was, according to J, not Dan, but the house of Joseph, that finally gained the upper hand over the Canaanites (Judg. 1 35)—whatever that may refer to (see Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 18, n. 2).

According to Josh. 19 47 (emended text), the border of the children of Dan was too narrow for them, and so

6. Migration. They went up and fought against Leshem (Lesham?) and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Dan. It is possibly the same writer who explains in Judg. 1 34 that the over-crowding of Dan was because 'the Amorite' forced them into the hill country. This Dan (see next article) became, as we have seen, if it was not already, a famous sanctuary, and it is not surprising that the story of its incorporation into Israel was a favourite with those who put into literary form the traditions of Israel's early days.

Many as are the obscurities of the narrative as we now have it in Judg. 17 *f.*, one thing is clear: several hands have worked at it (see JUDGES, §§ 312). A deputation of Danites, after consulting a priest in Mount Ephraim, find a roomy district, easy of attack, in the far north, and return to Zorah to conduct their tribesmen thither. On the route they manage in one way or another to get the priest they had consulted to accompany them with the image he tended, which, having settled in their new home, they constitute their national palladium.

The main points in this story must be facts. How long the sanctuary maintained itself we do not know exactly (see the two independent representations in Judg. 18 30 *f.*, and cp

7. Cycle of legends. SHILOH, JONATHAN, 1). Of a very different character are the stories that have gathered round the name of Samson; but they are more naturally treated elsewhere, the more so that we cannot be quite sure how far they are really to be regarded as Israelite in any ordinary sense, not to say Danite. (See SAMSON.)

Whether the metaphors of the serpent (Gen. 49 17) and the lion's whelp (Dt. 33 22) in the several 'Blessings' are simply later echoes perpetuating

8. Later writings. the memory of the famous raid on Leshem, or whether they point to a repetition of such raids by this lion-city itself (Stade, *GI 1* 168), we do not know; the latter is not perhaps unlikely.¹

¹ The metaphor of the serpent on the way, biting the horse's heels and throwing the rider backwards, has been supposed to refer to embarrassment of the Arameans in their wars with Israel.

At a later date, indeed, these references came to be interpreted of the southern Dan (Earg. Onk.) and of Samson in particular (Earg. Jon. and Jerus.). The fact, however, that P has nothing whatever to tell us of the territory of the N. Danites perhaps shows how this might come about.¹ On the other hand, the eulogistic sense in which the words are explained is remarkable in view of the ill odour that attached to the name of Dan in later times (see below, § 9).

What the outlines of the district assigned by P to Dan were, P nowhere states; perhaps he was himself unable to formulate any (cp the case of Simeon, Josh. 19 1-9). That he meant them to be inferred from his account of the adjacent tribes (Benjamin, Judah, Ephraim) is possible; but he is not usually afraid of repetition. Of the sixteen (in MT seventeen) places which P assigns to Dan, eight may be regarded as identified beyond reasonable doubt (see ZORAH, ESHTAOL, IR-SHEMESH, AJAJON, TIMNAH, EKRON, JEHUD, BENE-BERAK), while ME-JARKON (*g. v.*, and see RAKKON, MAKAZ) must probably be sought in the neighbourhood of *Kās el-'Ain*. In Josh. 15 the same writer assigns not only Timnah (*v. 57*) and Ekron (*v. 45*), which are historically best known as Philistine cities, but also Zorah and Eshtaol, where if anywhere the Danites were settled, to JUDAH.²

Still less to be trusted is the account of Josephus (*Ant. v. 122*, end), which, likewise ignoring altogether the N. Dan, actually makes S. Dan extend as far N. as Dor and as far S. as Ashdod. Although P represents Dan as, next to Judah, the largest tribe at the end of the nomadic period (Nu. 26 43), both P and the Chronicler³ tend otherwise to give the tribe the scantiest possible consideration. In Joshua it is the last to have its lot assigned it (19 40 *f.*). The Dan fragment is the last of those collected in Judg. 1 (*v. 34 f.*). The tribe stands last in the list in 1 Ch. 27 16-22. In Rev. (chap. 7) it is omitted altogether (see below, § 9), and the same fate seems to have befallen it in the genealogical lists in 1 Ch. 2 *f.*⁴ In the form of the list now appearing in Gen. 46 23 = Nu. 26 42 *f.*⁵ (both P), indeed, Dan is credited with one family; but one cannot be quite sure that the statement may not be a very late addition founded on the notion (propounded in modern times by Bertheau, *ad loc.*) that Aher (= 'another') in 'HUSHIM, the sons of Aher' (1 Ch. 7 22b), was a circumlocution for Dan rather than a corruption of Ahior or some other name (see BEN-JAMIN, § 9, ii. a). At all events, the omission of a Dan list from his lists by the Chronicler would be no

¹ It might indeed be argued from four of P's lists of tribes—the two census lists (Nu. 1 20 *f.*, 26), the two camp lists (21 *f.*, 31)—that Dan is regarded as a northern tribe, being grouped in a triplet with Asher and Naphtali. But (1) it is immediately preceded by Benjamin, and (2) in the list of tribal representatives who took part in the census Gad is not, as in the census and camp lists, oddly classed with Reuben and Simeon, but with the triplet in question: that is to say, the four concubine tribes are taken together.

² On the other hand, the Chronicler probably did not really mean to make Gath-rimmon Ephraimite (1 Ch. 6 69 [54]); see next note but one.

³ A peculiar fact is that P makes the associate of Bezaleel of Judah in the construction of the tabernacle a Danite (Ex. 31 6), whilst the Chronicler makes Huram-abi, who had the same position in the work of Solomon's temple, a man of Tyre whose mother was of Dan (but see 1 K. 7 14, with Klo.'s note, and cp HURAM-ABI). P makes the mother of the man who 'blasphemed the Name' son of a woman of Dan by an Egyptian (Lev. 24 10 *f.*).

⁴ In the Chronicler's list of tribes in which Levitical cities were appointed (1 Ch. 6 54 [39] *f.*) Dan appears to be omitted; but *v. 61* [46] is obviously corrupt. A comparison with its source in Josh. 21 20-26 [P] shows that the name of Tyre has dropped out, whilst that of Ephraim also, though preserved by בְּ in 1 Ch. 6 61 [46], is dropped in MT shows that the omission is not intentional. It has accordingly been restored by Kau. in *HS* and Ki. in *SBO*.⁷ In the enumeration of the towns by name farther down (*rev. 67* [52]-81 [66]) Dan is again omitted (this time without the company of Ephraim); but the probable explanation of this omission of Dan is that either the Chronicler or some copyist has accidentally omitted Josh. 21 23; for the consequence is that *v. 24* is copied as if it belonged to *v. 23*, Ajajon and Gath-rimmon being assigned to Ephraim, and the Kohathite cities becoming eight, instead of ten, as stated above in 1 Ch. 6 81 [48].

⁵ Hushim (HŠM) = Shuham (ŠHM).

stranger than his omission of Zebulun, which has three families assigned it by P in Gen. 46.14 = Nu. 26.26.

It is a fact, however, that in later times Dan was in disrepute.

In the Targums, indeed, as we have seen, the tribe is held in high esteem; but in Talmudic times this is changed.

9. Apoc. lyptic notes. Thus *Midr. Rab.* on Num. declares that when Jeroboam went from tribe to tribe none joined him so readily as Dan. In the Talmud (*Shabbath* 66), accordingly, Dan represents idolatry.

Further, out of the very same passages so favourably interpreted in the Targums, there was evolved, in connection with Jer. 8.16, the remarkable notion (appearing in *Test. xii. Patr.*) that Beliar is in some peculiar way connected with the tribe, which, it is declared, will transgress against Levi and Judah, 'for in the Book of Enoch it is said that their ruler is Satan; but the salvation of the Lord will arise out of Judah and Levi, and he will fight against Beliar.' With this is connected the tradition that the Antichrist is to come of the tribe of Dan. Already in *Iren.* (v. 30.2) we find the fancy—it may be more than a fancy—that this is the explanation of the omission of Dan from the list of those that are sealed (*Rev.* 7.5-8). H. W. H.

DAN (דָּן; דָּאן). 1. A city 'in the valley which belongs to BETH-REHOB [q.v.]'. *Judg.* 18.8; conquered by the Danites. It was the most northern city of Israel: note the phrase 'from Dan as far as Beersheba' (see above, 994, n. 2). Its original name was LAISH [q.v.]; in *Judg.* 18.29 the change of name is accounted for. Historical references to it occur, not only in *Judg.* 18, but also in 2 S. 24.6 (where *jaan* is appended to Dan by a singular error of the text; see DAN-JAAN); also in 1 K. 12.29 (golden calf), and 1 K. 15.26, and 2 Ch. 14 (Benhadad's invasion). The reference to the name Dan in Gen. 14.14 need not, in the present writer's opinion, be counted; it is true, the city afterwards called Dan is meant, but the anachronistic 'Dan' is simply a scribe's error for 'Laish'; the true text probably is, '... and pressed after them, he and his servants, as far as Laish, and smote them.'¹

One of the supposed arguments for the late date of Gen. 14 must therefore be abandoned; but this by no means involves regarding that strange narrative as historical. The anachronism in Dt. 34 remains.

The site of Dan has recently been fixed by G. A. Smith (*HG.*, 473, 480 f.) at Bāniās, on the ground

2. Identification. that the situation of Bāniās is so much stronger than that of Tell el-Kādi (cp CASAREA, § 7). The fact is undeniable, yet not decisive. From *Judg.* 18 we do not gather that Laish was a place of exceptional natural strength; its inhabitants were a peaceful folk, who trusted not in their fortress but in their remoteness from troublesome people like the Danites.

Theodore does not doubt favours our eminent geographer's view. 'The present Paneas,' he says, 'was called Dan,² and even Jerome (on *Ezek.* 48.18 and on *Am.* 8.1) speaks of Dan as being where Paneas now is. The Jerus. Targ., too (on Gen. 14.14), calls Casarea Philippi 'Dan of Casarea.' These vague statements, however, do not carry much weight. On the other hand, Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10.1 v. 31 viii. 84; *H. J.* vi. 1) expressly says that Dan stood at the lesser fountain of the Jordan, in the plain of sidon, a day's journey from that city, and that the plain around it was extremely fertile. Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 114.26 249.32) speak still more definitely. 'A village four miles distant from Paneas, on the road to Tyre; it was the boundary of Judaea (ὁρίων τῆς Ἰουδαίας), and at it the Jordan takes its rise.' Jerome adds: 'De quo et Jordanis flumen erumpens a loco sortitus est nomen. For quippe πεδῖνον (id est fluvium sine rivum) Hebraei vocant.' (A JORDANIAN plain at any handbook of geography will show what spot is here meant.

Four miles west of Bāniās, in a well-watered district, is one of the two great fountains of the Jordan. It rises at the W. base of an extensive cup-shaped mound, called Tell el-Kādi. Now Kādi in Arabic and Dān in Hebrew both mean 'judge,' and the fountain bears a

name (Leddān) which also may perhaps be an echo of the name of the old city. The very fact that Tell el-Kādi is now said to be unhealthy suggests one reason more for identifying it with Dan, for Josephus (*H. J.* vi. 1) expressly says that the marshes of Lake Semachonitis (Hūleh) extend northwards as far as Daphnē (Dan), where are the sources of the Little Jordan (Leddān). Probably, however, in antiquity, when irrigation was better cared for, the place now called Tell el-Kādi was perfectly healthy. On the whole, the grounds of the proposed identification seem to the present writer to be strong. Robinson, Guérin, Porter, Lubl, and Moore have given their support to the same theory.

Tell el-Kādi rises out of a dense jungle of thorn-bushes and rank weeds. Its circumference is about half a mile, and its greatest elevation above the plain eighty feet. There are some traces of old foundations, and heaps of large stones on the top and sides of the S. part of the rim, where perhaps the citadel or a temple may have stood. There are also ruins in the plain a short distance N. of the tell. There are doubtless other remains, but they are now covered with grass and jungle' (Porter).

See Rob. *BR.*; Guérin, *Gallée*, 233 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HG.*, 473; *PEB. Mem.* 13.29 ff.; Bühl., *Verh.* 2.27 f.; Moore, *Antiquities*, 399.

² For Dan in *Ezek.* 27.17 AV, see JAVANS § 14.

T. K. C.

DANCE. 'There is a time to raise the death-wail and a time to dance,' says the Preacher (*Ecc.* 3.4).

1. Among the ancients: in Egypt, etc. We have not now to discuss the origin of the practice of dancing, nor its connection with funeral, as well as with festival, observances. We may assume that from a very early period it has been an expression of joy, and has been accompanied by music and song. The musical instrument employed may be no better than a wooden drum; but without some music there can be none of that rhythmic movement which we call dancing. The principal occasions of dancing are, in an ancient community, religious. If these assumptions are, as far as our evidence goes, true for Polynesia, still more obviously are they true for early Egypt and Babylonia. The happy-tempered Egyptians loved their various dances, and cultivated the art both in public and in private festivities, both in war and in peace; but the primary impulse was religious.² In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the art of dancing flourished. 'To dance' (*rakūdu*) is a synonym for 'to rejoice'; and so great was the demand for singers (music and singing naturally go together with dancing) that Hezekiah king of Judah was made to send singers as well as other women of the palace to Nineveh (*Prism Inscri.* 3.30).³

Neither Egypt nor early Babylonia, however, can be presumed to have influenced the primitive Israelitish customs, except, indeed, through the Canaanites. Of much greater importance are our scanty notices of Arabian dancing. What the Bedouin dancing is to-day can be seen as near to civilisation as Jericho. Wild as it is, it is not without rhythm and measure.⁴ There are also still some relics of the primitive religious dance. Besides the dancing at the merry Circumcision Feast (*misayyin*), combined with sacrifice, there is the well-known custom of 'circumambulating' the Ka'ba or Holy House at Mecca seven times. This procession is a true substitute for a very old heathen rite.⁵ The prince-poet Imrāl-Kais likens a herd of wild kine (ox antelopes) to a group of girls, gown-clad, going swiftly round the

¹ Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, 252. See Erman, *Egypt*, 246.

² Correcting *EB* 2.27 by *Int. Ass. HWB* 257 b.

³ Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 131.

⁴ See We. *Ar. Heid.* (1) 106, 165; and cp Hesiod, *Theog.* 250 (the Muses dancing round the altar on Helicon); Thucyd. 4.30; Liv. 29.4; Verg. *Aen.* 8.285; Plut. *Theo.* 21, ἐξορεύουσι περὶ τοῦ κερταίου βασιλῆος.

name (Leddān) which also may perhaps be an echo of the name of the old city. The very fact that Tell el-Kādi is now said to be unhealthy suggests one reason more for identifying it with Dan, for Josephus (*H. J.* vi. 1) expressly says that the marshes of Lake Semachonitis (Hūleh) extend northwards as far as Daphnē (Dan), where are the sources of the Little Jordan (Leddān). Probably, however, in antiquity, when irrigation was better cared for, the place now called Tell el-Kādi was perfectly healthy. On the whole, the grounds of the proposed identification seem to the present writer to be strong. Robinson, Guérin, Porter, Lubl, and Moore have given their support to the same theory.

Tell el-Kādi rises out of a dense jungle of thorn-bushes and rank weeds. Its circumference is about half a mile, and its greatest elevation above the plain eighty feet. There are some traces of old foundations, and heaps of large stones on the top and sides of the S. part of the rim, where perhaps the citadel or a temple may have stood. There are also ruins in the plain a short distance N. of the tell. There are doubtless other remains, but they are now covered with grass and jungle' (Porter).

See Rob. *BR.*; Guérin, *Gallée*, 233 ff.; G. A. Smith, *HG.*, 473; *PEB. Mem.* 13.29 ff.; Bühl., *Verh.* 2.27 f.; Moore, *Antiquities*, 399.

² For Dan in *Ezek.* 27.17 AV, see JAVANS § 14.

T. K. C.

DANCE. 'There is a time to raise the death-wail and a time to dance,' says the Preacher (*Ecc.* 3.4).

1. Among the ancients: in Egypt, etc. We have not now to discuss the origin of the practice of dancing, nor its connection with funeral, as well as with festival, observances. We may assume that from a very early period it has been an expression of joy, and has been accompanied by music and song. The musical instrument employed may be no better than a wooden drum; but without some music there can be none of that rhythmic movement which we call dancing. The principal occasions of dancing are, in an ancient community, religious. If these assumptions are, as far as our evidence goes, true for Polynesia, still more obviously are they true for early Egypt and Babylonia. The happy-tempered Egyptians loved their various dances, and cultivated the art both in public and in private festivities, both in war and in peace; but the primary impulse was religious.² In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the art of dancing flourished. 'To dance' (*rakūdu*) is a synonym for 'to rejoice'; and so great was the demand for singers (music and singing naturally go together with dancing) that Hezekiah king of Judah was made to send singers as well as other women of the palace to Nineveh (*Prism Inscri.* 3.30).³

Neither Egypt nor early Babylonia, however, can be presumed to have influenced the primitive Israelitish customs, except, indeed, through the Canaanites. Of much greater importance are our scanty notices of Arabian dancing. What the Bedouin dancing is to-day can be seen as near to civilisation as Jericho. Wild as it is, it is not without rhythm and measure.⁴ There are also still some relics of the primitive religious dance. Besides the dancing at the merry Circumcision Feast (*misayyin*), combined with sacrifice, there is the well-known custom of 'circumambulating' the Ka'ba or Holy House at Mecca seven times. This procession is a true substitute for a very old heathen rite.⁵ The prince-poet Imrāl-Kais likens a herd of wild kine (ox antelopes) to a group of girls, gown-clad, going swiftly round the

¹ Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, 252. See Erman, *Egypt*, 246.

² Correcting *EB* 2.27 by *Int. Ass. HWB* 257 b.

³ Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 131.

⁴ See We. *Ar. Heid.* (1) 106, 165; and cp Hesiod, *Theog.* 250 (the Muses dancing round the altar on Helicon); Thucyd. 4.30; Liv. 29.4; Verg. *Aen.* 8.285; Plut. *Theo.* 21, ἐξορεύουσι περὶ τοῦ κερταίου βασιλῆος.

⁵ See We. *Ar. Heid.* (1) 106, 165; and cp Hesiod, *Theog.* 250 (the Muses dancing round the altar on Helicon); Thucyd. 4.30; Liv. 29.4; Verg. *Aen.* 8.285; Plut. *Theo.* 21, ἐξορεύουσι περὶ τοῦ κερταίου βασιλῆος.

Dawār or sacred stone. Mohammed himself could not abolish this custom. The procession round the Kaaba is really the *Hajj*: this term is now applied to the Mecca pilgrimage; but its root-meaning plainly is to go in a circle (cp Ps. 107:27 הָלַכְתִּים).

Pre-Islamic Arabia explains much that is characteristic in Israelitish life. This is especially true of religious rites.

3. Hebrew *hag*. The chief original Hebrew term for a religious dance was doubtless הַג , *hag*. The rendering 'feast' or 'festival' will indeed suffice in most cases, but only because religious festivals necessarily included the sacred dance, at least as long as the sacred stones remained in the sanctuaries. In Ps. 118:27 Cheyne (*Psalms*¹¹) renders 'Bind the procession with branches,' with reference to the swiftly moving procession which took the place of the older dance; Baer, more boldly, 'Bind the dance' (*i.e.* the dancers). Unfortunately, the text of this passage is not free from corruption;¹ but it is, at any rate, permissible to recognise the sacred dance in Ex. 10:9, 'Let my people go that they may keep a feast with dancing to me in the desert'—not that all would take part in the dance: the dancers would represent the people, all of whom would 'rejoice before Yahwē,' as the phrase was. Perhaps we may compare 1 S. 30:16, if הַגִּים (applied to the Amalekites who had plundered Ziklag) means 'circling in the sacred dance' (see BDB). At any rate, in Ps. 42:4 [5] the best sense is obtained by reading, $\text{וְהָלַכְתִּים הַגִּים}$, 'a multitude that kept holiday' (AV), but $\text{וְהָלַכְתִּים הַגִּים}$, 'the music of those who kept festival'² (הַגִּים , 'music,' Am. 5:23 Ezek. 26:13). That dancing is here referred to, however, is not evident.

Words for dancing in general. (1) הִלָּךְ , *hīlāk*, or הִלָּךְ , *hīlāk* (Arab. *hālika* 'to laugh,' whence *maḥlākum* 'mimus'); Syr. *hālik*; הָלַךְ (הָלַךְ) meaning 'to sport, to dance'.

4. OT Vocabulary. or jest.' Though commonly used to denote any kind of sport (Gen. 21:9 RVmg. 'playing'; 26:8 RV 'sporting'), it may denote simply 'dancing' (see 2 S. 6:5 = 1 Ch. 13:8 Judg. 10:25 Jer. 31:4). 2. In late writings we meet with רָקַד , *rākadū*, prop. 'to leap.' 1 Ch. 15:29; Ass. *rakādu* (see above); Syr. *rakādū*, Pa. 'to dance,' Aph. 'to lament' (*plangere*); Tg. רָקַד וְרָקַדְתָּ , וְרָקַדְתָּ , וְרָקַדְתָּ , וְרָקַדְתָּ , cp Ar. *rakada*, 'to move the feet, to hop.' 3. The root רָקַד , *rākad*, 'to write, whirl,' Judg. 21:21 (whence רָקַדְתָּ , *rakadit*, *rakadit*, 'dance, χορός) suggests a more intricate movement.

4. Lastly, we have in 2 S. 6:16 the two אָרְגָּן , אָרְגָּן , *azanna*, and כִּרְקֹר , *kirkōr* (the latter also in v. 14) (Ar. *karra*, 'to advance and retreat,' *karkara*, *id.*; 2 S. 6:14 תָּרְגָּן , *Targ.*, תָּרְגָּן , Pesh. *mtābbāh*, Vg. *saltabāt*). Most probably, however, אָרְגָּן should rather be read אָרְגָּן (*Che.*); the former of these participles is justified by the facts brought together by Toy, *JBL* 16:178 f. (1977), which show that פָּסַד (*pāsāb*), the root of פָּסַד , means virtually 'to dance,' and the latter by the authority of 1 Ch. 15:29.

Dancing, then, was of the essence of a primitive religious festival. It was not the choral dances (מִזְמֹרֹת)

that provoked the wrath of Moses (Exod. 32:19); Miriam's 'dances' were evidently congenial to all (Exod. 15:20 f.; cp Judg. 11:34 1 S. 18:6 21:11 [12]). It was the worship of the steer-god that angered the great leader. The Hebrews never ceased to be religious dancers, though the form of the ceremony may have changed. Some idea of the early rite may be gained from the account in 2 S. 6:14 of David's dancing 'before Yahwē' (*i.e.*, before the ark; cp v. 5). Michal indeed took her husband's act amiss. She was too unimaginative to see the meaning of a practice which was beginning to be antiquated. She thought that by leading the dance in such attire, and mixing with the common people, her husband was playing a part which

¹ Che. reads—

Make melody with dancing (מִזְמֹרֹת) and with timbrels,

Make melody to our king, make melody.

² Che. *Psalms*¹¹.

was within the province of a woman only, and unworthy of his character and office. David's answer well expresses his own devoutness, though he cannot have guessed what issues of world-wide importance hung upon the transference of the ark to Jerusalem.¹

Again, at the great religious crisis in the reign of Ahab it is not the 'dancing' that Elijah disapproves, but its connection with a bad, foreign religion. The prophets of Baal, we are told, 'leaped'—*i.e.*, danced after a special rite—around their altar, not eucharistically, but as suppliants (1 K. 18:26). Elijah, though too confident of his God's favour to attempt to work upon him by ritual, does not hesitate to use the word פָּסַד ('to leap') in his taunting address to the Israelites (v. 21).² Indeed, Toy seems to have shown that the spring-festival called Pesah (EV Passover) derived its name from the dances (פָּסַד , see above, § 4.4) connected with it. A conservative prophet like Elijah could never have opposed religious dances.

Indeed, one may fairly say that prophecy itself—at any rate, that represented by Elisha—was under some obligations to dancing. The inspiration of those who belonged to the guilds of prophets (see PROPHECY) was prepared for by music and rhythmic movements of the body (cp 1 S. 10:10 11:19 20:24). It was the wild proceedings of prophets when in this preparatory state that degraded the whole order in the eyes of many Israelites (cp 2 K. 9:11). It is difficult, when looking at dervishes performing their exercises, not to think of the so-called 'sons of the prophets' (again see PROPHECY). 'Ulemas and dervishes with the chief mufis at their head were leaping, bounding, swaying their arms, and whirling in time to the din of drums, trumpets, and cymbals which followed them' (Tristram).

For the stated religious ritual of the pre-exilic age we are ill-provided with authorities. Still, we know that

6. At festivals. the three great festivals (especially that of Tabernacles) were celebrated with an exuberant joy which expressed itself in dancing. The Psalter proves that even in the post-exilic age dancing as well as music formed part of divine service (see Pss. 149:3 150:4). Eucharistic procession (no doubt at a quick pace) round the altar was customary (266, and according to MT [see above], 118:27). Processions of God also, which, from the mention of maidens with timbrels, may be presumed to have been a dance-festival, are spoken of (1's. 68:24 [25], *SBOT*). Ps. 87:6, however, is too obscure to be quoted.

There was dancing at tribal and family festivals (cp the place-name ABEL-MEHOLOAH [*g.v.*], 'dancing meadow'; 1 K. 19:16). It was at a yearly tribal festival that the daughters of Shiloh came forth for choral dances (Judg. 21:21 בְּחִלּוֹתֵיהֶן), and there is a singular story, which almost seems like an attempt to account for marriage by capture (see M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*), respecting the Benjamins who chose wives from among the dancers (מִבְּתוֹתֵיהֶן). We must apparently take this in connection with the curious custom referred to elsewhere (CANTICLES, § 9; ATONE-MENT, DAY OF), which was evidently greatly toned down in post-exilic times. The young men and maidens of Jerusalem danced in the vineyards, not without results, on the evening of the 15th of Ab (this was the festival of Wood-carrying³) and of the Day of Atonement, and sang edifying songs on marriage (Mishna, *Ta'anith*, iv. 8). A dance performed by the chief men of the city was a special incident in the festivities of the Feast of Tabernacles. At the close of

¹ Che. *Aids to Criticism*, 55 f.

² On this passage see Klo., and, for a fuller development of the meaning, *JQR*, July 1898 (p. 568); cp Jastrow, *JBL*, 1898, 1:108 ff. It is useless to compare the Phœnician divine title בְּהַלְמוֹתֵיהֶם —*i.e.*, בְּהַלְמוֹתֵיהֶם , 'Baal of dancing' (*haethg. bettr.* 35:261)—and other similar forms. They have all grown out of Melgart, the name of the Baal of Tyre (Textier).

³ See Jos. *BJ* ii. 17:6, and cp Neh. 10:35 [36] 13:31, Del. *Iris*, 96.

earth, so every earthly dominion must give way before the imperishable kingdom of God.

In the *third* piece (3:1-30) we are told how, as a punishment for their refusal to worship the great golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up, the three friends of Daniel (himself silently passed over) were cast into the burning fiery furnace, and how at last, when the fire had not been able to hurt the men of Judah who had been thus steadfast to their faith, the great king was compelled to do homage to their gods.

The *fourth* piece (4:1-37) tells, in the form of a proclamation by Nebuchadnezzar to all the peoples of the whole world—a form which is not carried out with uniform consistency—how an evil dream (which the king himself in this instance relates) had thrown him into dismay, and how Daniel alone was able rightly to interpret the vision, prophesying to the king that as a punishment for his pride he should for a long time be bereft of reason. Nebuchadnezzar is thus for a third time constrained to give the glory to the Ruler of heaven.

Next, in the *fifth* piece (5:1-31 [6:1]), we have Belshazzar's feast and overthrow: we are told how in a wild orgy this king, unwarned by the fate of his father Nebuchadnezzar, desecrated the sacred vessels of the temple, and thereupon was horror-stricken by the miraculous handwriting on the wall.¹ The explanation of this wonderful event, and warning to give, was soon shown to have been correct, for that very night the king was slain, and his crown passed to Darius the Mede.

The *sixth* piece (6:1-28 [29:29]), that of Daniel in the lions' den, has reference exclusively to Daniel—just as a corresponding section, that of the burning fiery furnace, relates only to his three friends. We here read how King Darius suffered himself to be induced by his wife, and by condemning the accusers, to promulgate the foolish decree that any one who for the space of a month should offer any petition to god or man should be thrown to the lions. Naturally Daniel transgressed this command; but the king, who had been compelled against his will to consign his faithful servant to punishment, soon became convinced of his error by the protection which Daniel's god vouchsafed to his worshiper, and condemning the accusers, to the fate which they had prepared for Daniel, commanded all his subjects to serve Daniel's god.

The *seventh* piece (7), the first in the prophetic section, is a picture in companionship to chap. 2, and dates from the first year of Belshazzar, not from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, to which the first group of four pieces belong. If, moreover, as we read in 10:1, the last great vision which Daniel saw immediately before his death is to be assigned to the third year of Cyrus, exactly seventy years after Daniel's deportation from Judah, it seems fitting that the *eighth* piece also should be assigned to the Babylonian period, and that only the last two prophetic sections should be given to that of the Medes and Persians. Most of the years—they amounted to an ordinary lifetime—that Daniel spent in the East must have fallen under the reigns of the Babylonian kings; for, whilst Darius the Mede was already in his sixty-second year when he ascended the throne of Babylon (5:31 [6:1]), Daniel saw only the beginning of the reign of his successor Cyrus the Persian.

In chap. 7 we have Daniel's account of his vision of the four beasts, from each of which successively the supremacy is taken away to be at last and for ever bestowed upon the Messiah, one 'like a son of man' who comes from heaven, and so at the same time the kingdom is possessed by the saints of the Most High.

If, in 7:25, the angel interprets (cp. 1:17) the *fourth* beast as already unmistakably pointed to a king who persecuted the Jews on account of their religion, it is made still more apparent in the *eighth* piece (in the interpretation which Gabriel gives of Daniel's vision in the third year of Belshazzar) that by the fourth kingdom, which arises after the reigns of the Medes and Persians, we are to understand the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great and his successors. By the reader acquainted with Jewish history the description of the horn which at first was small, or of the bold orb-bearing king who deprives the Most High of his continual burnt-offering and gives up his sanctuary to wanton desecration, and at the same time rages furiously against the holy people, cannot fail to be understood as referring to the Syrian king Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) who, by his intolerance (cp. 1:17), designed to bring about the establishment of the Greek culture throughout his whole dominions, and, by setting up an altar to the Olympian Zeus upon the altar of burnt-offering in Jerusalem (Dec. 165), provoked the revolt of the Maccabees (167). The eighth piece contains the comforting promise that after 2300 evenings and mornings the temple of God will be again restored to its rightful position, and the shameful king overthrown, but not by human hand.

The *ninth* piece (chap. 9), after a prayer of Daniel which, notwithstanding its borrowings from Ezra 9 and

Neh. 9, is still pathetic, gives Gabriel's interpretation of the seventy years, predicted by Jeremiah, as meaning seventy weeks of years, after the lapse of which the day of salvation is to dawn.

Whilst this vision comes to Daniel in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede over the kingdom of Babylon, the last or *tenth* piece (chaps. 10-12) is dated from the third year of Cyrus his successor. In correspondence with the great importance of this last vision is the long introduction, after which, by a sketch (chap. 11) mainly devoted to the complicated relations between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, and a picture of the downfall of the Syrian tyrant, the final destiny of the people of God is brought more precisely into connection with universal history. Chap. 12, however, does not give any one absolutely precise indication of the exact time when the troublous days, such as have never before been known, are to come to an end: it vacillates between 1290 and 1335 as the number of days that are to elapse between the setting up of the idolatrous worship in the temple and the coming of the glorious time of the end.

The view taken over by the church from the synagogue, which makes Daniel not only the principal hero

but also the author of the book, has not unreasonably passed current among theologians down to the present century. To the unprejudiced reader the book appears to claim to have been written by Daniel. The narratives in the first six chapters do not expressly make this claim; but in 7:2 we find Daniel himself presented as the narrator by the use of the first person singular. The use of the third person in chaps. 1-6 and in the beginnings of chaps. 7 and 10 is not against the authorship of Daniel (cp. Am. 7:12 ff.), who, at the beginning of chap. 8 and of chap. 9, speaks in the first person in giving the date. The close connection of chaps. 1-6 with the visions which follow may fairly be held to carry over the claim for Daniel's authorship to the beginning of the book also. No attentive reader will allow himself to be

misled as to the oneness of the authorship of the book by the fragmentary or detached character of the ten pieces of which it is composed, if he attentively observes how the earlier portions allude to the later, and conversely how the later portions attach themselves to the earlier, and how the same general manner of presentation, thought, and language pervades the whole.

The organic unity of the Book of Daniel, denied by Reuss and Lagarde, has been once more defended by Frhr. von Gall in a monograph (see below, § 23). The grounds, however, which he offers (123 ff.) for regarding 9:4-20 as a late insertion are no more than plausible. The contents of this section are of a higher type than those of the hymns in the apocryphal additions to Daniel. A certain solemn fulness is characteristic of the liturgical style, and is not wanting in passages which may have served the author as his models—e.g., Ezra 9 and Neh. 9. Von Gall's changes in 9:4 f. are arbitrary; the change in the names of God, which is quite appropriate, proves nothing. It is a pure fancy that the author of Daniel, who was acquainted with the Book of Jeremiah, does not regard misfortune as penal; see 4:34 22 30, etc. Besides, if we expunge 9:4-20, how much remains for chap. 9? Only ten verses. This is surely not enough for the ninth of the pieces which form the book.

What has been said as to the true unity of the book is only apparently contradicted by

5. Interchange of language. is upon 2:4 to the end of chap. 7 of the Aramaic language in a book otherwise written in Hebrew.

This interchange of language has given rise to many hypotheses. Spinoza thought the first seven chapters might be an extract made in the time of Judas the Maccabee from old writings of the Chaldeans (cp. Berthold, *ZDMG.* 1868, 1508 ff.). Huecius, on the other hand, suggested that the whole Book of Daniel had been originally written in Aramaic, and shortly afterwards translated into Hebrew, and that, the original work having been partly destroyed in the dark days of the Seleucidae, the text was restored by borrowing the Heb. sections that we now have from the Heb. version (cp. Berth. *ZDMG.* 1864, 1544, 1549). It is hardly an improvement on this view when J. D. Prince, adopting the theory of Lenormant and Bevan, says: 'The work was probably written at first all in Hebrew; but for the convenience of the general

¹ Clermont Ganneau's theory (*JA.*, 1886), accepted by Nöld. (*ZA* 1 474 ff.) and Bevan, that the mysterious inscription consists really of names of weights, is rejected by Behrmann. See MENZ.

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reader, whose language was Aramaic, a translation, possibly from the same pen as the original, was made into the Aramaic vernacular. It must be supposed then that certain parts of the Heb. manuscript being lost, the missing places were supplied from the earliest Aramaic translation (*Book of Daniel* [1891], p. 128).

The hypothesis that the Heb. edition was partly destroyed in the troubled Seleucid period, and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic version, leaves unexplained why the change of language should occur precisely at 2:4, where the Aramaic language happens to be mentioned. This name cannot be regarded as a gloss, although 'the author of Daniel evidently fell into the error of regarding "Chaldeans" as the language of Babylon' (16, to begin with, the loss of part of a MS of no great length is to be regarded as the least of a satisfactory is the assertion that in the second century before Christ such Palestinian Jews as were able to read books at all could hardly understand any Hebrew. Reusch is right when he says (*Lehrb. in das A.T.* 1875, p. 113): 'The change of language occurs in the middle of a section that cannot be divided (2:4), which shows that the author was so familiar with both languages that he could glide from one to the other without noticing it, and could assume for a great proportion of his contemporaries a knowledge of them both.' No one asserts, as Prince expresses it, that both languages 'were used quite indifferently': the author of Daniel and his readers were certainly more at home in the Aramaic vernacular. When Prince asks why chap. 7, 'which is indivisible from the succeeding prophetic Hebrew portions', was written not in Heb. but in Aram., we may answer that chap. 7 was written in the same Aramaic idiom as chap. 2 simply in order to make every observant reader feel that the book was one, and that the four visions were inseparable from the six narratives.¹

The change of dialect is made quite naturally thus: In chap. 2 the author has introduced the 'Chaldeans' as speaking the language which he believed to be customary with them; afterwards he continues to use the same language on account of its greater convenience both for himself and for his original readers, both in the narrative portions and in the following (seventh) chapter, the piece in companionship to chap. 2; for the last three visions (8-12) a return to Hebrew was suggested by the consideration that this had from old been the usual sacred language for prophetic subjects. Whether the Aramaic of Daniel, which is closely allied to that in Ezra, can really be taken as historically the language spoken in the Babylonian court in the sixth century B.C., or for the native language of the Chaldeans, cannot be discussed until we have faced the whole question of the historical validity or invalidity of the book (see § 10). It is enough in the meantime to say that the Aramaic or 'Chaldee' portion of Daniel cannot possibly have formed an independent work; on the contrary, the change of language serves to bind the different parts of the work into a firmer unit.

The position of the Book of Daniel with reference to historical fact, a question most intimately bound up with that of its date, can be discussed to advantage only after we have, in a purely exegetical way (*Bleek in D.T.* 1860, p. 53 ff.), firmly established the fact that makes for the unity of authorship in all five prophetic pieces (chaps. 2 and 7-12): the fact, namely, that the range of vision in each case reaches down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, in whom afflicted Israel discerned the culmination of all that had been hostile to God in all history, and that, with Epiphanes' destruction, which is regarded as imminent, the dawn of the Messianic time is expected. This done, we shall have no difficulty in finding other weighty reasons for fixing the composition of the book of Daniel at a date shortly before the death of Antiochus IV.

The extraordinary precision with which the exilic Daniel seems to prophesy about things that are to happen several centuries afterwards is particularly conspicuous in chap. 11, where, for example, reference is made in v. 18 to the victory which the Consul Lucius Scipio gained over Antiochus III. at Magnesia, in Lydia, in 190 B.C., or in v. 30 to Popilius Lenas, who in the name of the Roman Senate forced Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C. to quit Egypt with great precipitancy, upon

1 Considerations of space prevent us from considering the hint thrown out by v. Gall (123) that it is not yet critically established that the LXX was based on the text in the two languages, or the complicated hypotheses of König (*Eint.* 36) and Ryssel (*TLZ.* 1895, col. 560f.).

which the king, as we learn from 1 Macc. 1:50 ff., wreaked his wrath upon his Jewish subjects. Although predictions of this sort are nowhere found in the writings of the prophets of the OT (cp PROPHECY), orthodoxy was long accustomed to take special delight in contemplating predictions which had been so wonderfully fulfilled (cp the case of the name of Cyrus in Is. 44:28). In the present century, however, as the historical sense became quickened, difficulties began to present themselves against assumptions which were contrary to the analogy of the prophetic writings and found their support merely in the dogma of a magical inspiration.

7. Always In spite of Pusey's energetic warning against 'half-measures,' modern Antiochus IV. apologists, pressed by the constantly increasing historical difficulties caused by unciform decipherments, have been driven more and more to seek refuge in the 'half-measures' thus deprecated, so that, as Ilevan (*Dan.* 8) humorously says, 'the defenders of Daniel have, during the last few years, been employed chiefly in cutting Daniel to pieces.'

It may suffice if reference is made here to but one of the equally arbitrary and nugatory attempts which have been made to save the authenticity of the book as a whole by postulating its conscious authorship. Zöckler in his exposition of the Book of Daniel (70) declared 11:5-9 to be a later interpolation; he had come to see quite clearly that such a piece of history could never have been penned by an exilic prophet. The attempt, however, was just as vain as the attempt made elsewhere to change the name of Cyrus (Is. 44:28) into an appellative, for it left altogether out of account Dan. 2:43 and the relation of that verse to 11:6-17. These two verses trace of two unlovely intermarriages between Seleucids and the Ptolemies; namely, v. 6, of the marriage of Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, with Antiochus II, Theos, and v. 17, of that of Cleopatra (daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus III., the Great, and thus sister of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes), from whom all the Egyptian Ptolemies have taken their name, with Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. But these marriages are quite plainly alluded to in 2:43, where we read as follows regarding the kingdom represented in the vision by the legs of iron and the feet partly of iron and partly of clay: 'And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron doth not mingle with clay.' From this it is to be seen that by the fourth kingdom in chap. 2 is meant that of Alexander the Great, which became divided into that of the Seleucids and that of the Ptolemies (the other kingdoms of the successors of Alexander have here no interest for the author, and are, therefore, passed over). But if in chap. 2 the first of the four kingdoms had been made out to be the Babylonian, and the Greek to be the fourth, it follows, from what we are told of the dynasties under which Daniel himself lived, that the second and the third kingdoms, touched upon so lightly in Daniel's interpretation in 2:29, must be the Median and the Persian. Still more absurdly than in chap. 2 does the author's special interest in the person of the fourth kingdom disclose itself in the visions of Daniel; the relations of the people of God to Antiochus Epiphanes possess such great importance, because immediately upon the fall of this tyrant—which is to be brought about without human intervention (cp 2:34-45 with 8:25)—the Messianic kingdom is forthwith to set up. It is universally admitted that the reference to Antiochus Epiphanes is as plainly manifest in the second vision (8:9-14, 23-25) as it is in the last vision (11:21-41), which occupies itself wholly with the reign of this king. (Chap. 12:7 ff. also relates to his persecutions, because his hatred of the Jews. The same holds good, finally, of chap. 9. Here the sixty-two year-weeks which follow the first seven present, it is true, a historical difficulty which will have to be discussed (see § 20); but thus much at least is certain, that the 'anointed one' in 9:26 is the high-priest Onias III., who was put to death in 171 B.C., so that the last year-week coming down to 164 B.C., and the suspension of sacrifice and offering which is predicted in 9:27 for the second half of this week enables us plainly to see that it is the action of Antiochus Epiphanes that is referred to.)

Now, on the assumption of the authenticity of the book, it is very hard indeed to understand how, out of the ten portions of which it is composed,

8. Authenticity. so many as five, in which the coming of the Messianic kingdom is predicted, should stop short at the reign of a Seleucid sovereign whose king-

¹ Cp., however, ISRAEL, § 69.

dom—not to speak of the Greek kingdom out of which it and the other Seleucid kingdoms had arisen—had no existence in the days of the exilic Daniel.

Even the early father Hippolytus did not fail to notice the allusions to the history of the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies which occur in the book of Daniel; but it was the Neo-platonist Porphyry (*op. 304 A.D.*) who first drew the right inference from the acknowledged facts, and took Daniel's professed authorship to be a mere literary form, ascribing the book to a Jew who wrote during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. As, however, this denial of the authenticity of the book came from an opponent of Christianity, it produced no effect. It was necessary that, within the Church itself, a truly scientific and historical method of dealing with the OT should arise.¹ This has at last come to pass. As the result of the labours of several generations, we can safely hold it to have been established, as one of the ascertained results of science, that in chap. 7 we are to understand by the fourth beast the Grecian Empire, by the eleventh horn Antiochus Epiphanes, and by what is related regarding this horn the religious persecution under that king; as also that the author of the book wrote in his reign. A fundamental rule of all sound exegesis was violated when the utterances of chap. 7 were not interpreted in the light of the other four parallel texts, but were torn from their connection in the book in order to give them a meaning divergent from the sense of the rest of the book, as if the fourth beast signified not the Grecian but the Roman Empire. To interpret the four kingdoms as denoting those of Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, seems, indeed, by grouping the Medes and Persians under one empire, to offer a series which, from a historical point of view, can be more easily accepted than that of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece; but this last series alone gives the true sense of the book, which represents the Median kingdom of Darius as being the second of the four world-monarchies, and places this as an independent intermediate link between the Chaldean and the Persian monarchies (cp 6:1 [5:31] 8:320 9:1), distinguishing it quite plainly from the Persians, which it makes out to be the third. With our perfectly certain knowledge, derived from the cuneiform inscriptions, that there never was any such Median empire between those of Babylonia and Persia (cp PERSIA), the authenticity of the Book of Daniel falls to the ground. Quite apart, however, from the numerous contradictions of history to be afterwards spoken of (§ 10, etc.),—contradictions which absolutely exclude the supposition that the author was an eye-witness living during the period of the 'exile,'—the fact that the horizon of the book is throughout bounded by the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the fierce persecutor of the Jews and their religion, with whose fall the Messianic salvation is represented as being ushered in, makes it abundantly plain that the figure of the exilic Daniel is employed only as a literary form. The Messianic hope could not possibly have taken this special form so early as during the 'exile,' but only under the oppression of the Syrian tyrant who

¹ Gunkel, *Sibthp.* 375. [Doubts as to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel were uttered again in the seventeenth century by Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 385) and Spinoza (*Pract. Theol.*, *polit.* 10); but Anthony Collins, the 'free-thinker,' was the first who treated the subject with something like modern thoroughness. As Lecler has shown, the eleven grounds which Collins adduces (*Sibthp. of Literal Prophecy*, 1726, p. 142 ff.) are mostly those on which recent criticism relies for proving the Maccabean date of Daniel. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that critical doubts were confined to sceptical theologians. Richard Bentley, scholar and apologist, had reached by 1711 a conviction of the late origin of Daniel. Jebb in his monograph (*op. cit.*) makes too light of Bentley's doubts. In spite of Whiston's somewhat disparaging language, it is clear that Bentley found serious difficulties both in the narratives and in the predictions of Daniel, in consequence of which he 'supposed the book to have been written after the time of Onias the high priest, and that this Onias was Daniel's Messiah' (see Whiston's *Memoirs by himself*, Lond. 1749, p. 108 ff.) Whiston was a Boyle Lecturer.]

sought to extirpate the religion of Israel, and to compel the Jews to adopt the idolatrous worship of Greece.

The book of Daniel being, as Wellhausen well describes it (*IJG*², 240 f.), 'a hortatory and consolatory writing for the persecuted, designed to strengthen

9. Aim. and cheer them by the knowledge that within a very short time the overbent bow will break,' its author was able to allow himself great freedom in the use of his materials. His aim was not the communication of historical information. Using as a vehicle the materials, historical or unhistorical, that tradition had placed at his disposal, he availed himself of the literary artifice of employing the name of the exilic Daniel to gain weight for the ethical and religious truths which he desired to set forth.¹ As in the cases of Job and Jonah, so also in that of the book of Daniel, a great injustice is done if the standard of strict historicity is applied,—a standard by which the book is not in the least intended to be tried. We find in it (cp Kamph.

10. Unconcern about history. *Daniel*, 16 f., 28 ff., 45) not only many historical errors, but also, frequently, a magnificent unconcern about

historical possibilities, of which the author, in spite of his great literary art, certainly was not always conscious. If it is permissible to find in 6:8, no less than in the demand mentioned in 2:11, a scornful reference to that religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes which the pious Jew could regard only as a piece of insanity, these passages without doubt contain other conscious allusions to historical fact. In many cases, we can quite confidently conjecture their presence, though we do not always quite understand them. If it is only with difficulty that we are able to form any visual image of the fiery furnace (3), or of the lion's den (6), still less are we able to comprehend how Daniel, who had constantly remained steadfast to the God of Israel, could have come to be the chief of the heathen Magi (2:43); and in like manner we fail to make clear to ourselves how Daniel (cp 8:26 12:4) could have managed to secure that what he had seen should remain a secret for centuries. The matter becomes at once natural and intelligible if we suppose that the exilic Daniel was simply employed as a literary device by a writer of much later date, who regarded the fury of Antiochus Epiphanes as the last visitation of the people of God before the blessed time of the end should come. Anachronisms and historical difficulties of every sort occur throughout the whole of the book, not only in its preliminary narratives.

Orthodoxy shows a natural reluctance to recognise the unhistorical character of the book. As even its latest expounder,² although dating it in the Maccabean period, greatly exaggerates its historical value, and justifies himself in his refusal to recognise its true character by urging that in substance the book is not pure invention, but rests upon tradition, it seems fitting to call attention to one outstanding instance in which tradition is no guarantee of historical truth, before we proceed to enumerate some samples of the unhistoricity of the book.—Among the apocryphal additions to Daniel contained in 6, that of the 'Dragon at Babel' (cp Schr. in Riehm's *HVB*) is certainly not pure invention. This legend, which in its present literary form is very late, had already been brought into relation with the old Babylonian mythology by Schrader and Ball (Wace, *Apocr.* ii. 348 ff.); but quite recently Gunkel (*ut sup.* 320 ff.) has conclusively shown that what lies at the root of it is the primeval Babylonian myth of the conquest of the Chaos-monster or the great

¹ It is possible, no doubt, that he derived some part of these narratives from Jewish or Babylonian popular stories. But even if we accept this conjecture, the historical setting, the moral purpose, and the skill in presentation are all his own' (Che. *EB*³, art. 'Daniel').

² Georg Behrmann, *Hand-commentar*, 1874.

dragon Tīāmat by the god Marduk.¹ Instead of merely pronouncing this apocryphal narrative, as Zöckler (*Apoc.* [191], 215-221) somewhat imprudently does, foolish and silly, we ought rather to learn from it that dependence on ancient tradition is not incompatible with complete unhistoricity.

As a contemporary, the author of Daniel 11:21-39 was in circumstances which enabled him to depict with the utmost accuracy the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his two Egyptian campaigns; but for the concluding portion of ch. 11 he can no longer be taken as a historical source, inasmuch as vv. 40-45 go beyond the author's present; the actual course of events in which Antiochus Epiphanes perished on an eastern raid in the Persian city of Tabae in 164 B.C. is glaringly inconsistent with the author's anticipation that the king, after a successful expedition against Egypt, was to meet his end suddenly in Palestine.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the book was written during the life-time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The conclusion that it belongs to a very late date in the post-exilic period is forced upon us also by its language.

The many Persian words in the book are, in the mouth of Daniel, anachronisms which clearly testify against the authenticity of the book; as also testifies the use of the word *Kasdim* (EV 'Chaldeans' [q.v.]) for the Babylonian priests, soothsayers, or magicians. True, our book sometimes, in agreement with those prophets who lived under the new Babylonian kingdom, understands by the *Kasdim* the people who had the predominance in Babylon (cp Dan. 38:5, 39:1 with Is. 43:14); but it stands alone, opposed not only to the Assyrio-Babylonian *usur loquendi* but also to that of all the rest of the OT, in the manner in which it everywhere else (cp 2:24, etc.) makes *Kasdim* synonymous with 'Magi', a practice which is found, long after the downfall of the Babylonian empire, in Greek and Roman authors. As the number of words borrowed from Persian certainly exceeds a dozen, the few Greek expressions do not come so much into account; but attention is worth calling to *psanlērion* in Dan. 3:5, because this form, alongside of the Greek *psallērion*, proves the influence of the Macedonian dialect (which substituted *n* for *l*), and because it is in the case of this word that the Semitic derivation of the foreign words in Daniel, so much insisted on in the apologetic interest, is strikingly seen to be untenable.

The non-Hebrew language of Dan. 2:4 ff. is introduced as being the speech of the 'Chaldeans,' and is kept up by the author down to the end of chap.

12. Aramaic. 7, because in his time (though not so in 2 K. 18:26) both languages were readily understood; it is thus possible for us to form definite conclusions as to its character. Although it is called Aramaic correctly, it is at the same time intended to be taken as the language of the 'Chaldeans,' and this on any assumption involves a historical error. The biblical Aramaic (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 3 f.) is now known to belong to the West Aramaic group and to be closely related to the language of the Targums and of the Palmyrene and other inscriptions. We know also that this language, of which the remains preserved to us come for the most part from Palestine, did not, as the language of current intercourse, supersede the old Hebrew (which had now begun to assert its claim to be regarded as a sacred language) until the end of the third century B.C. The actual language of the 'Chaldeans' also we know from the cuneiform inscriptions to have been Semitic, but very different from the West Aramaic, so that Luther's free translation of 24—'Then spake the Chaldee to the king in Chaldee'—is indeed exegetically correct but historically false. If, on the other hand, in order to avoid supposing that Aramaic was confounded with

'Chaldee,' it is maintained that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic, we may point to the linguistic peculiarities of the old Aramaic inscriptions,¹ which abundantly show that the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel could not have been spoken in Babylon in the sixth century.

How little the Book of Daniel can be depended on in matters of history appears from its very first verse. Not

13. Mistakes only do the real contemporaries (cp Jer. 46:2; Ez. 26:2) of the famous Chaldean king call him Nebuchadrezzar; but also Strabo,

in transliterating the name, comes near the cuneiform form. In Dan. 11, on the other hand, the name is given in a later corrupt form (with *n* instead of *r*) in connection with the unhistorical statement (cp Jer. 25:1; 36:1, 9, 29) that Nebuchadrezzar conquered Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. Whatever be the case with the rest of the OT, Daniel betrays no trace of acquaintance with cuneiform; the error made in 48 [5] is an urgent warning against any attempt to interpret the writing on the wall in 5:25 by reference to the real speech of the 'Chaldeans.' In 48 [5] Daniel's name Belshazzar, which is already taken in the LXX to be the same as Belshazzar (5:1), the name of the alleged last Babylonian king, is wrongly supposed to be a compound of the divine name Bel (Is. 46:1), although Bel-Sar-usur (that is, 'Bel preserve the king') and Belatsu-usur (that is, 'my life be preserved') are philologically distinct.² It would take us too far afield were we to show how even Nebuchadrezzar's insanity and the equally unhistorical conception of Belshazzar or even of the legendary Darius the Mede (whom Xenophon's romance, the *Cyropædia*, cannot make a historical person) carry us back to traditions which, widely different as they seem, in part at least, to have been, were in any case greatly distorted. How strained are the author's relations with history can be seen by a glance at chap. 11:2 f. As only two Babylonian kings are known to him, so he knows of only three Persian sovereigns besides Cyrus (10:1), their names being those of the four that occur elsewhere in the OT (cp Ez. 1:24-5-7); as Xerxes is clearly intended by the fourth, this sovereignty is made to be the successor of Artaxerxes (whom he really preceded), and the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

In these circumstances Driver's correct statement (*Introd.* (6) 510), that 'the book rests upon a traditional

14. Daniel basis,' ought not to have been followed by the statement that 'Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person, one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon.' A book which does not admit of being used as a historical source, save for the author's own time, cannot possibly be a guarantee for the existence of an exile Daniel. When we cast about us for information concerning Daniel independent of our present book, we find that the name Daniel is of rare occurrence in the OT, being met with (see DANIEL i. 1) only once on perfectly historical ground; and, moreover, what is very remarkable, we find also in Ezra's time (see DANIEL i. 3) a Mithael, an Azariah, and a Hananiah (cp Dan. 16)—a coincidence of rare names which led Bleek to conjecture that our author had thrown back the contemporaries of Ezra by more than a century in order that he might represent them as living

¹ Cp Dr. *Introd.* 503 f. (the language of Daniel, [c] 500). We possess monuments of the official use of Aramaic for the times of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian supremacies, which indicate that there was in the case of the smaller parts of speech, such as the relative and demonstrative pronouns which have special value for the determination of the age of a language, a notable difference of form between the older and the younger Aramaic. Whilst the old Aramaic of the inscriptions from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. has *ny*, *ny*, *ny*, in biblical Aramaic these much used particles have the forms *ny*, *ny* and *ny*. The Book of Daniel is thus, in its use of *ny* for the older *ny*, quite in agreement with what we know of the usage prevailing in Aramaic inscriptions and books dating from the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D.

² On the name and asserted kingship of Belshazzar, and on Darius the Mede, see BELSHAZZAR, DARIUS, 1.

¹ Similarly Marduk reappears later in the Christian knight St. George.

in the time of the 'exile' at a heathen court, and showing an example to his countrymen under the oppression of the heathen. This hypothesis and that of Cheyne (*OPs*, 107) are, at any rate, preferable to the view of Ewald, who places the original Daniel among the North Israelitish exiles at the court of Nineveh (*Prophecs*, 511).

In confirmation of the date (during the lifetime of Antiochus Epiphanes) already made out, we have many

15. Other signs of late date. additional facts which point to the early Maccabean period even if they do not enable us to fix the time with absolute

precision. Among these are the *argumenta e silentio* supplied by the fact that Daniel is not named by the son of Sirach who wrote about 190 B.C. (Ecclus. 48 f.), and—a still weightier argument—by the complete absence of any influence of Daniel upon post-exilic prophetic literature. Conversely this book, to which the angelic names Gabriel and Michael, the resurrection (12:2; cp ESCHATOLOGY), and a collection of sacred books that included the prophecies of Jeremiah (9:2) are known, plainly reveals its dependence not only on Jeremiah and Ezekiel but also on the post-exilic Book of Zechariah. If the absence of Daniel from Ecclus. 496-10 is itself a proof of late origin, a still stronger proof lies in the fact that it has found its place in the Hebrew canon, not in the second division, the collection of prophetic books, but in the third or last division, between Esther and Ezra (cp CANON, § 49). Not until the time of the LXX (which, moreover, has treated the text of Daniel in a very arbitrary fashion) does it find a place, after Ezekiel, as the fourth of the 'great' prophets, and thus it comes to pass that once in the NT¹ Daniel is designated as a prophet.

The very arbitrary treatment of the MT of Daniel in the LXX, particularly in chaps. 3-6, and the false interpretation of 9:25 ff. (*šibhū'im*, 'weeks' confounded with *šabbū'im*, 'sevenths')

16. Greek translations. brought it about that long before

Jerome's time, Theodotion's translation of Daniel (already employed by Irenæus)² superseded the LXX in ecclesiastical use. Though Theodotion did not remove the apocryphal additions not found in MT, yet, by making use of Aquila's version, he brought the text of the LXX into closer relation with MT. From a MS (Cod. Chisianus) of the LXX in the library of Cardinal Chigi, not very old, but supplied with Origen's obeli and asterisks, an edition of the LXX Daniel was published at Rome in 1772, and another and better one by Cozza in 1877. The Syriac Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella, edited by Bugati in 1788 and photographically reproduced by Ceriani in 1874, is justly held to be purer than the text of the Cod. Chisianus (Swete's 87), which is, indeed, full of errors. The text-critical importance of \mathfrak{S} is, for the Book of Daniel, fortunately very small; so far as the integrity of the consonants of the original text is concerned, the book is one of the best preserved in the whole OT.

As distinguished from the older prophets the Book of Daniel is often spoken of as the first apocalypse (cp Dan. 2:19). It makes a revelation of the coming end of the world, although in a veiled manner, so as to avoid the dangers of open speech. Upon the basis of his study of earlier writers (9:2),³ and conscious of his own divine

enlightenment, the author wrote his work of admonition and comfort in the name of the ancient Daniel; it is only

17. Pseudo-ignorance (cp the excellent remarks of Ball in Wace's *Apoc.* 2307) or misapprehension that can lay to his charge as a fault

his employment of a literary form which was common throughout antiquity. We must not, of course, unduly exaggerate the feeling, no doubt prevalent in the Maccabean period, that prophecy had become extinct—a feeling which may have contributed, along with other causes, to the choice of this literary form. Our author pursues the same lofty moral and religious aims which were sought by the older prophets, and it is by no means his intention to gratify a merely idle curiosity. In presenting, as still future, past occurrences in which, as one world-empire perished after another, he saw the hand of his God only as preparing the way for that which was still really in the future, the downfall of the last and most direful enemy of the good, and the coming of Messiah's salvation, there was a double advantage. The people who were in the secret were able to recognise in what he wrote the circumstances of their own time, although only darkly alluded to; and what had happened already supplied a guarantee for the certainty of that which was still to happen. The author lives in the firm faith that everything has been fully foreordained in the counsels of God (cp 7:12): the Almighty is steering the whole course of history towards the salvation of his people (cp Smend's lecture on 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *Z. f. d. K.*, 1885, p. 222 ff.). Cp ESCHATOLOGY.

If we turn now to the question how our author set about fixing by computation the date of the accomplish-

18. Chronological data. ment of the Messianic hopes of the Jews, we are able to arrive at a more precise

determination of the date of his writing. It must have been either soon before, or soon after, the purification of the temple. This we learn from the number given in 8:14. As already said, the years of weeks (cp 2 Ch. 36:21) present some historical difficulty, inasmuch as, after the first seven weeks of years (which suit the Babylonian 'exile'), instead of the $62 \times 7 = 434$ years of the interval which we should expect to find between Cyrus and the death of Onias III. (538-171 B.C.), we are, according to the actual chronology (which gives 367 years), 67 years short. As the Jewish Hellenist Demetrius, however, who wrote about 210 B.C., has fallen into a mistake precisely similar to our author's—a mistake which could easily be made in the absence of a fixed era—we need not be surprised at such an error in a book historically so inaccurate as that of Daniel. The last week of years, which begins in 171 B.C., extends (precisely reckoned) to 164 B.C., and it has certainly contributed greatly to the esteem in which the book has been held, that Antiochus Epiphanes actually did die in the year 164. For our author the division of the seventieth week of years into two equal parts was suggested by the history of his time, inasmuch as towards the end of 168 B.C. the Abomination of Desolation was set up, and idolatrous worship in the temple began. The three-years-and-a-half which remain after deduction of the historical three-years-and-a-half stand for the still incomplete period of the last and greatest tribulation in the course of which our book was written. For the correctness of this second number ($3\frac{1}{2}$) faith had to be the guarantee; and that it was known to be a round number or a number of faith is shown not only by the vague periphrasis in 7:25 and 12:7, where the plural 'times' takes the place of the linguistically impossible dual, but also by the three numbers, 1150 (cp the 2300 evenings and mornings in 8:14), 1290, and 1335 days, used in an approximate way to express three years and a half—apparently with precision but in reality only in round obtained through the angel in 7:27, 24-27. Besides, it is unnatural to explain the phrase 'the books' as referring to the Pentateuch when the context speaks only of Jeremiah. Behrmann's rendering of ספרים ('I took notice of') is preferable to that of Bevan and of EV ('I understood')

¹ In Mt. 24:15, but not in the Mk. 13:14.

² Porphyry, too, made use of Theodotion's translation, and even (according to Jerome's express testimony) regarded it as the original (cp Bevan, *op. cit.* 3).

³ Following out a suggestion of Nöldeke (*Alttest. Lit.*, 224), Prof. Bevan has offered this interpretation of 9:2, 'I understood the number of years by the Pentateuch,' the special reference being to Lev. 26:18, 21, 24, 28, where it is declared that the Israelites are to be punished seven times for their sins. 'The 70 weeks become intelligible if we suppose that the author of Daniel combined Job. 26:11, 29:13 with Lev. 26:18 ff.' 'The 70 years of Jeremiah were to be repeated 7 times, and at the end of the 490th year the long-promised deliverance might be confidently expected.' But the expression 'seven times' has here, as in Prov. 24:16, simply the sense of 'often.' The text in 9:2 cannot ascribe to Daniel a comprehension of 'the number of the years by the (holy) books,' because such a comprehension is, as a fact, only

numbers. Behrmann, with Cornill, continues to fix the date of the book as in the beginning of the year 164, because the number in 814, which does not seem to be symbolical, is held to point to the purification of the temple as having already been accomplished; but Cornill,¹ reckoning backwards 1150 days from 25th December 165 B.C., sought to make out 27th October 168 as the probable date of the religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes. The difference of 45 days between the number in 1211 and that in 1212, which it is merely arbitrary to attempt to explain as a gloss, points to months of 30 days. In that case the 1290 days (v. 11), or 43 months, would fit in if we were to add an intercalary month to the 42 months of the three years and a half. However we may reckon (cp H. Oort in *Th. T.* 28, 450 [94]), the end of chap. 9 forbids the dissociation of the restoration of the temple service from the final close so decidedly that the present writer now unites with Kuenen and Wellhausen in preferring the usual view, according to which 814 still lies in the author's future, and holds the date of the book to be 165 B.C.

When the book, which rapidly became popular, first began, perhaps as early as 150 B.C. (cp i. Marc. 154

19. Apocryphal additions. ^{289 f.} to be translated by Egyptian Jews into Greek, the legends of Susanna, and of Bêl and the Dragon (cp Bevan, 45), which may very well have had an independent circulation,² had certainly not as yet been taken up into it. In fact, as late as the fifth century A.D. we have it on the authority of Polychronius that the Song of the Three Children was still absent alike from the Syriac version and from the original text. We cannot tell at what date it was that these apocryphal additions (which are contained in all the MSS that have reached us) were taken up into the Greek and the Syriac Daniel. In view of the great popularity of their contents, shown by the variety of the forms in which they are presented, we can only conjecture that they must have been adopted comparatively early (the book from the first was freely rendered rather than faithfully translated in the LXX), although the growth of the four different Syriac texts of Susanna (cp Wace, 2330 f.) may have been later. The so-called genuine LXX text, which we possess in the Cod. Chisianus (Sw. 87) and (in Syriac) in a valuable Milan MS (cp Swete, *Septuagint*, vol. 3, p. ii f.), contains, of course, the additions just as fully as do the many MSS which give us Daniel in the text of Theodotion, already described above (§ 16) as a revision of the LXX. Swete (as above) has conveniently printed together the text of Theodotion, which obtained ecclesiastical sanction, and that of the LXX, which had lain in oblivion for almost fifteen centuries. Even if we suppose, with Schürer (*PRE³* 1640), that the LXX text must have been in existence before the Daniel legend received new developments in Greek, we may safely assume that the additions to the Greek Daniel had been made before the beginning of the Christian era. The balance of probability is that they were not translated from any Semitic source, but were originally written in Greek (cp Pusey, *Daniel*, 378 f.). They are distinguished—as indeed is the LXX version of Daniel—from the Jewish Greek that prevails in the rest of the LXX by their purer and more elegant diction; another indication in the same direction is the well-known play upon Greek words in Susanna (rv. 54 f. 58 f., cp HOLM TREE), which even Julius Africanus urged as proof of the spuriousness of the piece in his letter to Origen, who wished the narrative to be retained in the canon. As Protestants are in no way bound by the

decrees of the Council of Trent (cp **20. Susanna.** Wace, *Apocr.* 1368 f.), which declares the apocryphal additions to be true history, and as we hardly require a full enumeration of reasons such as is given, e.g., by Reuss (*Das AT übersetzt*, 1894, 741 f.) in proof of the unhistorical character of the Susanna

legend, we are able to approach without any prejudice the question as to the language in which it was originally written. It may be frankly conceded that in view of the small extent of the additions—plainly the work of a Hellenistic Jew (or Jews)—and in view of the fact that even in the case of a comparatively poor language it is always possible by free translation to imitate any play upon words whatever, we have not the means that would enable us to prove conclusively that the original language was Greek.

To estimate the additions correctly, we must consider their substance rather than their present Greek form. Without prejudice to the literary freedom which is manifestly presupposed by their present form and by the fact that the Susanna legend appears in several shapes (cp Salmon in Wace, p. xlv), it is clear that they contain more or less of traditional matter, and, like the canonical book itself, cannot be regarded as pure invention. So long ago as 1832 Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vortr.* 122 f.) called attention to the fact that traces are preserved in the Haggadâ of wonderful doings of a Daniel famous for his wisdom—e.g., the fight with the dragon, already mentioned, in Midrash *Ber. Rab.* par. 68 (in Wünsche's transl., Leipzig, 1881, p. 334). As for the position of the legend of the beautiful Susanna, whom Daniel (represented in v. 45 as a very youthful boy) saves from the false accusation of the two elders by his wise judgment, Theodotion, for the sake of the presumed chronological order, has placed it before Dan. 1 (though after chap. 1 would be more appropriate), while the LXX and Vg. on the other hand, place it as a thirteenth chapter after the twelve canonical chapters; Bêl and the Dragon being a fourteenth. Daniel's wise judgment recalls i. K. 316 ff.; but the lascivious old men recall still more Ahab and Zedekiah, the two adulterous false prophets living in Babylon and threatened by Jeremiah (cp Jer. 2920-23 with Sus. v. 57), about whom the Talmud and Midrash have so much to say. Brüll even thought that he had discovered the explanation of the flower-name Susanna in the Midrash *Wayyikra Rabba*, par. 19 (p. 129 in Wünsche's transl.), and Ball (Wace, 2330) would fain have it that the piece is an anti-Sadducean 'tendency' writing. More likely is the connection suggested by Ewald (*GI³* 4636) of the Susanna story with a Babylonian legend, an allusion to which occurs in the Koran (*Sur.* 266), of the seduction of two old men by the goddess of love.

While in Susanna Daniel, as his name implies, appears as a judge, he comes before us in the other

21. Bêl and the Dragon. ^{of Babylon} (see 20. 21 ff.)—which immediately follow in all MSS and editions, as the successful opponent of heathenism, distinguished for wisdom and piety. In the first of the two, Daniel convinces the king (called Cyrus only in Theod.) of the fraud practised by the priests of Bêl, who pretended that their god was an actual living deity, while it was they themselves with their wives and families who consumed the food and drink offered to Bêl. After the execution of the priests and the destruction of the helpless Bêl and his temple (v. 22) we read (rv. 23-42) of further exploits of Daniel in Babylon. He subdued the invulnerable dragon (Job 41 18 [56] ff.) which they worshipped with divine honours, by throwing indigestible substances into its jaws, whereupon the king at the instigation of his enraged people caused the destroyer of their gods to be cast into the lions' den (cp Dan. 6); here he was divinely protected, and supported by food miraculously brought to him from the land of Judæa by the prophet Habakkuk (cp Ezek. 83). In § 87 (see Sw.) the superscription of the twofold narrative of Bêl and the Dragon runs: 'From the prophesy of Habakkuk, the son of Jesu, of the tribe of Levi.' Here, doubtless, there is a reference to some Jewish prophetic legend, although only Theodotion calls this Habakkuk a prophet (see HABAKKUK). The only addition

¹ See his *Die Siebziger Jahrtausend Daniels*, 1889.

² Cp above, § 10.

which, strictly speaking, supplements the canonical book of Daniel is the double hymn introduced after 323, consisting of 67 verses mentioned in Greek and Vg. as

22. Song of the 3 Children. The EV treats this entire section as one, headed 'The Song of the Three Children'. Three Children'; Luther, following the Vatican superscription, divides it into two, under the titles 'The Prayer of Azariah' and 'The Song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace'. The prayer named after Azariah (cp Dan. 17) is spoken in the name of the three friends; but its language is as general as if the entire Jewish people, oppressed and penitent, were speaking. After a brief connecting narrative relating their miraculous preservation from the devouring fire—a preservation regarded as an answer to Azariah's prayer—we have in vv. 52-90 the song of praise sung at the same time by all three together. This speaks of the deliverance from the fire only in the verse where they call upon themselves by name (v. 88), whilst the rest takes the form of a prolonged litany, reminiscent of Ps. 103³⁰ ff. and still more of Ps. 136 148 and Ecclus. 43, where in quite general terms all created things are summoned to praise the Lord.

To the bibliography in *Bevan's Short Comm. on Daniel* (Camb. '94), p. 9, and in Strack's *Einl.* (93), p. 214 f., add Kamph. 'Daniel' in *SBOT*; *Dr. introd.* (7)

23. Literature. 488-515; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 524-537; Che. *Ofs.*, 94, 105 107, *Founders*, 367-371; Behrmann, *Das B. Daniel*, Gütersloh, 1894 (his exegesis is conscientious and sober; his etymologies are weak, but criticises *Kautzsch's Gramm.* in several points successfully); Breasted, *Hebraica*, July (91), p. 244 ff. (on the proof of the recent origin of Daniel derived from syntax); Löhr, 'Text-krit. Vorarb. zu einer Erklärung des B. Daniel', *ZATW*, 1895-96; Dillm. *A. Thic. Theol.*, Leipzig (95), p. 522 f., 538; Baer, *Libri Dan. Ex. et Neb. Text Mas.*, etc., 1893 (with pref. by Franz Del., and 'Babylonian glosses' by Friedr. Del.); J. D. Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (99); Nestle, *Marg. u. Mat.*, 1893 (see pp. 35-42); Marti, *Kurzg. Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. Sprache*, 1896 (note especially the Texts and Glossary). The commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel has recently been edited by Bonwetsch (*Hippolytus Werke*, I, Leipzig, '97); see also Bonwetsch, 'Studien zu den Komm. Hippolytus in *Archiev f. d. älteren christl. Schriftsteller*, I, (97); Hladau, *Die Alexandrin. Übersetzung des B. Dan. u. ihr Verhältniss z. Mass. Text* (97), an instructive exposition of the problems presented by the LXX: chaps. 1-37-12 in the LXX are a real translation of text-critical value; the deuterocanonical parts are most probably based on a Semitic original. (G. A. Barton, 'The Comp. of the Book of Daniel', *BIBL*, 17 (98) 62-86 (against unity of authorship); F. Buhl, *FREB* (98), 4445-457. A. K.

DAN-JAAN (דַּן יַעֲנַן; εἰς δὴν εἰδὴν καὶ οὐδάν [B], εἰς δὴν ἰσραὴν καὶ ἰουδάν [A], εἰς δὴν [L]). *IN B. V. N. NIFENKIA* [Vg. J], a place mentioned (2 S. 246) in a description of the limits of David's kingdom, after the 'land of TAHTIM-HODSHI' (q.v.). Conder (*Hdbk.* 408), following Schultz, identifies it with *Daniän*, a ruined place between Tyre and Akka, 4 m. N. of Achzib. That, however, is too far west. 'Dan' must be the historic Dan, and *-jaan* (for which Ges.'s *ya'ar* 'forest' is a poor conjecture; but see 6^a Vg.) is plainly corrupt. To emend the text so as to read 'they went to Dan, and from Dan they went round (יָצְאוּ וַיֵּשְׁבוּ) to Zidon' (We., Dr., Ki., Bu.) is possible. It is better, however, especially if Klostermann is right in his emendation of Tahitim-hodshi, to change *-jaan* into *wē'-yyōn*, 'and (to) Ijon'; Ijon, like Kedesh, belonged to the territory of Naphtali. We should then continue, 'and they went round (יָצְאוּ וַיֵּשְׁבוּ) καὶ ἐκὸς κλωσαν) to Zidon.' Observe that Klostermann's emendation (יִיִן) is easier, and probably gives a better sense than that of Wellhausen and Driver. It is also proposed by Grätz. T. K. C.

DANNAH (דַּנְיָה; PENNA [BAL]), a city of the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 49), mentioned between Socoh (Shuweikeh) and Debir. Suitable to this position is the modern *Iahna*, the *Iēva* of the OS, 6 m. SE. of Beit-Jibrin; the variation in the form of the name is a not unusual one (cp Ibizki and Bezek).

DAPHNE (ΔΑΦΝΗ [AV]), 2 Macc. 4:33. See ANTIOCH, 2. § 1.

DARDA (דַּרְדָּי), one of three wise men, sons of MAHOL (the Chronicler differs; see ZERAH), compared with Solomon (1 K. 4:31 [5 11]; 6:27; ΔΑΡΔΑΑ [B], ΤΟΝ ΔΑΡΔΑ [A], ΔΑΡΔΑΕ [L]). *IN* Ch. 26 the name appears as *Dara* (δαρα [BA], δαράδ[ε] [L]); but, as it seems intended to be analogous in form to Chalcol (Chalcol?), a second *d* is indispensable. The largest group of MSS of 6 read in 1 K. and 1 Ch. τὸν δαρδά; three cursives in 1 K. have τὸν δαρδαν (so Artm.). Pesh. Targ. and some MSS (Kenn.) support MT. in both passages.

DARIUS (דָּרְיָוִשׁ, דָּרְיָוִשׁ), RV 1 Ch. 29 etc., AV DRAM [q.v.].

DARIUS (דָּרְיָוִשׁ); Old Pers. Dārayavauš, Darayavaš; Bab. *Dāri'amaš* (vauš); S. m. *Tariyamauš* (vauš); Δαρ[ε]λιος [BNAQL 87]).

1. Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus, Dan. 6:1 [2] 28 [29] 9:1 and 11:1 (κύριος [BAQ—i.e., Theod.; 87—i.e., the LXX], Δαρείου [Aq. Sym.]). The name is here applied in error to the conqueror of the new Babylonian empire. In Dan. 9:1 Ahasuerus is the father of Darius the Mede, who, we are informed (cp 11:1), 'was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans' after the death of Belshazzar. We are told of Darius that he was then (638 B.C.) sixty-two years old, from which it follows that Ahasuerus his father must have been a contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar. With this agrees Tob. 14 15, where it is said (but not by N*) that the population of Nineveh was deported by Nebuchadrezzar and Ahasuerus. All this proceeds upon a mistake. Nineveh was conquered by Cyaxares (Old Pers. Uvakhshātara), the predecessor of Astyages, with the assistance of Nabopolassar (Nabū-pal-usur) the father of Nebuchadrezzar. In the list of Median kings one searches in vain for a name that can by any possibility be taken for that of Ahasuerus or Darius. Even if it be argued that Darius was indeed a Mede, though nowhere called king of Media, we have to reckon not only with the notices given by the Greek historians but also with the Nabū-na'id-Cyrus cylinder, from which it appears that Cyrus himself, immediately after the fall of the capital, ascended the throne of Babylon, and appointed to the governorship of the province of Babylon Gobryas (Old Pers. Gaubaruva, Bab. Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, who, it would appear, was superseded, as king, by Cambyses the Persian. This Gobryas may very well have been the person who, seventeen years afterwards, joined forces with Darius Hystaspis against the pseudo-Smerdis. As governor of Gutium, which lay on the Median frontier, he may well have been called a Mede, and, as the ally of Darius, have been confounded with him. The name, however, of the father of Gobryas was Mardonius (Marduniya), not Xerxes, and it is not to be supposed that Cyrus made such a political blunder as to entrust the control of so important a province as Gutium to a Mede. See DANIEL, BOOK OF, § 13.

2. Darius I. Hystaspis, king of Persia (521-485 B.C.), who allowed the Jews to rebuild their temple, is referred to in Ezra 4:24 5:6 6:1 Hag. 1:210 Zech. 1:17, and probably in Neh. 12:22. His liberality towards the Jews is in complete accord with what we know otherwise of his general policy in religious matters towards the subject nations. He took the great Cyrus for his model, and contrasts strongly with Cambyses.

If Cambyses dealt the sacred Apis-bull of Memphis a mortal wound, Darius presented the city with a new Apis, and restored the temple of Amun-Ra at the oasis of El-Khargeh with great splendour. In Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean, temples were indeed sometimes destroyed by his generals, especially where, as at Naxos and at Eretria (Herod. 2:96-101),

It is stated in Neh. 12:22 f. that the priests were registered under 'Darius the Persian': the Levites (if we emend the text) not till the period from Elishah to Jaddan. The text of v. 22 f. has passed through changes, probably through the redaction of the Chronicler. So Koster, *Herstel.* 109. [For other views see Meyer, *Einl.* 103, and NHEMIAH, § 1.]

revenge was to be gratified; but he himself gave special orders to spare Delos, and also caused three hundred talents of incense to be burnt on the altars of Apollo and Artemis. If he discerned some affinity between Apollo and his own god Mithra, he may well have seen resemblance enough between Yahwé and Ahuramazda to lead him to do homage to the god of Israel.

C. P. T.

3. Darius III. Codomannus, the last king of Persia (1 Macc. 1. 2). Cf. PARSELA, *Book of*, § 13; PERSIDA.
4. 1 Macc. 12. 7 AV; RV ARJUS. See STRATON.

DARKON (דַּרְקוֹן): BDB compares *Ar. daraka*, 'hasten, *'darakatu*, 'shield'; ΔΑΡΚΩΝ [D] ΔΕΡ. [M.]. The P^he Darkon, a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); EZRA 2. 60 = Neh. 7. 58 (Δαρκων [DRA]) = 1 Esd. 5. 31, 1000s following *עֶבֶר דַּרְקוֹן* (*ḥepreaw* [L.]).

DART. On the various Heb. and Gk. words see WEAPONS.

DATES (דָּתֵי), 2 Ch. 31. 5 AV⁹⁸⁶; EV HONEY (*γ. 20*).

DATHAN AND ABIRAM (דָּתָן, אֲבִירָם), Reubenites who led a revolt against Moses in the interval between the return of the spies and the final march towards Canaan.

In Nu. 15-17 the revolt of Dathan and Abiram is mingled and confused with another revolt, that of Korah.

Consequently, it is difficult, indeed impossible, to interpret the narrative as it stands. There are sections of the narrative from which Korah disappears altogether. We have three causes for the revolt: impatience with the civil authority of Moses, discontent with the exclusive right of the Levitical tribe (as against Israel in general) to exercise priestly functions, and a desire on the part of the Levites who were not descended from Aaron to vindicate their equal right to the priesthood. These various motives are not combined, but appear in various parts of the narrative independently. The confusion reaches its highest point when we are told that the company of rebels who had already been swallowed up by the open earth were devoured by fire from Yahwé (cp 16. 33 with 35).

If, however, we turn to Dt. 11. 6, we find the means of escaping from this confusion ready to our hand. There

2. In Deuteronomy. Moses begs the Israelites to remember what Yahwé their God 'did to Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, the sons of Reuben; how the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their households and their tents and every living thing that followed them, in the midst of all Israel.' From this passage, with which cp Ps. 106. 17, we might naturally conclude that the Deuteronomist had a text of early Israelite history before him, in which the revolt of Dathan and Abiram was mentioned without any reference to Korah, and the rebels, instead of being devoured by fire, were swallowed up alive by the earth.

We ask, therefore, if any such independent narrative of the revolt led by Dathan and Abiram can be extracted

3. Original narrative. from the composite text of Nu. 16. The answer must be given, and is in fact given by all recent scholars, in the affirmative. We have but to read 16. 10 2a 12-15 25 26 27b-32a 33 34 by themselves, in order to obtain an account which is nearly complete and is also consistent and intelligible. This is the history from which the Deuteronomist has borrowed his summary—from which he has taken not only his facts but also his words and phrases. That, however, is not all. The verses just mentioned form a literary unity. Their style is partly that of the Yahwist, partly that of the Elohist, whose allied works here, as elsewhere, have been combined by an editor into a whole. The rest of the narrative in ch. 16. f. is in the style of the priestly writer (P), a style so clearly marked and uniform that it cannot be mistaken. The Deuteronomist makes no allusion to the priestly narrative—for the simple reason that in his time it did not exist. One difficulty remains. In v. 1 On is mentioned as one of the rebels;

but not a word is said of him in the sequel. Here in all probability the text is corrupt, and most scholars accept the emendation proposed by Graf (*Gesch. Blicher*, 89): 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben.' The emendation is abundantly justified by a comparison of Gen. 46. 9 EX. 6. 14 Nu. 26. 5 f. 1 Ch. 5. 4.

When disentangled from the later priestly story of the rebellion of Korah, with which it was mingled

4. The old tradition. by the compiler of the Hexateuch, the old tradition is in substance as follows. Dathan and Abiram belonged to Reuben,

the oldest tribe, which had, however, forfeited its claim to the hegemony or principedom among the sons of Jacob (see the so-called Blessing of Jacob; Gen. 49. 3 f.). As Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram resent the supremacy of Moses. When Moses bids them come up to judgment, they insolently refuse. They reproach him with his unfitness for rule. Instead of leading them into a land flowing with milk and honey, he has led them away from Egypt, which deserved to be so described, and has exposed them to the deadly perils of the wilderness. It is only by blinding the people that he can maintain his position. Moses, in answer, protests that he has neither done them any hurt nor robbed them of so much as an ass, and he begs Yahwé to pay no respect to their offering. These last words refer, apparently, to the sacrifice which every Israelite might offer for his household, and may be compared with Gen. 4. 4 f., where the Yahwist tells us that Yahwé looked favourably on the offering of Abel but not on that of Cain. The writer is not thinking of any special priesthood, but simply takes for granted that Yahwé, whose favour was always sought by sacrifice, will not accept the offering of rebels against just authority. Thereupon Moses, accompanied by the elders of Israel, goes down to the tents of his opponents. He predicts the divine chastisement which will fall upon them, and his threat is fulfilled. The earth opens her mouth and Dathan and Abiram go down into Sheöl, the receptacle of the shades; only, they, unlike other men, go down into it alive. Their wives and little ones perish with them.

We have made no attempt to distinguish between the work of the Yahwist and that of the Elohist. There

5. Redaction. are marks of style and expressions proper to the one and to the other, and again and again the same thing is mentioned twice. Kuenen (*Und.* § 8, n. 14) and Kittel (*Hist.* 1. 212 n.) attribute the narrative (of course after exclusion of P) as a whole to the Elohist; Cornill (*Eint.* 20), with better right, to the Yahwist. The frequent doublets show that two hands have been at work. We believe that Yahwist and Elohist told much the same story, and that the editor who combined their histories into one here made the Yahwist his basis, adopting at the same time some expressions from the Elohist. We cannot see any solid ground for Dillmann's belief that the Yahwist represented Dathan and Abiram as claiming the priesthood. He urges the words in v. 15, 'respect not thou their offering'; but such a curse, while all Israelites were allowed to sacrifice, might be naturally invoked against any enemy. The Yahwist makes little or no mention of a special priesthood, and though, no doubt, he was familiar with the institution, assuredly did not impugn the right of lay Israelites to offer sacrifice. The whole narrative now before us depicts a rebellion directed against Moses as a civil ruler. Had Dathan and Abiram claimed to exercise priestly functions we should have heard more about it. See KORAH.

W. E. A.

DATHEMA ΔΑΘΕΜΑ [A]. ΘΑΙΜΑ [S]. -ΜΕΘΑ [V]. Syr. ܕܬܘܨܝ in 1 Macc. 5. 6; ΔΑΘΗΜΑ to ΦΡΟΥΡΟΝ, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1), one of the strong places in Gilead to which the Jews had betaken themselves when threatened by Timotheus and his host. It was relieved, with great slaughter of the enemy, by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5. 9 ff. 24 ff. 26 ff.).

Dathema has not been identified; from the description it must have lain between Bosora and Maspha (Mizpeh). The Syr. reading may be only a mistake for *Damtha* (Ew. *Hist.* 5:14); but within the distance from Bosora of a night's march (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8:3) lies the modern *Kemtech*, a considerable village and station on the Hajj road (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 17).

DAUGHTER. The word 'daughter' (בַּת, θυγάτηρ) in EV often has Hebraistic senses, the chief of which are here mentioned.

1. Native Canaanite or Philistine women are 'daughters' of Canaan (Gen. 30:2) or of Philistia (2 S. 1:20).

2. 'Daughter' is a synonym for 'girl' or 'woman' (Gen. 30:13 Judg. 12:9 [30 'daughters'] Cant. 2:6); in addressing a person (Ruth 2:2 Ps. 45:11 Mt. 9:22).

3. The population of a place, or the place and its population, may be called collectively a 'daughter.' A typical phrase is בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן (Is. 18:10, 22, etc.); lit. 'daughter of Zion', but, since the genitive is appositional, more correctly rendered 'people of Zion' (so sometimes in *S. BOT.*). So, too, 'daughter of Babylon' (Ps. 137:3; 'daughter of Egypt' [Jer. 46:17, 24]; also 'daughter of my people'—i.e., my country-people (Is. 22:4 Jer. 4:1). A phrase which is generally synonymous is 'sons' (i.e., inhabitants) of Zion, Babylon, etc. See *ZDMG.* 40:199; König, *Nyktax.* § 255 c.

4. Dependent towns may be called 'daughters.' Thus the 'daughters of Judah' in Ps. 48:11[12] are the cities of Judah (cp *GENEALOGIES*, i. § 1). Cp the use of 'mother' for a provincial capital in 2 S. 20:19. See *TOWN, VILLAGE*.

5. 'Daughter,' like 'son,' in combination with a noun, may also express some speciality of character or capacity. Examples of this are few in number. A 'daughter of Belial' is certainly a 'grossly wicked person' (1 S. 1:16). 'Daughter of troops' (דִּוְרָה; Mic. 5:1 [4:14]) is explained 'those who subject to attack'; but the text is doubtful. 'Daughters of music' (בָּנֵי שִׁיר, 'daughters of song') in Eccles. 12:4 might be singing women; but others think that the sounds of music are thus figuratively described.

DAVID (דָּוִד, דָּוִד; δαυ[ε]ιδ [BAL]¹). The name may be explained (1) as meaning 'beloved, a friend, NAMES, §§ 5, 56; or (2) as meaning 'paternal uncle,' if we pronounce דָּוִד (i.e., Dōd), for which Gray (*HPN* 83) offers Semitic analogies, though the explanation is certainly 'at first sight unlikely'; or (3), best of all, as an abbreviation of Dodiël, which was perhaps the name of one of David's sons (see DANIEL i. 4), or of Dodiāh = DODAI (*q.v.*). See also DODO.

The chronology of the life of David is most uncertain. We have elsewhere (see *CHRONOLOGY*, §§ 29, 37) assumed 930 B.C. as the first year of the reign of Rehoboam. To accept the round number of forty years assigned to the reign of Solomon in 1 K. 11:42 and to that of David in 2 S. 5:4 and in 1 K. 2:11 as strictly historical, would be uncritical. The chronological statements referred to are, at most, editorial guesses which may, as good critics think, be not very far from the mark.² The early history also of David is in many respects uncertain. It intertwines to a great extent with the still obscurer record of his predecessor (see SAUL); and keen criticism is necessary to arrive at the kernel of fact which there undoubtedly is in the legends that have come down to us. Winckler indeed denies that there is such a kernel of facts in the romantic story of David's early vicissitudes. Such exaggerated distrust, however, appears to arise from a preconceived theory respecting David, and most critics hold strongly to the view that the imaginative element in the story of David is but the vesture which half conceals, half discloses, certain facts treasured in popular tradition. If it should appear that this imaginative element contains some details which we have allowed a warm place in our regard and it would pain us to miss from the history of Israel, we must comfort ourselves with the thought (1) that what remains unshaken becomes more precious than ever, and (2) that even pure legends are of great historical value for the characterisation of the age which produced them.

(a) *First appearance.*—The only ancestor of David

¹ The MSS generally have δαδ. Lag. gives Δαδδ in a few places.

² See Kamphausen, *Die Chronol. der hebr. Könige*, 167; cp (for David) St. *GFT* 1:264, 297. Wi. (*GI* 1:174) questions this.

known to early traditions was his father Jesse,¹ who was believed to have been a citizen of **1. Stories of** Bethlehem.² David was the youngest **earlier days.** of his four³ sons (so 1 S. 17:13, 14 [B omits]); cp 16:5-9, and was sent to keep his father's sheep in the steppes of Judah. Such at least is the statement of one of our traditions, which, at any rate, has the merit of accounting for the agility, endurance, and courage, so constantly ascribed to David (cp 1 S. 17:34, 24, 2, 2 S. 17:9). There, too, David is supposed to have acquired that skill in music (cp Gen. 4:20, f.) which led to his first introduction to Saul, after which he became the king's armour-bearer and slew Goliath. This, however, is not in accordance with the older and more trustworthy account, which simply tells us that David was a valiant Israelitish warrior who happened to be also clever with his tongue and with his lyre, and who was sent for from Bethlehem (a feature borrowed, perhaps, from the other tradition) to charm away Saul's melancholy. Nor is the statement that the shepherd-lad slew Goliath the Philistine consistent with the plain and thoroughly credible, because legendary, tradition given elsewhere, that the slayer of Goliath was Elhanan, and the period of his exploit not in Saul's but in David's reign⁴ (see ELHANAN, GOLIATH). We must, therefore, if the superior antiquity and probability of a narrative are to count as recommendations, give up the more romantic of the two sets of statements respecting David's introduction to Saul and his early prowess. That he became Saul's armour-bearer and musician need not be disputed.

(b) *Break with Saul.*—Another point in which the ordinary view of the life of David needs rectification is the occasion which gave birth to Saul's jealousy of David. The MT of 1 S. 18:6 states that 'when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistines,' the women came out of the cities of Israel, singing, 'Saul hath slain

¹ This is intelligible enough in the light of David's words in 1 S. 18:18 (not in B). That a later age claimed descent for the most popular of the kings from the ancient princes of Judah (Ruth 4:8 ff.) is also intelligible (see RUTH, BOOK OF); David was not to be of less distinguished origin than Saul (1 S. 9:1). Cp the case of Sargon. It was only in the time of Esar-haddon that a genealogy was produced giving the Sargonic dynasty (which had simply usurped the throne) the necessary line of ancestors. See the inscriptions quoted by Wi. (*Hebraica*, 4:52 f.).

² The connection with Bethlehem has been rendered doubtful by Marq. (*Fund.* 23 ff.), who thinks that the belief in it arose from a false reading in 1 S. 20:28, where, for 'asked leave of me unto Bethlehem' (cp B¹), he reads (with Klo.) 'asked leave of me until the meal-time' (*Yed. Jeron.* for *Bethlehem*)—a sound emendation. From the fact that David's sister ABIGAIL (1) (*q.v.*) married a man of Jezreel (near Carmel in Judah, the native place of David's favourite wife Abigail), and that David himself took his first wife from that place (see AHINOAM), Marquart suspects that the hero's real home was farther south than Bethlehem, perhaps at Arad. This view he supports by a plausible but unprovable conjecture, viz. that Shammah the Aradite (so he reads in 2 S. 23:25; see HARODITE)—i.e., the man of Arad—is Shammah, David's brother, and that Ahiām b. Shobab the Aradite (2 S. 23:33; see HARARITE) was also a relation of David. Both these persons were enrolled among David's 'thirty.' The name of the home of David may conceivably have been forgotten, and (quite apart from 1 S. 20:28) a tradition such as that in 2 S. 23:27 may have suggested to narrators the choice of Bethlehem for his birthplace. This is probable. Cp Winckler, *Gesch.* 1:24.

³ A later tradition increased the number to seven (1 Ch. 2:13, 15) or rather eight (1 S. 16:10, f. 17:12 [B om.]). The names of three out of the seven in 1 Ch. *lc.* (viz., BETHANIEL, 2; OZEM, 1; and RADDAI) appear to be fictitious; cp Gray, *HPN* 233, *Fund.* 2.

⁴ The duplicate narratives of Saul's first meeting with David and of the slaying of Goliath respectively are:—

(a) 1 S. 16:14-23 17:1-18:4 (part), and

(b) 1 S. 17:1-18:4 (part), 2 S. 21:19.

On these passages what is most necessary has been stated by Dr. *Andros*, 169; cp also the writers referred to in GOLIATH. WRS (*OTC* 9:432) finds some of the arguments for the existence of two opposite traditions as to David's introduction to Saul inconclusive. But there seems no strong objection to regarding the words יָשַׁע בְּצֵן יָשַׁע 'who is with the sheep' in 1 S. 16:19 as a harmonistic interpolation (see St. *GFT* 1:224 n. 2; Bu. *kt. Sa.* 211), and it seems unnatural to take the words of Saul's servant in 1 S. 16:18 proleptically. The true continuation of 1 S. 16:23 is not 17:1, but a lost description of David's early exploits (see above), which was followed by 18:6 (in a shorter form)—82.

his thousands and David his ten thousands,' from which (see v. 8*b*) Saul inferred that the ambition of his spoiled favourite would not rest satisfied without the crown itself. It is certain, however, that MT does not give the original form of this passage. Whether the Hebrew text underlying the LXX contained the words 'when David returned,' etc., and the clause at the end of v. 8, is a point on which critics differ. Even if, as Budde supposes, the LXX translator, to produce a simpler narrative, omitted these clauses, it is not denied by that critic that the former clause is an editorial insertion;¹ it was not, therefore, the slaughter of Goliath by the shepherd lad that (according to the tradition) made Saul suspect that David nourished hopes of becoming king.

This, however, is merely a negative statement. What was it, we may ask, that, according to the best analysis of chap. 17, aroused the jealousy of Saul? To the present writer, as well as to Stade and Wellhausen, 1 S. 18*b* (with the omission of the reference to Goliath) seems to presuppose some account of David's early exploits as a warrior which stood in no connection with the story of Goliath, and indeed was removed by the editor to make room for it. It was these early exploits of a trained warrior that excited the jealousy of Saul, but (since v. 8*b*-11, which 5^b omits, are derived, like vv. 17-19, which also 5^b omits, from another source) did not suggest the thought of David's wish for the crown. This is no doubt psychologically intelligible. Saul could not bear the sight of his too popular armour-bearer, and so he transferred him to a post which would remove him from his own immediate presence. The tradition adds that this served to promote David's interests. Even Michal, Saul's daughter (see MICHAL, EGLAH, ITH-REAM), fell under his fascination, and her jealous father resolved to put the young captain on a perilous enterprise, promising him his daughter's hand in return for the customary proofs of victory, but secretly hoping that he would never return. David went forth, slew a hundred Philistines, and won his wife;² but the anxiety of Saul went on increasing after such a manifest proof of the divine protection of David.

This is certainly an improvement upon the ordinary view which treats chap. 18 as a homogeneous narrative; but who can assert that this view of the facts produces the impression of being perfectly historical? It will be noticed that we have laid no stress on the song of the women (18*7*). The fragment is indeed clearly ancient; but it seems best understood as coming from a time when David was already king. This, however, is not the most important point. We need a narrative of still greater simplicity and verisimilitude. It is, as Stade remarks,³ more credible that Saul gave his daughter in marriage to David of his own accord, in order to bind the young hero to the family of his benefactor, and that Saul's jealousy broke out after, not before the marriage. Besides, it would be inconsistent in Saul, first, to send David away as a captain of a thousand (18*13*), and then to bring him back to the court as the king's son-in-law. For this position had attached to it the captivity of the body-guard (see 1 S. 22*14*, 5^b), which gave its holder a rank next to Abner the general (1 S. 20*25*), so that Saul would be continually liable to fresh irritation from the sight of David. We cannot, however, positively assert that Stade's correction of the tradition brings us face to face with facts, and must be content to believe that the early story of David's life is not altogether a popular fiction, without insisting too

¹ See Budde's interesting analysis, as embodied in *SBOT*, Heb. edition. This critic seems to hold that the Goliath-story was originally closed by a description of the festal rejoicing which greeted the returning warriors and especially David, and that the same document then went on to relate the terror with which David's success inspired Saul, the king's removal of David to a high military post, and the episode of Merab. For Stade's view, see SAMUEL, II.

² On the course but not in itself incredible requirement of Saul 1 S. 18*25* 27 2 S. 3*14*), see MARRIAGE, and cp St. *Gesch.* I 232. (*OT* I 233; cp We. *CH* 251.

much on the most romantic and interesting, and therefore least certain, parts of it. One of these least certain parts is the account of David's early relations with MICHAL (q.v.).

(c) *Various late narratives.*—On the episode of Saul's broken promise of Merab as a wife for David (1 S. 18*17-19*) it is unnecessary to dwell. The story, as all agree, interrupts the original context of chap. 18, to which the insertion has been clumsily fitted by an interpolation in v. 21*b*. We have here, therefore, a notice drawn from a distinct source. The language of vv. 17 and 19 seems to presuppose the story of David and Goliath (17 25 speaks of the king's promise of his daughter, and the whole narrative implies that David is as yet a mere lad, too young in fact to marry). It might of course be historical in spite of its close connection with that highly imaginative story. Since, however, Michal, not Merab (5^b, however, has M¹ 106*b*), appears in 2 S. 21*8* as the mother of Adriel's children, it is more than probable that the whole episode of Merab rests on a confusion of names.¹ In short, we have two variants of the same tradition, and the form given in 18 20*f*. is the more likely to be historical.

Nor need we pause long on some other late narratives. (i.) The account of Samuel's solemn consecration of David as king in 1 S. 10*1-13* has evidently not a historical but a religious motive. To devout readers the 'man according to God's mind' would have seemed to be disparaged if he had not, equally with his predecessor, been anointed by Samuel. (ii.) The episode of David's visit to the prophetic community at Ramah (19 18-24) is an attempt, in the style of the midrash, to explain the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' On this, as well as on (i.), see SAMUEL, II. § 5. (iii.) The pretended madness of David at Gath (21 11-16) is a fiction. To those we should, not inconceivably, add (iv.) a part of the story of David and Bathsheba (see BATHSHEBA).

Let us now resume the thread of the narrative. David was at first known to the servants of Saul as a

2. At the court of Saul.

brave warrior and a skilled musician, and also as clever of speech and comely in person. Whatever he did seemed to prosper, for he had not only unusual abilities, but also a power of fascination which seemed a special sign of the divine favour (cp Ps. 45*2*). His prowess in the war against the Philistines marked him out as one worthy to be the king's friend. He was, in fact, rewarded, first of all with the position of a royal armour-bearer, and then with the hand of Saul's daughter, Michal. For a time all went well. In the intervals of military service he played on his harp, and by his skill in music chased away the 'evil spirit' of melancholy, which already threatened to mar the king's career. Saul's gratitude, however, was not proof against the severe trial to which it was exposed by David's growing popularity, and, it would seem, by his close intimacy with Jonathan. The heir to the throne had, like Michal, passed under the spell of David, and become his devoted friend, probably his sworn brother,² and the disturbed mind of the king conceived the idea that Jonathan had stirred up David to be his father's enemy, in the expectation (we must suppose) of succeeding him as king (22*8*). Saul brooded over this idea, and even reasoned with his son on the folly of supposing that his crown, if he came by these unholy means to wear it before the time, would be secure from such a powerful and ambitious subject as David (20*31*). Hence, tradition reports, Saul 'spoke to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should slay David' (19*1*), and even sought, in a fit of frenzy, to pierce David with his javelin (18 10*f*. [5^b omits] 19*9*). Whether it was due to Jonathan's influence that the final breach between Saul and David was averted, we cannot tell; the story in 19-7 seems really another version of that in chap. 20. It is equally uncertain whether the story in 19 11-17 has any claim to represent the closing scene in David's life at Gibeath. There are difficulties in regarding it as the true sequel to 19 8-10. It may possibly come from another source,³ and refer

¹ This is the view expressed in *EBB* art. 'David.' WRS there emphasises the fact that the episode of Merab (including v. 21*b*), like the section of chap. 17 to which it specially refers, is wanting in 5^b, the text represented by which he regards as superior to that of MT in chaps. 17*f*. (cp *OT/C* 431*f*).

² See WRS *Rel. Sem.* 105; COVENANTS, § 41; also cp also, with caution, Trumbull, *Blood-covenant* (85).

³ Verse 10 should end at 'escaped,' and v. 11 should begin, 'And it came to pass that night that Saul sent' (so 5^b, but not L).

to a slightly later period in David's life. The daring spirit of that hero might prompt him to visit his wife, even after his first flight,¹ or at least the first reciters of the tale may have meant it to be so understood. There remains the story in chap. 20, which (putting aside the opening words as a misleading editorial insertion, and 22. 4-17 as an expansion, due to an early editor² who loved the theme of Jonathan's friendship for David) evidently gives a traditional account of the rupture between Saul and David. Whether it is historical, however, is quite uncertain. There were, of course, gaps in the tradition, especially as regards the earlier period of David's life. Two great facts were certain, viz., the transformation of Saul's original kindness towards David into its opposite, and the firm friendship between David and Jonathan. Out of these facts the reciters of legends, aided by a traditional acquaintance with the general circumstances of the time, had to produce the best detailed account of David's flight from Saul that they could.

As was natural, David turned his steps southward. In the hill-country of Judah he would find hiding-places

enough, and if the arm of Saul threatened to reach him even there, he could easily seek the hospitality of some one of the neighbouring peoples. This, it is true, would be most displeasing to a worshipper of Yahwé (see 26.19); but it must have already occurred to David as a possibility, for he soon afterwards placed his father and mother under the protection of the king of Moab (22.3 f.; see MOAB). At present, his first impulse was to fly with his men to the sanctuary at Nob, or perhaps rather Gibeon (see NOB), where he had already, it would seem, had occasion to consult the priestly oracle (22.15). On his arrival, so the tradition declares, he obtained bread, by a plausible but fictitious story, from the consecrated table, and, as a pledge of victory in the king's 'business,' the mighty sword of Goliath (see GOLIATH, § 3). We can hardly venture to accept this account as correct;³ it is most probably a later writer's attempt to fill up a gap in the old tradition. Whatever took place, it is certain that David very soon hastened on to the fortified hill-town of Adullam. Here he was still in his native land, though probably not among Israelites (see ADULLAM); he could worship his own god, and might hope to be safe from his pursuers. In the fort (not the cave) of Adullam he was joined by his family, and by a small band of fellow-outlaws (about 400 in number). Meanwhile Doeg, the Edomite, who had seen David conversing with the priest Ahimelech at Nob (or Gibeon), had reported the circumstance with details, which may or may not have been his own invention,⁴ to Saul, and the king inferred from the report that Ahimelech had used the sacred oracle in support of treasonable designs of David. It is only his rooted belief in David's treason that excuses the fierceness with which Saul destroyed, not only the eighty-five priests,⁵ but also the entire population of the city of Nob or rather Gibeon (22.18 f.); see GIBEON, DOEG, ABIATHAR, BAN. He also indicated the expulsion of David from the royal family by giving Michal, David's wife, to a new husband (see MICHAL).

David now became a captain of freebooters, levying

¹ The danger of such an enterprise was diminished by the reluctance to violate the apartments of women and to attack a sleeping foe, which appears also in 1 Jud. 10.22 and among the Arabs. Wellhausen cites a closely parallel case from Sprenger's *Leben Muhammad*, 254.

² See the text as exhibited by Budde in *SBOT*.

³ It is incredible that David should have passed by the sanctuary without 'inquiring of Yahwé,' nor does the reference to the 'sword of Goliath' incline us much to accept the rest of the story. That the words assigned to Saul in 22.8 rightly express the king's belief is, however, more than probable.

⁴ It is certainly not impossible that David did take the opportunity of consulting the sacred oracle. The reference to the sword of Goliath in 22.10b is interpolated (see Budde).

⁵ So MT Pesh. and Vg.; Q^1 by a manifest error, 305. Jos., combining the two readings, 385 (*Ant. vi. 12.6*). Q^2 has 350.

blackmail on those who could pay it, in return for protection against Amalekites, Philistines,

4. An outlaw. or other enemies. We have an attractive and sympathetic sketch of his conduct, and of the generous spirit which softened the harsher details, in chap. 25. Besides the means of subsistence, David looked, of course, for timely warning of the approach of his bitter enemies. In this way he held his ground manfully (with the support of the priest Abiathar) against almost overwhelming odds, trusting that he was being preserved for high ends. He must have felt that none but he could provide Israel with the leader that it needed, though to work directly towards the attainment of the crown would have been contrary to his loyal nature. One point in his favour there was, the value of which can hardly be overrated—viz., the peculiar conformation of the hill-country of Judah. It is necessary for the untravelled student to form by books and photographs some idea of those 'tossed and broken hills where the valleys are all alike, and large bodies of men may camp near each other without knowing it.' Major Conder goes even further, and claims that through recent identifications the narrative assumes a consistency which traditional sites have destroyed. 'From Gibeah (Jeba' near Mukhmās) David flies southward to Nob, thence down the great valley to Gath (Tell es-Sāfieh), from Gath he returns into the land of Judah, then bounded by the Shēphēlah, most of which seems to have been in the hands of the Philistines; and on the edge of the country between Achish and Saul, Philistia and Judah, he collects his band into the strongest site to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich cornlands of Judah. At the advice of the seer he retires to the hills, and if my identification of Hareth be correct, it is but a march of 4 m. distance. Here, as at Adullam, he was also within easy reach of his family at Bethlehem. At Harās he hears that the Philistines, whose advance he probably barred when holding Adullam, had invaded Kē'ilah immediately beneath him, and it is this propinquity alone which accounts for his attack upon the marauders.'¹ There can be no doubt that exact identifications of the sites referred to would give the narrative of David's outlaw-period a greater approximation to consistency. But this able explorer's identifications are too often (like that of Gath above) unproven, and he has, on principle, omitted to take account of the composite character of the biblical narrative.²

We left David at Adullam; we next find him before another fortified town (1 S. 23.1-13), called KEILAH (*q.v.*), of which Ahithophel was perhaps a native (see GILOH). His hope was to secure the gratitude of the inhabitants by chastising the Philistines who were besieging it. Supported by an oracle, he attacked and defeated those most dangerous of foes. He was disturbed, however, by another oracle, warning him that the men of Kē'ilah would surrender their benefactor to Saul. The king was, in fact, on his way with his whole fighting force, and David would sooner trust himself to the intricacies of the wilderness than to the 'bolts and bars' of Kē'ilah. Whether David really went from the 'forest of Hareth' to Kē'ilah, is highly uncertain. The anecdote in 23.1-13 is not necessarily the sequel of the connected narrative in 21.9-22. Nor can we assume (with Conder) that the generous action related in chap. 24 took place immediately before the events described in chap. 25; for, as critics agree, the narrative is but a duplicate of the traditional story given in a better form in chap. 26.³ If we ask how much of the

¹ *PEFQ.* 75, p. 140.

² See Conder, 'The Scenery of David's Outlaw Life,' *PEFQ.* 75, pp. 41-48.

³ That the story in chap. 26 is more original than that in chap. 24 is obvious. The conversation which it gives is full of antique and characteristic ideas, wanting in chap. 24. That David is recognised by his voice is meaningless in 24.16 (cp. 7, 8), but appropriate in 26.17. See Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 227 f.; and cp. *Che. Aids.* 88-92.

details of these hairbreadth escapes is historical, the reply must be equally disappointing to literalists. The central facts of the stories are all that we can safely rely upon. Such a detail, for instance, as the meeting of David and Jonathan in the wilderness of Ziph (23 16-18) is obviously an innocent piece of romance; in fact it is but another version of the favourite story of the 'covenant' between the friends. Nor can we venture to assume that, if David once, in accordance with a chivalrous rule still common in Arabia, spared the life of his sleeping foe, either he or Saul displayed that delicacy of sentiment which a later age attributed to them.

Strangely enough, the two accounts of David's generosity towards Saul are the setting of a perhaps more completely historical story—that of David and Nabal (chap. 25). The portrait of David here given is less idealistic, but seems much more truthful than that in chaps. 24 and 26. Not less interesting is the sketch of Abigail. To her it was that David owed his avoidance of blood-guiltiness. To her, too, he was indebted for the improvement which took place in his social status. As the husband of Abigail, he was no longer a mere freebooter, but the wealthy head of a powerful Calebite family, and so took one step forward towards his ultimate enthronement at Hebron as king of Judah.¹

How long David remained in the Calebite district of Carmel, we do not know. He is next introduced as

5. With the Philistines. despairing of being able to hold out any longer against his foe; 'there is nothing better for me,' he said, 'than speedily to escape into the land of the Philistines' (27 1). So he placed himself and his 600 at the disposal of Achish, king of Gath. Ill at ease, however, among the Philistine chieftains, he induced his new suzerain to give him as a residence the outlying town of Ziklag. Here he still maintained amicable relations with his friends in Judah, and though he craftily professed to be engaged in raids against the Negeb of Judah, he was in reality more honourably employed (see *ACHISH, AMALEK*, § 3).

At length, in the second year, a change in his relation to Achish became imminent. The Philistine lords, who had probably long been suspicious of his intentions, refused to let David join them in their campaign against Saul. David on his side professed eagerness to fight for Achish; but we are not bound to take his words too literally. Historians, it is true, differ in their view of David's conduct. It seems psychologically probable, however, that David was only too glad to be sent back by Achish to Ziklag, with a charge not to cherish revengeful thoughts against his friendly suzerain (1 S. 29 10, 11). A picture, Homeric in its vividness, is given of the effect produced on David and his men by the sight that met them at Ziklag, which the cruel Amalekites had plundered (30 3-5). An oracle encouraged David to pursue his foes. He came up with them, and chastised them severely. The account closes with a list of the towns in Judah, to which David sent politic gifts. His ambitious plans were no doubt maturing.

Meantime Saul had fallen on Gilboa and Israel was in a state of chaos. The Philistines were masters of the

6. At Hebron. fertile lowlands of Jezreel and the Jordan, but disinclined to interfere with the poorer country of Judah. There were some even in northern Israel who thought that David and David alone could help them, and among these were probably the men of Jabesh-gilead, to whom he sent graciously expressed thanks for their chivalrous rescue of the bodies of Saul and his sons (2 S. 25 7 cp 317). David,

¹ Wi. (*GT*, 125) sees underlying the Nabal-story a tradition that David was 'prince of Caleb' (a tribe or district), and, following C. Niebuhr, he even finds this title in 2 S. 38, where, according to EV, Abner says, 'Am I a dog's head?' but where Wi. renders, 'Am I the prince of Caleb?' (277). Marquart's theory (see above, § 1, note 4), that David was really a man of S. Judah, might be used to corroborate Wi.'s opinion. In any case, the facts on which Marquart's theory is based illustrate this period. See *DOG*, § 3 (5).

however, was content to let Abner have his way, and attempt to consolidate the weakened regal authority in the North, nominally for Saul's incompetent son, Ishbaal. For the present, David transferred his residence, in obedience to an oracle, to Hebron, placing his men in the neighbouring towns or villages. The elders of Judah took the hint, and solemnly acknowledged him as their king.

It was not a grand position. As king of Judah, David was no less a vassal of the Philistines than when he was only lord of Ziklag;¹ indeed, he still retained Ziklag. This only shows his caution, however, not his want of patriotism. Even Abner could not venture to let the puppet king Ishbaal revolt from the Philistines;² rest was the first need both of Israel and of Judah. We cannot, however, suppose that David and his band were idle. It is, on the whole, probable that the conquest of the Jebusite fortress of Zion belongs to the period of David's tribal kingship,³ and not (as is generally supposed) to the commencement of his enlarged sovereignty. When the Philistines made that bold attempt to seize David which is related in 2 S. 5 17, David, we hear, took refuge in 'the stronghold.' It is difficult to suppose that a different 'stronghold' is meant from that mentioned in *17. 79* (which there is reason to assign to the same document). The Philistines themselves are uncertain where they will find David; clearly then David had more than one place of residence. We are also told that they 'came up' to seek David, and spread themselves out in the valley of Rephaim near Jerusalem. It is true that where the narrative 2 S. 56 9 is placed, it seems to have reference to the beginning of David's kingship over Israel. Probably, however, something has fallen out before *v. 6*. The lost passage presumably referred to David's removal of his residence to Jerusalem; the narrative which has been preserved explains how the king and 'his men' possessed themselves of the all but impregnable fortress.

By this important conquest David secured his position from all possible enemies, whether Philistine or Israelite. He also doubtless hoped to make Zion what it ultimately became—the capital of united Israel. We may assume that this caused uneasiness to Abner, who doubtless had dreamed of a reunited Israel under the sceptre of a descendant or kinsman of Saul. These dreams must have been rudely interrupted by the news of David's success. Abner well understood what the conquest of Zion portended, and it was natural that he should seek to counteract David's ambition. He had no occasion to form an elaborate plan of operations; he had but to allow the unsleeping jealousy of Israel and Judah to display itself. There would be constant border hostilities, and Judah, as the weaker of the two, would (he must have hoped) be reduced to vassalage to Israel, and in time perhaps incorporated into the kingdom. A 'very sore battle' is reported between the men of Ishbaal and those of David by the pool of Gibeon. It began with a mere sham fight; but such a contest could not be expected to end without bloodshed, and Abner must have foreseen this when he and the men of Ishbaal set out from Mahanaim (2 S. 21 1-17). The result was disastrous for the cause of Ishbaal, and year after year the war was renewed with constant loss of prestige to the house of Saul. Fierce private passions, too, added to the horrors of the time (see *ABNER*; *ISHBAAL*, 1; *JOAB*, 1). At length, Ishbaal being removed, David stood alone, sad but confident, for who else could be thought of in his hour of need? Had he not in the olden time been Israel's leader against the Philistines, and was he not by marriage a member of

¹ This view is accepted by St. E. Mey., We., Kamph., Kistel.

² See Kamph. *ZATW* 6 42-97 [96]; Ki. *Hist.* ii. The older view (see St.) was that Abner upheld the banner of Israel against the Philistines; but Kamph. shows at great length that the evidence will not justify this.

³ See Klo. *Nam. u. Nöb.* 146 ff.; *Gesch.* 159.

Saul's house (2 S. 5. 2 313-16)? So the elders of Israel accepted the inevitable, and anointed the son of Jesse king over Israel.

David was now, according to a not very early tradition,¹ in his thirty-eighth year; seven and a half years

had elapsed since he first became king at Hebron. His training had been long and varied, and he might now fairly hope to finish the work which Saul had begun, and remove for ever the danger of Philistine invasions. The Philistines knew what they had to expect from the new king of 'all Israel and Judah,' and lost not a moment in 'seeking him.' They felt towards him as the Syrian king felt towards Ahab: if he were only slain or captured, the fate of Israel was settled. They knew, too, the rapidity of his movements, and sought to capture him before he could retire into his newly-won stronghold of Zion. They were too late for this, and challenged him to battle in the valley of Rephaim westward from Jerusalem (2 S. 518-25; cp BAAL-PERAZIM). Two great victories are said to have been won on this occasion by David. We have also a record of individual exploits and of personal dangers run by David in 2 S. 21 15-22 238-17 (see ISHTIBENOB, etc.), which must, it would seem, have stood originally close to 56-12 17-25. It is singular that this should be almost all that is told us respecting what, if entirely David's work, would be the greatest of all his achievements. One more notice indeed has come down to us (2 S. 81); but it is tantalisingly short. It states that 'David smote the Philistines and subdued them, and took' something of importance 'out of the hand of the Philistines.' The Chronicler thinks that what David 'took' was 'Gath and its towns' (1 Ch. 181), and this is certainly plausible, for deeds of high renown were performed near Gath (see ELHANAN, 1), and afterwards we find 600 men of Gath in David's service (2 S. 1513; see below, § 11). It is more probable, however, that Ashdod was the city spoken of in the true text (see METHEG-AMMAH). Still it is doubtful whether such a total defeat of the Philistines as the passage just quoted ascribes to David, is historical. That the Israelites were delivered from the dread of these foes is indisputable; but that David broke the power of the Philistines is not probable. It is a reasonable conjecture that the deliverance of the Israelites was helped either by an Egyptian, or by a Musrite (N. Arabian) intervention.² Moreover, the friendly terms on which David appears to have stood with the Philistines at a later time suggest that he had made a treaty of peace with this people on conditions equally honourable to both sides, one of which, as we have elsewhere seen reason to think, was the restoration of the ark (see ARK, § 5).

However this may be, David was certainly not deficient in the qualities of a general. This is plain from his wise measures on the rebellion of **8. Other wars.** Absalom, of which we have very full particulars. His other wars, with neighbours only less dangerous than the Philistines, may be conveniently referred to here. We have a summary of them in the same section that refers to the subduing of the Philistines (2 S. 81-14, cp 1 S. 1447, and see SAUL, 1 § 3), and further information respecting the Ammonite war in 2 S. 10 11 1226-31. It is important, however, to study these notices critically, both from a purely literary, and from a historical, point of view. The two points of view, it is true, cannot be kept very long apart. A preliminary literary analysis, however, will quickly show us that in 2 S. 81-14 we are dealing, not with an original

¹ See 2 S. 54 (the work of a Deuteronomistic editor).

² If an Egyptian intervention be supposed we must place it during the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty. See WMM (*Is. u. Ew. 380*), who thinks that the notice in 1 K. 9 16 presupposes the Egyptian occupation of Philistia. Observe that Caphtorim is called a 'son' of Mizraim (see CAPHTOR, § 4). The alternative theory, however, seems much more probable (see JQR 11 [99] 559, and cp MIZRAIM, § 2).

narrative, but with a panegyric made up from various sources, containing strong traces of editorial work. As to 2 S. 10 the case is not at first sight so clear; but a further investigation reveals here, too, the hand of the editor. The contents also must be criticised, and this will greatly clear up the problems of literary analysis. The historical results of the whole process are not unimportant.¹

(a) *Moab*.—Little enough is told us of David's war with the Moabites (cp MOAB); but that little is suggestive. With cold-blooded precision the conqueror destroyed two-thirds (such is the meaning of 2 S. 82) of the entire fighting force of Moab. The description seems to imply that it was an act of national retaliation, and the offence which caused this may be plausibly conjectured. The kingdom of Ishbaal, as Kamphausen has shown, was by no means so powerful as the early writers supposed. The defeat on Gilboa had brought the Israelites to the verge of ruin, and Saul's feeble successor had to make terms, not only with the Philistines, but also with the Moabites and the Ammonites, to whom his capital, Mahanaim, was only too accessible. It is probable that both Moab and Ammon granted him peace only under insulting conditions, and we can form some idea of the insults that were possible in such circumstances from 1 S. 112 2 S. 104. David of course had to give these insolent neighbours a lesson.

(b) *Ammon*.—Passing on to the Ammonites, we notice that, if there is a doubt as to the degree of the severity of their punishment (2 S. 1231),² there is none as to the gravity of their offence (2 S. 101-5). The account of the details of the war requires very careful criticism. The conduct of the host of Israel was entrusted to Joab, and it was owing to the politic self-restraint of this general that David in person stormed the Ammonitish capital, and carried away the crown of the idol-god Milcom (see AMMON, § 8). The difficulty of the narrative is caused by the statements which it contains respecting the Aramæan allies of the Ammonites and the successes which David gained over them.³ Was the Zobah mentioned in 2 S. 106 (undoubtedly an ancient passage) as joining with Beth-rehob to send help to the Ammonites, a powerful kingdom N. of Damascus, to which all Aram W. of the Euphrates was subject (as stated in 2 S. 1026), or was it a small state near the land of Ammon, which on various grounds agrees best with our expectations? If the latter view be adopted, we must regard 2 S. 1015-1026 as a late editorial insertion, akin to the much edited passage 83-8, and all that we know respecting David's relations to the Aramæans is that Joab routed the forces sent by them to help the Ammonites, so that they 'feared to help the Ammonites any more' (2 S. 1013196). The statement of 86, in itself so improbable, that David annexed Damascus, is due to a misreading of a passage which appears over again in 7. 14. The editor, by mistake, read 'Aram' instead of 'Edom,' and then interpreted 'Aram' as 'Aram-Damascus.'⁴

(c) *Edom*.—Lastly we come to the war with Edom, which, as we are told in 2 S. 814, was incorporated by David into his kingdom. We are left entirely ignorant as to the cause of the war,⁵ and know next to nothing of the details, though the conquest of such a difficult region would have been well worth describing. A great

¹ On the criticism, see SAMUEL, ii. §§ 4, 6, and cp Bu. *Ri. N. 245 f.*, 240 ff.; Klo. *Samm. u. Kön. 1*; Wi. *GT 1 138 ff.*, 194 ff. For another estimate of the evidence, see ISRAEL, § 10.

² RVing. gives the more favourable view (on which see Dr. *TBS 228*) that David put the Ammonitish captives to forced labour at public works.

³ See Wi. *GT 1 138-144*.

⁴ Klo., on the other hand, wishes to correct 'Edom' in 7. 14 into 'Aram.' The traditional view of 2 S. 85 f. has been thought to be confirmed by 1 K. 1124; but here the words 'when David slew them' are a gloss, not found in \mathfrak{B}^{16} , as Klo. himself candidly points out.

⁵ Wi. regards the war as the resumption of hostilities between David as 'prince of Caleb' and his Edomite neighbours at an earlier period (*GT 1 194*).

cluding the two halves of Manasseh), and gives a theocratic air to the whole by its inclusion in the list of the twelve tribes (1-2). In the first half (1-2) we have probably a few traces of old material, and very possibly a confused recollection of events in David's early life. The lists comprise men of Saul's brethren and of Benjamin (3 ff.), Korahites (6) and men of Giesur (7). In the case of the Korahites it is possible that the Chronicler is thinking of the later priestly class. His inclusion of such warriors among David's band is as intelligible as his ascension to David of the division of priestly courses and other works dealing with the priests and Levites. On the other hand, with Be., we may more probably think of the Judaean Korah (1 Ch. 24). It was under David that the S. Judaean populations attained power, and it is perfectly natural to suppose that individuals from among them joined him. This, of course, does not mean that the names are necessarily old or genuine. Finally, are enumerated (1) certain Gadites, 'captains of the host' (אֲדָוִיִּים), who put to flight David's enemies on either side of the Jordan (8-15); (2) Amasai (= AMASA, *q.v.*), who, at the head of men of Benjamin and Judah, came to David in the 'hold' (16-18); and (3) certain chiliarchs of Manasseh (19). Underlying the account of Amasai, we may possibly find the traces of a confused and mutilated recollection of the revolt of Absalom, wherein Amasa plays so prominent a part in bringing Judah and the king together (2 S. 19 14). S. A. C.]

(b) *Justice*.—To the chief civil duty of a king—the administration of justice—David paid the utmost attention (2 S. 8 15, cp 14 ff.), for Absalom's complaint that the king was inaccessible (2 S. 15 3) is merely factitious. He does not appear to have made any change in the old local administration of justice; but he introduced—simply by acting as supreme judge—an element which profoundly modified the traditional system (see GOVERNMENT, § 19).

(c) *Officers*.—In this and other departments David was aided by his great officers of state (2 S. 8 16-18); see BENAIAH, HUSHAI, JEHOSEPHAT 2, JOAB, and below. It is important to notice that in all probability he had a Babylonian scribe or secretary (see SHAVSHA)—a late trace of the early preponderance of Babylonian civilisation in Palestine.

[It will be convenient here to note briefly the lists of David's officers, treasurers, etc. In 2 S. 27, a passage of obviously complex character, after reproducing (27 1-15) the first part of the list of David's warriors (see above *a* 1) in the form of a list of twelve captains of divisions (אֲדָוִיִּים), enumerates twelve princes (אֲדָוִיִּים) of the tribes of Israel (16-24), including Levites, Aaronites, the twofold division of Manasseh and the post-exilic priestly names Hoshea, Iddo, Jeroham (?), Zichri; Jasiel (*v. 21*) is probably borrowed from 1 Ch. 11 47. This is followed in 25-31 by a third list of twelve—David's *overscers or treasurers*; the names seem to be old (Gray, *HPN* 230 ff.), and so far as this goes, the list might be trustworthy, but cp *sup. v. 11*, *Evid.* 1 2, § 31, n. 11. Besides Gray, *HPN* 229 ff., see CHRONICLES, § 9, and cp *W. Pro.* (4) 171 ff.]

ii. David's supreme officers of state are variously enumerated in 2 S. 8 16-18 (cp 20 23-26 [where they are obviously out of place], 1 Ch. 18 14-17) and 1 Ch. 27 32-34 (cp Solomon's officers 1 K. 4, and the list given by *SHL* at the end of 1 K. 2). In the case of the list in 2 S. the genuineness of the passage has been questioned by Bonk (*ZATW* 12 143) and probably rightly. JOAB b. Zeruiah is said to be 'over the host' (אֲדָוִיִּים), but with the exception of 8 10 (David's wars) he appears, on the other hand, to be over the Cherethites and Pelethites (2 S. 20 7); and BENAIAH, who in the list is credited with this office (*v. 18*), was 'head of the אֲדָוִיִּים' 2 S. 23 23b (see COUNCIL, i. 2) and perhaps also 'chief of the brick-kiln' (1 K. 2 46 *SHL*; cp [אֲדָוִיִּים] 2 S. 12 31). JEHOSEPHAT (*q.v.*) b. Ahilud was recorder (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21) and Shisha (see SHAVSHA) the secretary. The priests were David's sons (but see MINISTER, CHIEF); but at the head stood Zadok b. Ahitub and Abiathar b. Ahimelech. Abiathar is a descendant of the famous Eli, Zadok is of unknown origin, and although mentioned first (cp similarly 2 S. 15 24 ff. 36) did not obtain pre-eminence until the time of Solomon.

The Chronicler's list (27 32-34) mentions a Jonathan, the *גִּיב* of David, as a counsellor, and JEHIEL (*q.v.*), who was 'with the king's sons.' Ahithophel, and Hushai the 'friend of David' (see HUSHAI), are well-known characters in the revolt of Absalom; according to the Chronicler their places were filled by Benaiah and Abiathar. S. A. C.]

(d) In another respect too David followed the example of Oriental kings: with the aid of his ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, he built himself a palace of stone and cedar wood which rose proudly above the low dwellings of Jerusalem. There he combined a regal generosity with a not less regal luxury. Mephibosheth (MERIBBAAL) and Chimham were among his court-pensioners (2 S.

97 ff. 19 28 33 38); singing men and singing women enlivened his repasts (2 S. 19 35).

Another piece of genuine Oriental magnificence was the harem (2 S. 5 13, etc.), which, though it does not seem to have shocked the nation (2 S. 16 21), was fraught with moral danger to the king, and was the source of much of the unhappiness of his later years. It is clear from passages like 2 S. 13 21 14 24 15 14 19 6 12 14 that the moral weakness of his last days had begun many years before, under the influences of his harem.

[Lists of David's sons are found in (a) 2 S. 3 1-5 (= 1 Ch. 3 1-3) and (b) 2 S. 5 13-16 (= 1 Ch. 14 3-7). It is probable that originally these stood together, and Baalze (*SHOT*) accordingly places them before 8 15. (a) The former list gives the names of the six sons born at Hebron and reflects David's policy of strengthening his power by alliances with neighbouring clans or tribes. Besides the two wives from Jezebel (in Judah) and Carmel (Caleb), we have one from the S. Palestinian GESHUR (*q.v.*), 2], and possibly, one from Gath (see HAGGITH). The two remaining names, SHEPHATHIAH (more common in later literature) and TRYEMEAH, are unknown. The death of Amnon left Chileab (if the name be correct—see CHILEAB) heir to the throne, and it is therefore more remarkable that nothing whatever is told us of his fate: for an ingenious conjecture, cp Marq. *Fund.* 25 f. (b) The second list contains eleven names—sons born at Jerusalem. Of these the first two, Shammai (or Shimeah) and Shohab, may probably recur (see above § 1, n. 2). These and the two following—Nathan and Solomon—according to 1 Ch. 3 5, all sons of Bathsheba. The statement in Ch. has probably arisen from the desire to render Solomon's birth as stainless as possible (Solomon is mentioned last), since from 2 S. 11 f. it appears that Solomon was really the second son. These names are increased to thirteen in 1 Ch. 3 = 14 by the addition of Nogah and a second Eliphelet. Perhaps Nogah is original and Eliphelet inserted in 2 S. (1 Ch. 3 5), thus raising the number to twelve; but it is possible that it has arisen from the following Nepheg and should (with Eliphelet) be omitted. It is noteworthy that in 2 S. 5 13-16, *SH* (but not *SA*) has a double list the second of which (based upon Ch.) agrees with *SH* in including the two doubtful names. S. A. C.]

That the government of this great king was perfectly successful cannot, of course, be maintained. His people was far from homogeneous, and it is not surprising that the jealousies of Judah and Israel reappeared. Great discontent was also produced by his attempt to number the people, which he could not do but regarded by his subjects as introductory to an attempt upon their liberties, and was checked only by the rebukes of his seer Gad and the breaking out of a pestilence (2 S. 24).

According to the early narrative, the conscience of the king accepted the rebuke; but most probably David still felt as a statesman that the position of Israel was precarious without that improved military organisation which he had contemplated. On the other hand, he continued to tolerate some ancient usages inconsistent with the interests of internal harmony. The practice of blood-revenge was not put down, and, by allowing the Gibeonites to enforce it against the house of Saul (see GIBEON, RIZPAH), the king involved himself in a feud with the Benjamites (cp 2 S. 21 with 168, which refers to a later date). Yet he might have braved all these dangers but for the disorders of his own family. Need we tell over again the story of his great moral disaster? Nowhere is the impossibility of upholding the saintliness of this king more apparent than here. And yet a laudable desire to believe the best of David has perhaps blunted the edge of the scalpel of the critic (see BATHSHEBA).

It is certain that the narrative in 2 S. 11 12-25 is not without later insertions, and it is very probable that the most fascinating part of the story was imagined by an editor in the interests of reverence and edification,—in fact, that the process of converting David into a saint had already begun. That later ages were profoundly shocked at David's action is a proof of the providential education of Israel to be the greatest of moral teachers. The Chronicler shows his own feeling very clearly by omitting the narrative altogether, though he accepted the view adopted in the late heading of Ps. 51, he would have shown

¹ The event must have been subsequent to David's foreign war: the king has no longer any enemy to fear. On the statement of the boundaries of the kingdom in 2 S. 24 5-7 see TAHTIM-HODSHI, DAN-JAAN, and on the literary criticism of chap. 24, see SAMUEL, ii. § 6.

² It is clear, however, from 2 S. 3 28 ff., 14 1-10, that his sympathies were against his barbarous usage.

David to be more nearly a saint than he appears to us in almost any part of the Chronicler's biography.

The effects of David's sin lasted to the close of his life, for the undue influence of Bathsheba is conspicuous in the sad story of the competition for David's crown. Even apart from this, however, the royal princes could not but display the faults due to their birth and education. The narrative is impartially exact. We shudder at the brutal passion of Amnon, and the shameless counsel of the wily Jonadab. If a brilliant suggestion of Ewald may be accepted, we see the 'inauspicious expression,' or in plain English the black scowl that for two long years rested on the face of Absalom,¹ and the panic of the court when the blow was struck, and Amnon was assassinated in the midst of his brethren. Not less valuable psychologically is the graphic description of Absalom's unfilial revolt (see ABSALOM, 1).

On the tragic death of the popular favourite, better thoughts came to David's people, who bethought themselves of the many occasions on which he had saved them from their enemies. The men of Judah, however, took the opportunity of putting forward that claim to precedence (2 S. 19:41-43) which the king's policy had steadily ignored, and a rupture ensued between north and south, which, but for Joab's energy, might have led to a second and more dangerous rebellion (see, however, SHERA, II. 1). After this nothing seems to have occurred to trouble the peace of the kingdom. David had not many more years to live, for Absalom's rebellion must have occurred near the last decade of his father's life (Kittel, *Hist.* 2:175). The closing scene in the biography (1 K. 1:2-21) represents David as decrepit and bedridden, and an easy prey to the partizans of Solomon. The unedifying account of the palace-intrigue (see ADONIJAH, 1), which placed Bathsheba's son upon the throne, and was followed by the execution of Adonijah and Joab, shocked the Chronicler's sense of reverence. He therefore (as also perhaps the author of a lost Midrash on which he bases his work) substitutes for it a great religious function, in which David plays the leading part, and Solomon appears as the meek recipient of much highly spiritual advice and of minute instructions as to the building of the temple (1 Ch. 22-29).

We have now to estimate the character of David.² We may safely assert that, if the narratives can in the

main be trusted, no ancient Israelite exercised such a personal charm as David, and that he owed this not merely to his physical but also to his moral qualities. In him the better elements of the Israelitish character start at once into a new life. There are some points in him that repel us; in these he is the child of the past. There is more in him that attracts us; in this he is a herald of the future. One of the later writers who have contributed to the story of Saul and David describes the latter as 'a man according to God's mind' (1 S. 13:14), which means, as the context interprets it, one in whom Yahwè God of Israel has found the qualities of a leader of his people (cp Jer. 3:15). That David was an

¹ On 2 S. 13:32 see *Ew. Hist.* 3:172. The suggestion is given in fuller form by Dr. *WRS* 234, whose 'only doubt is whether a word (*hazoneh*) meaning in itself simply "unluckiness" could be used absolutely to signify a "token of unluckiness" for others.' *WRS* (DAVID, *E*599) accepted the view; We and Bu. are also attracted by it. The present writer prefers *Ew.*'s alternative suggestion, viz., to read שָׁמַד (Kt.) or שָׁמַד (Kr.); but שָׁמַד remains unexplained. Almost certainly Grätz is right. Read, with him, שָׁמַדָּה . . . שָׁמַדָּה, 'for hostility was in Absalom's heart'; cp *Bt.*

² The most helpful characterisation of David from a moderate traditional point of view is that of Köh. *Lehrb. der bibl. Gech.* II, 1:84-188 373 (84). Owing to the progress of criticism, however, all the earlier sketches of David's character need a thorough revision. A bridge between the old and the new is offered in Cheyne's *Aids*, 15-73, where the results of recent criticism of the Books of Samuel and of the Psalter are presented, and all that is still tenable in the earlier estimates of David is restated. See also ISSAHEL, §§ 17-22.

honest and vigorous ruler both in peace and in war, the evidence given above sufficiently shows. In after-times his name became the symbol of a righteous rule (Jer. 23:3), and further criticism of the records has only confirmed the eulogy given to David by Robertson Smith in 1877—that his administration of justice 'was never stained by selfish considerations or motives of personal rancour.'¹ Nor does he deserve to be blamed for his cruelty to Israel's foreign enemies, when we consider the imperfect development of the idea of morality in his time, and the fate that would have been in store for himself and his people, had the conquerors and the conquered changed places. He doubtless thought it absolutely necessary to cripple Israel's cruel and malicious neighbours; to the Canaanites at his own door he was gentle.² Compare him with Sargon or Āšur-bāni-pal, in whom cruelty was joined to the lust of conquest, and how great is his moral superiority! Nor can we easily admit a doubt as to the genuineness of his religion. He lived in the fear of God, according to the standard of his times.

The generous elevation of David's character is seen most clearly in those parts of his life where an inferior nature would have been most at fault—in his conduct towards Saul (with which the story of RIZPAH is in no way inconsistent), in the blameless reputation of himself and his band of outlaws in the wilderness of Judah, in his repentance (which we so greatly desire to believe) under the reluke of Nathan, and in his noble and truly religious bearing on the revolt of Absalom, the accuracy of the account of which is guaranteed by the antique elements which it contains. His unflinching insight into character, and his power of winning men's hearts and touching their better impulses, appear in innumerable traits of the history (e.g., 2 S. 14:18-20 3:31-39 23:15-17). His knowledge of men was the divination of a poet rather than the acquired genius of a statesman, and his capacity for rule stood in harmonious unity with his lyrical genius. But was David really a

poet? Did he, like the Arabian prince Imra' al-Kais, fascinate his half-primitive people by song? The old tradition knows him as a musician (1 S. 16:14-32); late editors of the psalms, but not Amos (as most have supposed³), as a poet. Several poems, too, are ascribed to his authorship in the Books of Samuel, and those who inserted them had a very definite belief on the subject (see SAMUEL, II § 7). One

¹ It would be a strange exception to this rule if out of pure vindictiveness David urged his son Solomon to put certain persons who had injured him to death (1 K. 2:23-9). Three answers may be given to this charge. (1) If David spoke in substance these words, it was because he feared to leave Joab's bloodshedding unexpiated and Shimei's solemn curse unneutralised by the death of the offenders: continued clemency would, according to the prevalent belief, have been dangerous. (2) The words ascribed to David imply a vigour of mind and a regard for the interests of the kingdom which the narrative does not permit us to assume in the dying king. After neglecting to communicate with the elders of Israel and Judah respecting the successor to the throne, it is not likely that David's mental powers suddenly rallied, so as to enable him to make this forcible and even eloquent speech. (3) This is precisely one of the occasions on which a narrator was likely to invent. Solomon would be excused to unfriendly readers for having put Joab and Shimei to death. The excuse (which in the narrative's view was perfectly valid) could best be given by introducing it into a last speech of David.

² The allusion is to Araunah, or rather Adonijah, as the name should probably be read. See ARAUNAH.

³ Even the MT of *vs.* 56 only says, 'Like David, they devise for themselves instruments of war, to accompany' song.' This does not suit the context, which says, 'who chant (read שָׁמַדָּה cp 2:37; 1 fell out) to the sound of the harp,' and then speaks of the wine-bibbing and the rich unguents. Some detail of the banquet must be referred to in *v.* 56. All but the last word שָׁר seems to be the conjecture of an ancient editor (before *vs.* was made), who found the letters of his text almost illegible. On *vs.* see Vollers, *ZATW* 8:267 [83]. Probably the verse should read thus, שָׁר, שָׁר וְשָׁר וְשָׁר וְשָׁר וְשָׁר וְשָׁר וְשָׁר, 'who play on the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ.' *וְשָׁר* like 'David' is a gloss, as J. F. Peters and Winckler have independently pointed out. Cp Is. 5:12, and especially Job 21:22; also *וְשָׁר וְשָׁר* Am. 5:23.

of them—the deeply-felt elegy on Saul and Jonathan—was taken from the so-called Book of JASHAR (*q.v.*, § 2), and another—the short elegy on Abner—may have been copied from the same book. These occur in 2 S. 19-27 and 33*f.* respectively. They have an antique air and are worthy of David. Whether any religious elements formerly present have been removed, we cannot say; but there is no special reason to think so. That the song of triumph in 2 S. 22 (=Ps. 18) and the 'last words of David' in 23-17 (both highly religious compositions) are Davidic, is not, on grounds of criticism, tenable. Nor can any of the psalms in the Psalter be ascribed with any probability to David. The eager search for possible Davidic psalms seems to be a proof that the seekers have taken up the study of the Psalter at the wrong end. That David composed religious songs is of course probable enough. When he and his companions 'played before Yahwé with all their might, and with songs and with (divers musical instruments),'¹ it is reasonable to conjecture that 'some of these songs had been made for the purpose by the poet-king.'² But how much resemblance would these psalms have had to the psalms of the second temple? and how could the David known to us from history have entered into the ideas of Psalms 32 and 51, which are assigned by Delitzsch and Orelli to the sad period of David's great sin? Would not that have been one of the greatest of miracles? See PSALMS.

[In the above sketch sentences have been here and there borrowed from the late Robertson Smith's art. 'David' in the *EB*, especially where David's character and his originality as a ruler are referred to. The advance of criticism since 1877 required a fresh survey of the subject. On Renan's view of David in his *Hist. d'Israel*, see *WRS Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1888, p. 134 *f.* Duncker (*Hist. of Ant.* vol. ii.) is hardly less unsympathetic than Renan, and his narrative needs adjustment to the results of critical analysis. St.'s *GI¹* 1223-298, and We.'s *ProL*, ET, 261-272, and *IIG³* 56-64, are of the highest importance. Wi.'s *GI* 1 is fresh and original, but often rash. Cheyne's *Aids* ('92), part 1, relates to the David-narratives; Ki.'s analysis in *Kau. HS*, the results of which are tabulated in chap. 1, is provisionally adopted. See also Dr. *TBS* ('90); Kaphn., *Philister und Hebräer zur Zeit Davids*, *ZATW* ['86] 43-97; Marquart's *Fundamente* ('97); and the articles in this Dictionary on Samuel and Chronicles (with the books there referred to). Prof. W. R. Smith's article in *EB⁹* should be taken with the corresponding portion of Ewald's *History*. Chandler's *Life of David* (1st ed. 1766) gives answers to the very real difficulties suggested by Pierre Bayle which are now superseded. Stähelin's *Leben Davids* ('66) is recommended by Robertson Smith for the numerous parallels adduced from Oriental history. The late H. A. White's art. in *Hastings' DB* has great merit. For an account of David as a tactician, see Dieulafoy's monograph.] T. K. C.

DAVID, CITY OF (דָּוִד יָצָר), 2 Sam. 57 1 K. 210, See JERUSALEM.

DAY. Among the ancients the day was reckoned in a great variety of ways. 'The Babylonians reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the Athenians from sunset to sunset, the Umbrians from noon to noon, the common people everywhere from dawn to dark, the Roman priests and those by whom the civil day has been defined, as also the Egyptians and Hipparchus, from midnight to midnight' (Plin. *HV* 279, § 188). 'From dawn to dark' (*a luce ad tenebras*) was the ancient and ordinary meaning of a day (יוֹם) among the Israelites; night, as being the time 'when no man can work' (נ. 94), might, it was considered, be left out of account altogether, or, at all

events, as being the evident complement of the 'day and involved in it, did not require explicit mention. Thus the word 'day' came to have a twofold meaning; at one time signifying the period from sunrise to sunset; at another including day's inseparable accompaniment, the night, and embracing the whole period from one sunrise to the next. Only in cases where the contrast had to be brought out, or there was risk of ambiguity, was it necessary to name the night (לַיְלָה) expressly, as, for example, in Gen. 7.4 12 31³⁹. Apart from יוֹם and the combination of יוֹם and לַיְלָה, the Hebrews possessed no expression for the civil day as including day and night; for the designation עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, 'evening morning,' which makes its first appearance in the second century B.C. (*Dan*. 8.14), equivalent to the Greek *παραήμερον* (2 Cor. 11.25), is but a combination precisely similar to the older יוֹם and לַיְלָה.

The Israelites regarded the morning as the beginning of the day; in the evening the day 'declined' or 'went down,' and until the new day (בֹּקֶר, 'morning') broke it was necessary to 'tarry all night' (cp *Judg.* 196-9 and the series in *Nu.* 11.32, 'all that day and all the night and all the next day'). Not till post-exilic times do we find traces of a new mode of reckoning which makes day begin at sunset and continue till the sunset following. In P, it is true, the expression 'day and night' (*c.g.*, Lev. 8.35 *Nu.* 9.21) is unhesitatingly used, not 'night and day,' and the evening following the fourteenth day of the first month is regarded as the evening of that day (*Ex.* 12.18); but Lev. 23.32 certainly reckons the day as extending from evening to evening, and the same mode of reckoning seems to have been in the mind of the writer (P) when, after describing the work of each day, he invariably adds, 'So there was evening and there was morning, a first [second, third, etc.] day' (*Gen.* 1.5 8 13, etc. (וַיְהִי עֶרֶב וַיְהִי בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד שֵׁשֶׁי יָמִים)). The later mode of reckoning is shown also in the above-mentioned expression in *Dan*. 8.14 (בֹּקֶר בַּיּוֹם), in the order of the words 'evening, morning, noon' in Ps. 55.17 [18], and in the 'night and day,' 'night or day,' of the late passages *Is.* 27.3 34.10 *Esth.* 4.16.¹ In connection with this later Jewish custom one has to remember the importance which the new moon (visible only in the evening) had for the Israelites in the determination of their feasts, and it must not be forgotten that other ancient peoples who observed lunar divisions of time (Athenians, Gauls, Germans) also began their day with evening. All the same, it is undeniably a somewhat unnatural mode of reckoning, and as far as Israel is concerned can have come into use only when it was desired to fix times with legal and uniform precision for the nation at large.

The ancient Israelites had no precise subdivision of the day for accurate measurement of time. They designated the various periods of the day by the natural changes which marked its successive stages, or by the successive occupations in ordinary daily routine. Thus it was in the nature of things that morning (בֹּקֶר), midday (צֶהְרָא), and evening (עֶרֶב) should be distinguished, and equally so that morning should be spoken of as the rising of the morning, the breaking of the day (*Gen.* 19.15 32.24 [25]), or the rising of the sun (*Gen.* 19.23 32.31 [32]); midday, the heat of the day (*Gen.* 18.1 1 S. 11.17) or the height of the day [*EV* the perfect day] (*Prov.* 4.18); afternoon, the time of the day's decline (*Judg.* 198); and evening, the time of the going down of the sun (*Gen.* 15.12 17) or of 'the wind of the day' or evening breeze (*Gen.* 38 *Cant.* 2.17 [when the day is cool] 4.6). Specially noticeable is the expression יוֹם וָעֶרֶב [evening and the two evenings], 'met with only in

2. Its subdivision among the Israelites.

1 In *Dt.* 28.66 *Jer.* 14.17 the original text had 'day and night' (see 6); a late transcriber substituted 'night and day' in accordance with the mode of expression current in his own time.

¹ 2 S. 65. We emend, with Klost., after 1 Ch. 18. ² *Che. v. Ps.* 192.

also is inserted); similarly, 'Epaphras, who is a faithful *diakonos*, on our behalf, of Christ' (Col. 1.2). 'The work of *diakonia* is referred to in the widest sense in Eph. 4.12; and in Col. 4.17 Archippus receives the message: 'Look to the *diakonia* which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou mayest fulfil it.' In Philemon Paul says of Onesimus the runaway slave, 'that on thy behalf he may minister to me' (*διακονη*, v. 13). In Philippians the only instance is of special importance; for the epistle is addressed 'to all the saints . . . in Philippi, together with *diakonoi* and *diakonissai*' (1.1).

The fourth group consists of the Pastoral Epistles; and here the general sense of the words is still the most frequent. The apostle thanks God (1 Tim. 1.12) for having appointed him unto *diakonia*. Timothy is to be a good *diakonos* of Christ Jesus (4.6), and is charged to fulfil his *diakonia* (2 Tim. 4.5). Of Onesiphorus the apostle recalls how he 'ministered' in Ephesus (1.10); and of Titus he says, 'he is useful to me for *diakonia*' (4.12). On the other hand, the passage of most importance for our purpose is the code of regulations laid down in 1 Tim. 3.8-13 for a class of persons who are definitely designated *diakonoi*.

Before considering these regulations we may return to Rom. 16.1, 'I commend to you Phoebe our sister, who is [also] *diakonissai* of the church which is in Cenchreae.' It is

4. Case of Phoebe. possible to interpret the word here either in the general or in the official sense which we find in so often, or in the official sense which we find in the

later epistles to the Philippians and to Timothy. It is no objection to the official sense that the person so designated is a woman; for we shall presently see that at Ephesus the Order included deacons of either sex.

On the other hand, since there is not in the two earlier groups of Paul's epistles any mention of *diakonia* is a special office in the Church, this which occurs in the second group, would be a solitary and somewhat puzzling exception. Moreover, as Cenchreae was the E. port of Corinth, this case practically belongs to the Corinthian church. In that church special mention is made of the *diakonia* of Stephanas and his household, the word *diakonia* being used in its broadest sense. There also Chloe and her household are mentioned (1 Cor. 1.10), and that Phoebe was another woman of influence who held a corresponding pre-eminence of service in the neighbouring port, a pre-eminence that earned for her at the apostle's hands the honourable title of *diakonissai* of the church; for she had been a helper (perhaps we should render it 'a patroness,' *προστaxis*) of many and of the apostle himself. If we could assume that the diaconate was formally established in the Corinthian church at this time, we should certainly conclude that Phoebe was one of the women who served it; but this assumption is in sharp contrast with the silence of Paul's epistles as to any kind of definite ecclesiastical organisation at Corinth.

Of Phoebe, then, we may say with security that she is a witness to the important services rendered by women in the primitive Church; but in tracing the history of the diaconate it will not be wise to assume that the word *diakonissai* is used of her in the strictly official sense. As a matter of historical evidence this passage must be left out of the count as being, at any rate, uncertain testimony. For a technical diaconate in Paul's writings we are thus reduced to two passages, Phil. 1.1 and 1 Tim. 3.8-13.

II. Origin and functions of the Diaconate.—The first recognition of any need of organisation in the Christian

5. Origin of Diaconate. daily meal in Jerusalem (see CHURCH, § 11). The word deacon is not applied

in Acts to the seven men who were on this occasion appointed to the service of the poor;¹ we have already noted that *diakonoi* does not occur in Lk. or Acts. Nevertheless, by the later Church tradition, they were constantly regarded as the earliest deacons; and so strong was this feeling that the number of deacons in some churches was limited to seven. Names apart, they truly represented the essential feature of the diaconate, as the Church's organ for service to her poorer members. In other communities, especially in the Greek world, this service was destined to take a different form; but the deacons of the Pauline epistles at Philippi and Ephesus had a similar function, though the circumstances in which they discharged it were very dissimilar. The definite title is met with first in the Greek churches, and here the order from its commencement is found to include the services of men and women alike. The admission of women to the diaconate could scarcely have arisen in the Jewish communities; but it was probably felt to be natural in places where women were in general accorded a larger liberty. Whilst then we recognise the germ of the institution in the appointment of the Seven in Jerusalem, we must

look to the Greek churches for the development of the definite and permanent order.

As the personal ministry of Paul drew to a close, and as it became evident that the 'return' of Christ was indefinitely postponed, it was natural that ecclesiastical organisation should assume a new and increasing importance. It is in harmony with this that we find the apostle in a later epistle recognising expressly 'the bishops and deacons' at Philippi, very much as he had recognised the 'episcopate' of the presbyters of Ephesus, when he thought that he should see them again no more (Acts 20.8). 'Those who ruled,' and 'those who served' under them, were coming to form definite classes, to which the natural designations of overseers (*ἐπίσκοποι*) and servants (*διάκονοι*) were beginning to be formally appropriated. Accordingly, in

6. Functions. the first epistle to Timothy the apostle lays down regulations for the two classes under these titles. The differences in the regulations help to show us the nature of the functions to be discharged in the two cases (1 Tim. 3.1-13). The rules which should govern the choice of deacons must be cited in full:—

'Deacons in like manner must be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not eager for petty gains, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And they too are first to be tested, and then to minister, if they be irreproachable. Women in like manner must be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Deacons are to be husbands of one wife, ruling well their children and their own houses; for they that have ministered well acquire a good standing for themselves and much boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'

The essence of these regulations is that deacons, whether men or women, must be persons of character, who can rule their tongues and are temperate in the use of wine. Trustworthiness is demanded of the woman, as strict honesty is of the man; this doubtless points to the fact that Church moneys would pass through their hands. Deacons are to know what they believe, and to live in accordance with it; but no aptitude for teaching is demanded of them, nor any qualifications for exercising discipline. The service of the deacons is the house to house service, which deals primarily with temporal wants.

In the AV the women spoken of here are represented as the wives of the deacons. This interpretation puts a serious strain on the original Greek, and it is now generally abandoned. It finds no parallel in any demand for special qualifications in the wives of bishops. It belongs to a period when the diaconate of women had been wholly lost sight of; and it cannot be maintained in face of the fact that women were undoubtedly admitted to this office in the early ages of the Church's history.

For the later confusion between deaconesses and widows see WIDOW; and for a full historical account of the female diaconate see *The Ministry of Deaconesses* by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson (98).

J. A. R.

DEAD, THE, and DEATH. The preliminaries may first be briefly considered. To kiss the dead (Gen.

50.1) and to close their eyes (Gen. 46.4) and mouth (Mishna, *Shab.* 23.5) the dead.

immediately after death was looked upon as a deed of natural piety. In NT times the body was washed (Acts 9.37), anointed with sweet-smelling ointments (Mk. 16.1 Lk. 24.1 Jn. 12.7), and wrapped in linen cloth (Mt. 27.59 Mk. 15.46 Lk. 23.53), or the hands and feet were bound with grave-clothes and the head covered with a napkin (Jn. 11.44). The age of these customs must remain uncertain, as they are not alluded to in OT; but the old belief that in Shēl the dead would be known by their dress, the king by his diadem, the soldier by his sword, the prophet by his mantle (1 S. 28.14 Ezek. 32.27), leads to the inference that the dead were buried dressed as in life. In later times, delicate foods, ornaments, gold and silver, and all kinds of valuables were placed with the body in the graves of

¹ Cp Hatch, *Early Christian Churches*, 49.

princes and nobles¹ (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 34). If what we read (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 84 xvi. 71) as to the plundering of David's grave by Hircanus and Herod is to be accepted, this custom also is very old. EMBALMING [*q.v.*] was not in use. On sacrifices to the dead, cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 3.

The usual method of disposing of the dead was by burial (Gen. 23:19, 25:9, 35:8; Judg. 2:9, 8:32 etc.). In 1 S. 31:8-13, where we read of the burning of the body of Saul, the text is corrupt (see *Klost. ad loc.*), as is also the case with Am. 6:10.² Burning was looked upon as something abominable, as an injury to the dead (Am. 2:1); it was used, by priestly law and old custom, only in a few cases, to render the death sentence more severe (Josh. 7:25; Lev. 20:14, 21:9; cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12). The aversion to the burning of the body was connected with the belief that the soul even after death was bound to the body. Not to be buried was a terrible disgrace which one could hardly wish even to one's greatest enemy (1 Am. 2:1; 1 K. 17:26, 11:1, 16:4, 21:24; 2 K. 9:1; Is. 33:12; Jer. 7:32, 8:2, 9:22 [21], 14:16, 16:4; Ezek. 29:5). The spirits of the unburied dead wander restlessly about, and in Shēōl are condemned to lie in the corners (Ezek. 32:23; Is. 14:15 etc.). Burial alone so bound the spirit to the body that it had rest and could harm no one. It was therefore the sacred duty of every one who found a corpse in the open field to give it burial (1 K. 14:11, 16:4, 21:34; Jer. 7:33; 2 S. 21:9, 10, and especially Tob. 1:18, 2:1). In cases of death by stoning the pile of stones took the place of a regular grave (Josh. 7:26). Cp the Greek idea as given, for example, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

Rapid interment was necessary on account of the hot climate, and even without express biblical authority we may assume that then, as now, in the East, it usually took place on the day of death (cp Dt. 21:23). The body was carried to the grave on a bier (2 S. 3:1 [קָפָן]; Lk. 7:14 [σφοδός]). Coffins were not used by the Israelites (2 K. 13:21); Joseph's bones were placed in a coffin (אָרָן; σόφος) in conformity with the custom of the Egyptians (Gen. 50:26).³ The stone coffin (sarcophagus)⁴ was adopted by the Jews (as also by the Phoenicians) from the Egyptians long after the exile, but only by the wealthy. The procession of friends, who would of course often be mourners,⁵ was accompanied by hired mourners singing lamentations (2 S. 3:1; cp MOURNING CUSTOMS).⁶ The place of burial was determined by the belief that the unity of the family and tribe continued after death. The bodies of those who wished to be reunited with their parents and family in Shēōl had to be buried in the family sepulchre (see TOMBS, ESCHATOLOGY).

See Benzinger, *Arch.* (94), § 23; Nowack, *HA* (94), § 32; and Bendler in *JQR*, 1894/4.

¹ 'Death' (מָוֶת, ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ) can mean, not only the process or state of death, but also the realm of the dead, 'Death-land.' See Is. 28:18; Hos. 13:14.

2. Biblical references. Ps. 6:5 [6] 9:13 [14], 22:15 [16], 68:20 [21], 89:43 [44], 107:13 [17], Prov. 2:18, 7:27, Job: 28:20, 38:17, Rev. 1:18, 6:8, 20:13 f. In Rev. 6:8 RV prints Death, to correspond to Hades. Both are personifications; cp the later Jewish representations of ABADDON [*q.v.*] and MĀSĪWĪTH ('Death') as two of God's chief angels (cp DESTROYER). 'The dead' in AV corresponds not only to הַמֵּתִים (often) but also to הַנְּפֻשִׁים (Ps. 88:10).

³ On Job 3:15, where some plausibly find an allusion to the treasures in royal tombs, see TOMBS.

⁴ See, however, the ingenious suggestions of WRS *Rel. Sem.* 9:372. Wellh. is fully conscious of the difficulty of Am. 6:10 (*Das B.*, *Prop.* 3: 87); also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 48.

⁵ In Job 21:32 σόφος (bier, coffin) is used in ΘA to render קָפָן, 'tomb' or 'sepulchral mound'; but σαρκοφάγος [BC] or σαρκοφάγος [M] is the better reading. See TOMBS.

⁶ Cp *HEB*, § 3.

⁷ Cp Lk. 7:12. Whether we may compare Job 21:33b is uncertain. Dī. denies, Duhm affirms this. The whole passage is obscure and not very coherent.

⁸ On the mourning-women in primitive Babylonia see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 684. They also washed, prepared, and arranged the dead body.

[11] Prov. 2:18, 9:18, 21:16, Is. 14:19, 26:14, 29:19; inconsistently Job 26:5, 'dead things'. RV sometimes has 'they that are deceased' (e.g., Job 26:5); in mg. always 'the shades'; Heb. *Rēphaim*.'

We will examine the above passages, beginning with: (a) Job 26:5, of which Schulzens remarks, 'Subita nox diem solempne admittit.' RV, and virtually Davidson, render thus—

They that are deceased tremble
Beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof.

Davidson comments, 'This abode of deceased persons lies deep down under the waters of the sea, and all the inhabitants of these waters, for the sea belongs to the upper world.' The power of God is felt even at this immeasurable distance from his abode on high.' To us this may appear natural; but to those who believed that the 'shades' were 'forgotten by God' (Ps. 88:5 [6]), it would scarcely appear so. The Hebrew of 26:5 is also not worthy of the context. Probably we should read (*Exp. Times*, 10/32 [May '99]):

He makes the sea and its billows to start (in alarm),
He terrifies the waters and the floods thereof.¹

(b) In Ps. 88:10 [11] the shades are represented as incapable of 'arising and praising God.' In 'arise' Kirkpatrick sees a reference to the resurrection, an idea which the palmitist finds inconceivable. (c) Prov. 2:18 f., no return from the shades. (d) Prov. 9:18. Those who frequent the house of Madam Folly (*q.v.*) are, as it were, shades already (anticipating Dante). (e) Prov. 21:16. Folly leads surely to the shades. (f) Is. 14:9. When the overthrown king of Babylon appears in Shēōl, the shades themselves, especially the royal shades, are in excitement. Some tidings of his greatness have reached them, and they marvel to see one who had claimed to sit with the gods reduced to their own miserable state. The poet takes some liberty with the popular belief, or else revives an earlier form of it. In the legend of Ishtar, l. 19, we read, 'I will raise up the dead to eat the living.' (g) Is. 26:14, 19. 'The shades will not rise. . . to life shall the earth bring the shades' (SBOT). The resurrection hope. See ESCHATOLOGY, § 25 ff.

Böttcher (*De inferis*, § 112 ff.) derives the word *Rēphā'im* (רֵפְאִים) from רָפָא, *projicere*. The giants are

3. Origin of term 'hurled' to Shēōl, and then, as the chief inhabitants of Shēōl, give their name to the whole population. Duhm (on Is. 14:9 and Job 26:5) holds the same view as to

the transference of the title *Rēphā'im* from the giants to all other inhabitants of Deathland. This theory mistakes the meaning of the *Rēphā'im* of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and gives a doubtful meaning to רֵפְאִים. It also assumes as correct a passage (Job 26:5) which is certainly corrupt. It is an old view revived (see Schulzens on Job, 1737, p. 705). Most critics, however, hold that *Rēphā'im* = 'the flaccid, weak,' a natural development of רָפָא (cp Jer. 6:24 etc.). 'Art thou also become weak (רָפִי) as we?' ask the shades (Is. 14:10, RV). But this is far too easy, and the Hebrews would hardly have spoken of the spirits of the dead as 'the weak ones.' 'I see a god coming up out of the earth,' says the wise woman to Saul (1 S. 28:13 RV). The word ought to mean 'the terrible,' or 'the wise,' or the like. In the later OT books the condition of those in Shēōl is portrayed in very gloomy colours; but these books do not represent the primitive popular belief. No doubt *Rēphā'im* is a mutilated or modified form of some primitive religious term. A sister-form is most probably TERAPHIM [*q.v.*]. Cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lects.* 450, n. 5.

§ 11. B., § 2 f. T. K. C.

DEAD SEA, THE, the usual designation of the lake in which the course of the Jordan terminates, occurs

1. Names. common in antiquity (θάλασσα νεκρά; Paus. v. 73; Galen 4:20; Justin xxxvi. 36; Eus. OS 261:32), and is found in Vg. of Josh. 3:16f (*mare solitudinis quod nunc vocatur mortuam*).

In the OT this lake is occasionally called simply 'the sea' (יָם), four times, and in the expression 'from sea to sea'; also 'the Salt sea' (יָם הַמֶּלַח), nine times; ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἀλῶν [ἀλῶς, ἡ ἀλῶν], *mare salis*, m. *salissimum*; 'the sea of the plain,' RV 'sea of the Arabah' (יָם הַרְבֵּעִי), five times; [ἡ] θάλασσα [τῆς] Ἀραβῆς; *mare solitudinis*, m. *deserti*; in the three places

יָם הַיַּבֵּשׁ הַזֶּה עַל יַד הַיַּבֵּשׁ הַזֶּה

² Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 569.

DEAD SEA, THE

where both designations are employed 'Salt sea' is used to explain the expression 'sea of the Arabah'; and, in three places, 'the eastern (east, former) sea' (עַרְבֵי הַיָּם; ἡ θάλασσα ἡ ἀνατολική θάλασσα, ἡ θ. ἡ ἀνατολ.; *mare orientale*).¹ In *Diad. Sic.* (2.48 19.9) and in Josephus (often; see especially *B./Iv.* 8.4) it is Ἀραβίτικόν ἕλαιον; so also in Pliny (*Annus Insularum*; *H.N.* v. 15.15). Josephus also has ἡ Σοδομίτικος ἕλαιον (*Ant.* v. 122); cp the Sodomitic sea (*mare Sodomiticum*) of 4 *Esd.* 5.7. This name occurs also in *Edrisi* (9, 5, transl. Jaubert, 1 338), who calls it the sea of Sodom and Gomorrah and the sea of Za'rah (Zoar). Its name in Arabic (at least since the eleventh century) is *Bahr* (or *Buhairat*) *Latf*; but this does not prove the name of Lot to have remained attached to the sea in local tradition for four thousand years. It arises simply from the fact that Lot and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned in the Koran.

From the biblical point of view the Dead Sea is not very important. The references to it in the OT occur generally in topographical connections, especially in definitions of the eastern frontier of the land of Israel. There are two notable exceptions: (a) where it comes into the story of the Cities of the Plain, and (b) where it is referred to in the prophetic descriptions of Ezek. 47 and Zech. 14.8. The NT does not refer to it at all.

From the geographical point of view it is otherwise: the interest of this lake is quite extraordinary.

2. Geographical interest. The Jordan valley, running from N. to S., begins to sink below sea-level as far N. as a little below Lake Hülbeh; the Lake of Galilee is some 680 feet lower, and thence the 'Arabah or Ghôr continues to fall till the surface of the Dead Sea is reached at a distance below the sea of some 1300² feet. At the opposite extremity of this lake ends another valley, coming from the S., formerly called the ARABAH [*v.l.*]. Thus the lake constitutes the deepest portion of what is the most strongly marked depression (unconnected with the sea) on the surface of the globe.³ It has no effluent. Should the question be asked, whether in former times the Jordan, after passing through the Dead Sea, may not have flowed on southward falling at last into the Red Sea (Eilatite Gulf or Gulf of Akabah), it may suffice to point out how much below sea-level the Dead Sea is, and further, that the valley to the S. of the Dead Sea is really two valleys. One runs N., the other S., and the intersection or watershed is at a height of 650 feet above the level of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean (according to the *PEF* survey).⁴ Thus the two basins are hydrographically distinct, which is confirmed by a stratigraphical study of the sedimentary deposits on the valley floor (Lartet).

The geological investigation of Palestine and of the Dead Sea, carried on mainly by Fraas, Lartet, Hull, and Blanckenhorn, has proved, contrary to previous ideas, that the Dead Sea cannot possibly date from the historical epoch, and that it must have presented, at any rate from the beginning of the quaternary epoch, practically the same aspect and configuration as at present. Traces can still be seen, however, of a past time when the water stood as much as 1180 feet above its present level, as well as of another phase in which the difference was only 348 feet; in short, the waters have gradually subsided to their present position.

The actual level is that at which the evaporation exactly counterbalances the daily influx of water from the Jordan and the other affluents. Of these last, the chief, including certain

winter torrents, are: (a) on the eastern side, reckoning from N. to S., the Wady Ghuweir, the Wady Zerka-Ma'in (Caillirhoe)-Mojib (Arnon), Beni-Haniad, ed-Dera'a (Kerak), Numereh, el-Ahsâ (or es-Sâfiyeh); (b) on the S., the Wady Fufleh, el-Jelb, el-Filgeh (these three traverse a marshy plain, the Sebkhah, which stretches immediately southwards from the Dead Sea and is bordered by gigantic thickets of reeds); (c) on the western side, going from S. to N., the Wady el-Muhawwat, the Wady Seyâl (to the S. of which lies Sebbeh, the ancient fortress of Masada), the spring of 'Ain-Jedy (Engedi), the Wady en-Nâr (Kedron), and the spring of 'Ain el-Feshkhah (cp BETH-ARABAH), to the S. of which is the headland known as Rûs el-Feshkhah.

The amount of daily evaporation¹ has been estimated at 13½ millimetres, and the daily contribution of the Jordan alone at 6,000,000 tons (the volume of the Rhone at its influx into the Lake of Geneva is 22,000,000 tons). Another feature of it is its great density, which arises from its salinity (the mean is 1.166). At a depth of 1000 feet the solid matters contained in the water represent 27 per cent of the total weight. These substances are mainly chlorides of sodium, magnesium, and calcium, also certain derivatives of bromium. The chloride of magnesium gives the water a very disagreeable taste; the chloride of calcium gives it its slightly oily consistency. The eyes, and some assert also the skin, are powerfully affected by contact with it. Garments receive from the evaporating water a saline deposit, with indelible spots of an oily appearance. The salt encrusts also the many trees and pieces of wood which lie stranded on the shore; so much so that they form a characteristic feature of the landscape, and recall the striking antithesis in Jer. 17.5-8.

A bath in the Dead Sea at once proves its difference in density from other seas or from fresh-water lakes.

4. Characteristic features. Eggs float on it. The human body becomes lighter than the water, swimming is becoming difficult, the head alone of the swimmer tending to sink. The boiling point of the water is 221° F. It is remarkably limpid, and has a beautiful colour, now blue, now green. To think of this lake as sombre and sad is quite an illusion; its intense colouring, its varied effects of light, its scarpd overhanging slopes broken by deep gorges, produce a picture of wild and sublime beauty. 'The scenery round the sea is very fine,' says Conder; 'it is compared, by those who have seen both, to that of the Lake of Geneva.' The present writer, whose home is in Geneva, agrees with this comparison, it being understood that it is between the northern portion of the Dead Sea and the eastern end of the Lake of Geneva towards the embouchure of the Rhone. Another common error about the Dead Sea is that its waters have no motion; on the contrary, it is constantly agitated by the winds, and storms sometimes drive huge billows to the shore. It does not owe its name to this imagined immobility, but rather to the fact that no sort of living creature—fish, crustacean, mollusc, etc.—can subsist in its waters, the only exceptions being certain inferior organisms and microbes, as shown by the investigations of Ehrenberg and of the zoologist Lortet (not to be confused with the geologist Lartet). This fact—which is conclusively proved by the death not only of the fish carried down into it by the Jordan (their bodies serve as food for numerous birds which frequent the neighbourhood), but also of salt-water fishes—has given rise to various incorrect ideas. Thus it has been said that birds attempting to fly over it drop down dead; this is a mere imagination—a fable which, like a host of earlier witnesses, the present writer is able to contradict from ocular testimony—or perhaps it may be the result of a confusion with some other lake (see *Reland*, 244 ff.). It is equally false to say that the shores of the Dead Sea derive their barrenness from the pernicious action of its waters. What hinders the growth of plants in its vicinity is not the presence of the lake itself, but the absence of fresh water whether from affluents or by precipitation. Wherever there is fresh

¹ The evaporation produces whitish or bluish clouds which float above the water. Hence 'a smoking waste' (*Wisd.* 10.7). Cp NIBSSAN.

¹ Notwithstanding the continued advocacy of the wrong view in *THEO.* 1822, 1823, it is certain that עַרְבֵי הַיָּם in *Deut.* 34 (AV 'the utmost sea'; RV 'the hinder sea', mg. 'the western sea') is not the Dead Sea but the Mediterranean; cp *Dt.* 11.24.

² The (not very wide) variations from this figure can for the most part be explained by differences between one season and another, which can cause the level of the lake to rise or fall some 10 or 15 feet. It is at its highest in April and May.

³ The discovery of the great depth of the surface of the Dead Sea below sea-level belongs to modern times; it was made independently and almost simultaneously by Schubert on the one hand, and Moore and Beek on the other, in 1837; and afterwards confirmed by Rössiggen and by Süssmilch.

⁴ The distance from the watershed to the Red Sea is about 46 m., and to the Dead Sea over 73 m.

DEAD SEA, THE

running water, as at Engedi, where there is a thermal spring (79° F.), vegetation flourishes (cp. Cant. 1.14) and, as elsewhere throughout the Ghôr, exhibits a combination of tropical plants with others belonging to the Mediterranean region. Finally, the scant population of its shores is to be accounted for more by the torrid temperature (above 100° F. in the shade) than by any infertility or positive insalubrity.

In fact, the lake has not always been so deserted; witness, for example, the fœtus of Lisân at the S.W. extremity. The shores of the Sea of Galilee have gradually come to be wholly abandoned except in three or four localities. The shores of the Dead Sea too had once a very different aspect. Both in antiquity (we learn this from Tac. *Hist.* 6.6 and also from the Madaba mosaic) and so recently as the time of the Crusades when Kerak and other fortresses had such an important position, the waters of the Dead Sea were enlivened with passing vessels. Nor were the curative qualities of the water of the Dead Sea unknown in the Roman period. Julius Africanus speaks of these baths as wholesome (Reland, 253 f.), as also does Galen (*ib.* 241 f.), who (wrongly) adds that an artificial substitute could be obtained by the simple expedient of saturating ordinary sea water with added salt. Mention is often made of the mephitic odour exhaled by the Dead Sea (see NYSSIANUS); but it has not been shown that the lake itself is the cause of this. It may be occasioned either by the marshy lagoons by which the lake is bordered, or by the mineral springs of the neighbourhood. The sulphurous odour, which reminds one of that of rotten eggs, is particularly noticeable near 'Ain el-Feshkha.

The lake, as we have seen, lies N. and S., with a maximum length of 47½ m., a maximum breadth of 10 m. (Josephus gives 66 and 17 m.

6. Dimensions. respectively) and a superficial area of 360 sq. m. (the Lake of Geneva being 224 sq. m.). It is divided into two unequal portions by a peninsula, 11-12 m. in length and about 40-80 ft. above the level of the lake, flat for the most part, but with a range of hills rising 300 ft. This peninsula, formed of white calcareous marl, with deposits of salt and gypsum, projects from the E. shore; it is separated from the W. shore by a channel about 3 m. in breadth. The name of the peninsula is el-Mezra'ah or el-Lisân; the last designation, meaning 'the tongue,' has been brought into connection with the mention of the לִּישָׁן (EV 'the bay [mg. : 'Heb. tongue'] that looketh southward' in Josh. 15:2; but whilst the modern Arabic term is applied to the land in the middle of the lake, the two biblical passages refer to the water at the two ends of the lake (cp. Is. 11:15; 'the tongue of the Egyptian sea').

The N. promontory of the Lisân has been named Cape Costigan and the S. Cape Molyneux in honour of two bold explorers who navigated the Dead Sea in 1835 and 1847 respectively. We ought also to mention the expeditions of Moore and Beek in 1837 and of Symonds in 1841, and especially that of Lieut. Lynch of the U.S. navy in 1848 and that of the Duc de Luynes in 1864, both of which were of great importance.¹

The portion of the Dead Sea to the N. of the Lisân is much the larger, and reaches a great depth (1278 ft.). The S. smaller portion is quite shallow (10-18 ft.) and in parts even fordable. Possibly this portion is of less ancient date than the rest of the lake, and may have arisen within historic times in consequence of some subsidence of the land. The shores immediately bordering on this section are the most saline of the whole country. There are salt marshes in the neighbourhood, and it is there that, running parallel with the W. shore, the curious ridge of rock salt, a veritable *hors d'œuvre* as Lartet (p. 87) picturesquely calls it, occurs. It is called Jebel Usdum or Hajar-Usdum or Khams-Usdum,—thus echoing the name of Sodom,—and rises to a height of 600 ft., with a length of 3½ m. and a breadth of over half a mile. In its immediate vicinity can be seen, occasionally at least, detached pillars of salt, suggesting some resemblance to a rudimentary colossal statue.

Another peculiarity is the presence of asphalt in the Dead Sea basin (see BITUMEN), whence the Greek name

6. Its asphalt. of Asphaltites (cp. Tac. *Hist.* 5.6; Str. 16.2.42; Dioscor. 1.99; Diosc. Sic. 1.928).

¹ Since 1893 rowing boats, sailing boats, and, more recently, even steam launches have occasionally been at the service of travellers.

Near the lake are found beds of a whitish chalky marl, and also of bituminous marl. It is not, however, from these deposits on its shores that the water of the Dead Sea derives its bituminous constituents; but rather, no doubt, from deep subaqueous beds; there has been observed a marked coincidence between the appearance of considerable bituminous masses floating on the surface and the occurrence of the earthquakes which at intervals desolate the whole of that region. When these take place quantities of bitumen are broken loose and come to the surface; the natives are diligent in collecting them, but hitherto no methodical exploitation of these mineral resources on a commercial basis has been attempted. The existence of bituminous constituents in small quantity in the water can always be shown.

Notwithstanding the presence of this bitumen, of sulphur springs, and of masses of sulphur which are met with here and there, as also of certain igneous formations, the region of the Dead Sea must not be included in the category of volcanic territories properly so called. On the contrary, in opposition to the assertions of certain travellers too richly endowed with imagination (e.g., Russeger and van de Velde), the very competent geologists already named agree in doubting whether any large part in the formation of this region ought to be attributed to igneous forces.¹

The cretaceous beds rise in regular stages on the W. bank from the margin of the lake. On the other shore the arrangement is no less regular; but under the cretaceous beds there are carboniferous strata and beneath these are other formations still more ancient. At the most it may be admitted that certain volcanic agitations have made themselves felt in the depths of the lake. Blanckenhorn (*ZIVV*, 1866, p. 59) recalls and attaches importance to an observation made by Molyneux and quoted by Ritter (705 f.) relating to a whitish belt of foam stretching from the N.W. of the lake towards the Lisân and following on the whole the median line of the lake, above which a whitish vapour lingered in the air. From this phenomenon, supported by certain other indications, he concludes the existence of a fault in the floor of the lake which is prolonged in the channel skirting the Lisân and terminates in the S. portion of the lake near the embouchure of the W. Mulhanat. On 10th-12th March of this year (1895) the author of this article witnessed the same phenomenon as that seen by Molyneux in 1847.

In a general way we might describe the geological formation of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea basin by the technical expression of *embayment*.

7. The story The phenomenon occurred at the time of in Gen. 19. the transition from the tertiary to the quaternary epoch. It is not possible, therefore, to establish any relation between the formation of the Dead Sea as a whole and the catastrophe described in Gen. 19. At most that narrative might possibly admit of being connected with certain events of a more local character and of secondary importance, which might have occurred within historic times (see LOT, SIDDIM, SODOM).

As we have not to deal with the historical side of the question, but with the geographical only, it will suffice to say (a) that the text of Genesis speaks of a rain of fire and brimstone and a pillar of smoke rising to heaven, but neither of an earthquake, nor of an igneous eruption, nor of an inundation; (b) that there is nothing to show that the cities of the Pentapolis were in the plain of Siddim; (c) that the remark in Gen. 14:3 'the plain of Siddim which is the Salt Sea' may be a conjecture of the narrator or even the gloss of a copyist or late reader; (d) that account must be taken of the mention of the *kibkâr* of Jordan (Gen. 13.12, 19.17, 20.12); (e) that *gesshûm* (a) *gesshûm* must be made between the actual position of the Pentapolis and the position assigned to it by later writers, inasmuch as they entertained perhaps divergent opinions as to this point; (f) that the position of Zoar is as problematical as that of the other four cities; finally (g) that scholars are divided into two camps—those who place the Pentapolis in the N. of the Dead Sea, and those who place it in the S.

In complete contrast with its sombre narratives regarding these doomed cities, the OT, in two prophetic passages of Ezekiel and Zechariah already cited, describes the transformation of the waste and barren regions of the Dead Sea by a life-giving stream issuing from the temple, fertilising all that it touches so that fish and fruit-bearing trees abound.

¹ The well-known geologist von Hoffmann has adopted this view.

Reland, *Palästina*, 238-258; *Seetzen, Reisen*, 1405-430
227 v. 74; 293-305 37-15 432-265 367-389 401-403; v. Schubert,
Reise in das Aegyptenland, 384-94; Kuhn-
son, *Bibl. Res.* 201-253 463-501 601-608;

8. **Literature.** *non*, *Bibl. Res.* 201-253 463-501 601-608;
Phys. Geogr. of the Holy Land, 187-216 (65);
Ritter, *Vergl. Erdkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel, von Palästina*,
etc. II, 1553-780; *Der Jordan und die Beschiffung des Toten*
Meeres (50); Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, 290-952;
de Saulcy, *Itinéraire autour de la Mer Morte* (53); Bess, *Voyage*
dans le Haouara et aux bords de la Mer Morte, 215-306;
Fraas, *Aus dem Orient: Geologische Betrachtungen* (67), 62-67
73-78; *Das Tote Meer* (67); Tuch, *Ueber den Ursprung des*
Toten Meeres nach dem AT (63); Lynch, *Narrative of the*
US Expedition to . . . the Dead Sea (49); *Official Report of*
the US Expedition, etc. (52); Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Ex-*
ploration à la Mer Morte (75, seq.); see especially vol. III,
Geologie, par M. Louis Lartet; A. Stoppani, *Il Mare Morto*
(75); E. Faluccci, *Il Mar Morto e la Pentapoli del Giordano*
(81); Hull, *Mount Seir* (89), chap. 13 f.; *Memoir on the*
Geology and Geography of Arabia Petraea, Palestine, etc. (89);
Guérin, *Description de la Palestine* (74): *Samarie*, 160-96;
Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui* (84), 389-442; Tristram, *The*
Land of Israel (82), 255-260; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the*
Holy Land (74), 47-54; Bickelshöhler, 'Entsteh. u. Gesch.
d. Toten Meeres', *ZDPV*, 19: 1-59 (96); 'Noch einmal Sodom
u. Gomorrha', *ib.* 21: 65-83 (98); 'Das Tote Meer u. der Unter-
gang von Sodom u. Gomorrha im Lichte geographischer Forschung',
Mitth. der K.-K. Geogr. Ges. in Wien, 1897, pp. 1-22. LU. G.

DEAL, TENTH (שִׁטְרָה), Lev. 14:10. See WEIGHTS
AND MEASURES.

DEATH (ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ), see DEAD, THE.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΒΕΙΡ [B¹]), -p [AL]. ΔΒΕΙΡ [B^b]),
king of Eglon, defeated and slain by Joshua (Josh. 10:3
cp 23).

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΒΕΙΡ [BAL]). (1) A place in the
S. of Judah (Josh. 10:38 ff. etc.). See KIRJATH-SEPHER.

2. In Josh. 15:7, דְּבִיר is by AV taken as a place-name
on the N. boundary of Judah; it has been identified by
some with the present Thoghret ed Debr near Tal'at
ed-Dam (Adummim) on the way from Jerusalem to
Jericho.

The text, however, is uncertain and the word may not be a place-
name. Ⓢ renders: 'to the fourth part (רְבִיעִית) of the vale of
Achor.' DI. suggests the translation 'backwards'—i.e., 'west-
wards'—דְּבִיר meaning 'behind'; but there is no other instance
of its geographical application.

3. Josh. 13:26; RVing. LIDEBIR.

G. A. S.

DEBORA, RV *Deborah* (ΔΕΒΩΡΑ [BN], ΔΕΜΩΡΑ
[A]), the grandmother of Tobit (Tob. 18).

DEBORAH (דְּבִירָה; 'a bee', § 68; cp WRS in
Journ. Phil. 14 [85] 120 ff.; ΔΕΒΩΡΑ [BAL]). 1. A

heroine who, with the aid of Barak, delivered the Israelites from their Canaanite
oppressors. The victory is celebrated in
the triumphal ode, Judg. 5. The Israelites,
particularly the tribes which had settled about the plain
of Jezreel, had been reduced to great straits by the
Canaanites, who, holding the fortified cities along the
plain (Judg. 1:27), blockaded the main roads and cut
off communication, while from their strongholds they
harried the country so that the unwalled villages were
deserted (56 f.). Incited by Deborah, the Israelites at
last took up arms against their oppressors. Under
Barak as their leader, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh
united with Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali, and gave
battle to Sisera and the confederate Canaanite kings
in the plain not far from Taanach and Megiddo.

The Canaanites, notwithstanding their formidable iron
chariots, were put to rout; the waters of the Kishon
completed their ruin. Sisera, seeking refuge in flight
at a nomad's tent, was killed by a woman, Jael.

The history of the struggle is related somewhat
differently in chap. 4,² according to which Barak, at the
summons of Deborah, raised ten thousand men of the
tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, occupied Mt. Tabor,
and from that position attacked Sisera as the latter was
advancing against him. A more serious difference is that

1 Read דְּבִירָה, 'to the wilderness'—i.e., of Judah. Beth-
arabab (cp 156) was one of its cities (156i ff.).
2 On the relation of chaps. 4 and 5 in general, see JUDGES, § 7.

in chap. 4 the oppressor of Israel, from whom it is delivered
by Deborah, is Jabin king of Hazor, a city in Upper Galilee;
whilst Sisera is only Jabin's general. In the action, how-
ever, Jabin plays no part; and we can only surmise that
the story of Sisera has, by mistake, been connected
with a tradition of a conflict between some of the
northern tribes and the king of Hazor (cp also Josh. 11).

From chap. 4 we learn that Deborah was a prophetess
—an inspired woman; that her husband's name was
Lappidoth; and that her home was between Bethel and
Ramah, whither the Israelites resorted to her for judg-
ment. Chap. 5:15, however, seems to prove that she
was of the tribe of Issachar; and other considerations
would incline us to think that she lived in or near the
plain of Jezreel. (For a conjecture on this subject see
DABERATH.) That her home was in Mt. Ephraim may
have been inferred by the author of 45 (an editorial
addition to the narrative) from the existence of a tomb
of Deborah under a tree below Bethel, where, according
to the patriarchal legend (see below, no. 2), the nurse of
Rebekah was buried (Gen. 35:8).

Barak, who shares with Deborah the glory of the
victory, was from Kadesh in Naphtali (46). This city

is somewhat remote, and in the account of

2. **Barak.** Sisera's flight seems impossible. It has
been conjectured by Wellhausen (*CH* 221) that the name
of the more famous Kadesh in Galilee has here sup-
planted an obscure KEDESH (*q. v.*, 2) in Issachar (1 Ch.
6:72 [57])—mentioned with Daberath not far from Mt.
Tabor; a suggestion which is the more plausible than
5:15, if the text be sound, connects Barak also with
Issachar (cp BEZAANANNIM, KISHION). It is possible
that Kadesh in Naphtali, in the immediate vicinity of
Hazor, comes in some way from the story of Jabin.

The Song of Deborah bears in itself the evidence that
it is the work of one who had lived through the great

struggle which it celebrates, and is for
3. **The Song** that reason of inestimable value as an
of Deborah. historical monument. It is also not only
one of the oldest Hebrew poems which have come down
to us, but one of the greatest. On its date cp SISERA
AND POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 (iv.). See also HISTORICAL
LITERATURE, § 2.

Few odes in the world's literature, indeed, can be
compared with this triumphal Te Deum. Unfortunately,
the text, especially in vv. 8-15, has suffered grievously
from the injuries of time.

Until very recent times, Deborah has been universally
believed to be the author. It is ascribed to her in the
title; and this testimony was thought to be conclusively
confirmed by v. 7, 'Until I, Deborah, arose.' The form
of the Hebrew verbs in this verse, however, is ambiguous,
and the clause might equally well be interpreted, 'Until
thou didst arise, Deborah' (cp v. 12); whilst Ⓢ and Vg.
render in the third person (cp v. 13). On the other
hand, the natural inference from v. 15, and especially
from v. 12, is that the heroine is not the poet.

On the subjects of this article see, further, Moore,
Judges ('95), and cp Jael. On the Song of Deborah,
cp HADRACH, KADESH (2), KISHON, MEROZ, and see
A. Müller, *Das Lied der Deborah* ('87); G. A. Cooke,
The History and Song of Deborah ('92); additional
literature in Moore, *op. cit.*, 127, 136.

More recent studies, chiefly in the text, are: Grimm, *ZDMG*,
'95, 572 ff.; Marquart, *Fundamente isr. u. jüd. Gesch.* ('96);
Budde, *Actes d. Xme Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 200 ff. ('96);
Ruben, *JQR*, '98, 547 ff.; Riess, *Preuss. Jahrb.* 91:295 ff.;
D. H. Müller, *Actes d. l'Xime Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 4205 ff.
('98). G. F. M.

2. Rebekah's nurse who, according to J, died and was buried
below Bethel under the oak known as ALLON-BACUTH (Gen. 35:8,
ῥεβέκκα [E], δεβόρα [L]). She is alluded to, but unnamed, in
24:59, where she accompanies Rebekah on her departure from
Bethuel [J]. To connect these two traditions would make her
about 150 years old at the time of her death. [For a radical
emendation of the text which removes this difficulty, see DINAH.]
See, further, DEBORAH (1).

DEBT (שִׁבְעָה; 2 K. 4:7; ΔΑΝΙΟΝ, Mt. 18:27), DEBTOR

(שִׁבְעָה; 2 K. 4:7; ΔΑΝΙΟΝ, Mt. 18:27), DEBTOR

2. K. 4:7; ΔΑΝΙΟΝ, Mt. 18:27), DEBTOR

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(צִוִּי? Ezek. 187; χρυσόφιλῆτος, Lk. 741). See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16, and TRADE AND COMMERCE.

DECALOGUE (ἡ Δεκάλογος, sc. βίβλος; *decalogus*, sc. *liber*), a term adopted from Patristic Greek and Latin, and meaning what we commonly call the ten commandments. Ultimately, the name comes from the LXX which in this case adheres closely to the original Hebrew

and speaks, not of ten commandments, but of ten words (δέκα λόγος or ῥήματα, Ex. 34:8 Dt. 4:11, 10:1). The decalogue, according to the biblical narrative, was uttered by God from Horeb and written by him on two tables of stone which he had prepared. Afterwards, when Moses had broken the tables in indignation at the idolatry of the people, he was bidden to hew other tables on which God again wrote the ten words. They were the foundation of a covenant (*berith*) between Yahwé and his people (Dt. 4:13) and were placed in the ark as the 'testimony' (*éduth*) or revelation of Yahwé's will (Ex. 25:16); see COVENANT, § 6 (ii).

The two parallel texts of the decalogue, one in Ex. 20 the other in Dt. 5, present striking points of difference.

2. The two texts.

In Exodus the sabbath is to be kept, because Yahwé made all things in six days and rested the seventh; in Deuteronomy, because the slave as well as his master needs rest. Here, too, as in the command to honour parents, there are amplifications of language peculiar to the recension in Deuteronomy. In Exodus the Israelite is forbidden to covet his neighbour's house, and then wife, slave, and cattle are specified as possessions included within the Hebrew idea of house or household. In Deuteronomy the commandment is adapted to a later and more humane view. First, the Israelite is not to 'covet' his neighbour's wife. Next, he is not to 'desire' his neighbour's house, land, slaves, etc. The separation of the wife from mere property is very significant (see FAMILY, § 6).

How comes it that the parallel texts vary so seriously? The answer now generally given is that originally the decalogue was composed of concise precepts, which were expanded in different ways by later editors. The decalogue was incorporated in his work by the Elohist; it was repeated by the Deuteronomist and lastly by the Priestly Writer. No wonder then that, in the final redaction of the Pentateuch, each text of the decalogue offers clear marks of the Deuteronomical style, whilst in Ex. 20:1-11 the Deuteronomical motive of humanity has been supplanted by the example of God's rest after the week of creation—evidence of a super-redaction in the spirit of P (cp Ex. 31:17; Gen. 2:2). Commandments 6-9 preserve their primitive form. We may therefore on that analogy restore the decalogue to its original form thus:—

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 20

1. Thou shalt have no other gods beside me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any (graven) image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahwé thy God for a vain end.¹
4. Remember the sabbath day to hallow it.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

(a) In their arrangement the commandments fall into two pentads, or sets of five each, corresponding to the two tables.

3. Arrangement.

The first table sets forth the law of piety in the pure worship of Yahwé and in reverence to parents, the second table exhibits the law of probity or duty to fellow Israelites, conceived, however, in an exclusively negative form. This is the scheme known to Philo (*De Decalogo*, 12) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 53), adopted by the Greek and Anglican churches, as also by the Scottish and other churches of the Calvinistic type, and approved, among recent scholars, by Dillmann.

¹ Perhaps for purposes of sorcery.

Another arrangement (adopted by Knobel and, in 1869, by Kuenen) is to count the opening statement, 'I am Yahwé thy God,' etc., as the first 'word,' and bind the commandments against foreign gods and image worship into one. This is the Talmudic division, which is still in force among the Jews, and is also of greater antiquity in the Greek church than some have supposed.¹

Augustine, too (and he is followed by Roman Catholics and Lutherans), treats the prohibition of serving other gods and worshipping images as one commandment. He makes this the first, however, not, like the modern Jews, the second 'word.' Hence he has to divide the prohibition of coveting into two commandments, viz.: one against coveting a neighbour's wife, the other against coveting his goods. The objection to the Talmudic scheme is the awkwardness of a law which makes up the number ten from one statement of fact and nine precepts. The Augustinian scheme cannot be fitted to the text in Exodus and can scarcely have been intended even by the Deuteronomist.

The order given by the Vatican text of the LXX in Exodus is 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not murder,' and in Deuteronomy 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not steal.' Probably the variation arose from the feeling that the prohibition of adultery, as the destruction of family life, should be immediately connected with the injunction to honour parents.

We come next to the question of date. The Elohist document (perhaps a later edition of it) is our earliest

4. Date.

external witness, and that does not carry us back beyond the middle of the eighth century B.C. Nor does internal evidence point to a much earlier time. The character of the decalogue, which is not ritual but almost purely moral; the prohibition of images, apparently unknown to Elijah and Elisha; the refinement which forbids thoughts of covetousness (the Hebrew cannot fairly be taken otherwise); all lend support to the view that the decalogue is grounded on the teaching of the great prophets of whose discourses we have written records. It has been compared with the loftier teaching in Micah 6:6-8, and may belong to the same age, *i.e.*, at earliest that of Manasseh (see, further, MOSES).

The reasons against a date very much earlier are clinched by the modern discovery that there was another

5. Second and older Decalogue.

decalogue older in character. True, we cannot say for certain how each particular precept of this older decalogue ran. We do know, however, that reference is made to it by the Yahwist in Ex. 34:28, and further, that the decalogue itself is imbedded in 10:26, and there is, therefore, no doubt about its general character. Wellhausen's reconstruction is as follows:²—

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 34

1. Thou shalt worship no other god.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep.
4. Every firstling is mine.
5. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks.
6. And the feast of ingathering at the year's end.
7. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.
8. The fat of my feast shall not be left over till the morning.³
9. The best of the firstfruits of thy land shall thou bring to the house of Yahwé thy God.
10. Thou shalt not see a kid in its mother's milk.⁴

The Yahwistic legend which encloses this decalogue is simpler and more natural, for here it is Moses, not

¹ Geffken (*Eintheilung des Dekaloges*, 1882) found it to occur first in Synecclus (*circa* 790 A.D.) and Cedrenus (1130), but Nestle has shown that it is to be met with in the Codex Vaticanus and the Ambrosianus. See Nestle, *B.A.P. Times*, 842*f.* (July '77), and cp Redpath, 'Codex Zittaviensis,' *Exp. Times*, 8393 (May '97).

² Cf. 331*f.*; cp Stade, *GVV* 1,510; Staerk, *Deuteronomium*, 30*f.*

³ According to the more original text in Ex. 23:18.

⁴ The number ten is gained by omitting the command of the seventh-day rest (which is out of place in the cycle of annual feasts), and the command that all males should appear before Yahwé thrice in the year (which is merely a recapitulation of the three preceding laws).

Yahwé, who hews the tables and writes the words. The decalogue represents that ritual of outward worship which was essential to the early stages of national religion, but was subordinated to ethical monotheism by Amos and his successors. Yet even this decalogue must be put long after the time of Moses. The feasts mentioned imply an agricultural life, and must have been adopted by the Israelites after their settlement.

See *Scheller, Old Testament Theology*, 1:265 ff. (§§ 85, 86); and, for the later criticism, *Kuenen, Theol.* 2:241; *Smeid, A.T. vol.* 2:73 f., 278 f.; *Rothstein, Das Bundesbuch*, (88); *Budde in Z.A.S.* (91), pp. 99 f., 280 f.; *Bartsch, Das Bundesbuch* (92); *Meissner, Der Dekalog* (93); *Montetier, JQR* 3:286 ff.; *Adelt, The Documents of the Decalogue*, 1:126 ff. *Robertson Smith (JEPH)* art. 'Decalogue' in 1876 held that the decalogue, as a system of ten words, was as old as Moses, though the original fourth commandment must have had a much simpler form. He also rejected the hypothesis of a second decalogue. How largely he had modified his views in later years on both points may be gathered from *OTC* 2:334 ff. See also *Exodus*, II: 34. W. H. A.

DECAPOLIS (ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΙΣ [Ti. WH]) is the name given in the gospels (Mt. 4:25; Mk. 5:20) to a territory in Bashan and Gilead covered, or affected, by the power of a league of ten or more Greek cities (called in *Mk.* 7:31 ἡ ἄνω Δεκαπόλις, by *Pliny HN* v. 15, *Decapolitana regio*). Josephus calls the league itself both Δεκαπόλις (*J. J.* iii. 971) and αἰ ἐν τῇ Σιμὼν δέκα πόλεις (*Vita*, 65-74). Other early instances of the name are *Ptolemy* v. 1522, and *CIG*, no. 450, of the time of Hadrian. Eusebius describes the Decapolis of the Gospels as a region (see below, § 2).

The first Greek cities in Syria were founded by the veterans of Alexander, and from his time their numbers were rapidly increased by the immigration of Greeks under the patronage of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. On the west the Greeks settled in ultimately Hellenised Phœnician and Philistine towns; but beyond Jordan many of their settlements were upon fresh sites. Among the oldest were Pella, Dion, Philadelphia (on the site of Rabbath-Ammon), Gadara, and Abila—all strong fortresses by 218 B.C. (*Polyb.* 5:71; 16:39; *Jos. Ant.* xii. 33; *Stark, Gaza*, 381). Bosra had become largely Greek in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 5:24 ff.). Gerasa and Hippos are not mentioned till the first century B.C. (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 153, 4; *BJ* i. 48).

As the Hellenic world came under Roman sway, various confederacies of Greek cities were formed, both for purposes of trade, like the Hansatic League, and for defence against alien races (*Mommsen, Prov. of the Rom. Emp.*, Eng. ed. 1:264 f.). Such confederation was nowhere more necessary than in Syria, where, after the success of the Maccabees, and especially under the Jewish king Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.), the Greek cities must needs have combined against the common danger of overthrow and absorption by their Semitic neighbours. Such combinations, however, if they were formed, proved a failure till the Roman legions led by Pompey reached Syria in 65. Then the Greek cities took a new lease of life. Several called themselves after Pompey, and several dated their eras from the year of his Syrian campaign, 64-63 B.C. Among these were Gadara, Hippos, Pella, Dion, Abila, Kanata, Kanatha, and Philadelphia. Pompey gave them, or after this time they gradually received, municipal freedom, the rights of coinage, asylum, property in the surrounding districts, and association with one another. They were, however, put under the Roman Province of Syria (*Ant.* xiv. 4 4 *BJ* i. 77), and taxed for imperial purposes; their coins bore 'the image of Cæsar'; and they were liable to military service (*BJ* ii. 1819). Some of them, certainly with the reservation of their rights, were afterwards transferred from the Governor of Syria to the direct authority of Herod.

From Pompey's time to Hadrian's (106 A.D.), Rome's grasp of Eastern Palestine was neither constant nor effective. It was during this time, and in this region of

unsettlement, that the League of the Decapolis arose. The precise year we are unable to fix; it may not have been till after Herod's death in 4 B.C., but probably

was soon after Pompey's campaign. **2. The Decapolis League.** At first, as the name implies, the League comprised ten cities. Only one lay W. of Jordan—Scythopolis, the ancient Bethshan. Commanding the approach to the others, by Esdrælon, from the Greek cities of the coast and the Levant, Scythopolis remained the capital of the league. All the other nine lay either upon the three great roads which, crossing Jordan, traversed E. Palestine, or on the trunk road which these ultimately joined: Pella, Gadara, and Hippos on the E. edge of the Jordan valley, and the Lake of Galilee; Dion, Gerasa (modern Jerash), and Philadelphia on or near the S. road; Raphana, somewhere near the central road; Kanatha (now Kanawât, see *KENATH*), where the central road joins the great trunk road from N. to S. at the foot of the Jebel Haurân; and Damascus, at the junction of this road with the northernmost of the three roads. All the sites are certain except those of Raphana and of Dion. These form the earliest list that we have—Pliny's in *HN* 5:16[18]. Other cities were added. Ptolemy gives eighteen, omitting Raphana, and adding other nine, mostly towards Damascus.—Abila, on a branch of the Yarmûk 12 m. E. of Gadara; Kanata, either the modern Kerak or el-Kuneiyeh in en-Nukra; Kapitollas, probably the modern Beit er-Râs, near Irbid; and some of the Semitic towns incorporated in the extension of the Empire in 106, such as Edrei and Bosra. Each of these cities held sway over the territory in its neighbourhood. Round Hippos was Hippene (*BJ* iii. 31); round Gadara the country of the Gadarenens (*Mk.* 5:1 according to one reading), which, if we can judge from the tremere on some Gadarene coins, extended to the Lake of Galilee. In the fourth century Jerome calls all Gilead the 'region of Gerasa.' These suburban properties or spheres of influence must have touched one another, and the remains of the long aqueduct from the centre of Haurân by Edrei to Gadara is one proof of how far they extended. The 'Decapoliitan region' (coasts of Decapolis) was, therefore, a wide and solid, if loosely defined, territory lying on the E. of the Lake of Galilee and stretching across a large part of Gilead. Eusebius (*OS*) defines the Decapolis of the Gospels as lying in Peræa round Hippos, Pella, and Gadara. Pliny, however, describes it as interpenetrated by the Jewish Tetrarchies (*HN* 5:16); and in particular the territories of Herod Antipas in Galilee and Peræa were probably so joined across Jordan as to cut off, from the E. Decapolis, the suburban territory of Scythopolis.

Within this region of Decapolis Hellenism was predominant in the time of the ministry of Jesus, and thence

it flowed out upon Galilee. This is **3. Civilization**, proved by a trace or two in the Gospels themselves (e.g., the presence of a large herd of swine in Gadara), by the ample ruins, still extant, of Greek architecture (the most glorious period of which, however, was not till the time of the Antonines), and especially by the constant communication between the Decapolis and the Mediterranean ports and Greece, and by the flourishing state of Greek literature in the Ten Cities. The Decapolis had, in each city, temples to purely Hellenic deities, theatres, amphitheatres, and various athletic institutions. Yearly were the *παγκράτια* celebrated—games in which every form of physical strength was exhibited. There was a vigorous municipal life of democratic constitution. Gadara was the birthplace or home of Philodēmus the Epicurean (a contemporary of Cicero), Méléager the epigrammatist, Ménippus the satirist, Theodoros the rhetorician (the tutor of Tiberius), and others. The Greek writers of Damascus are still better known. Gerasa had a school famous for its teachers. Besides, the League, being largely a commercial union, pushed the Greek methods of trade across W. Palestine; the result is seen in the

DEHAVITES. RV *Dehaites* (נִהַיִת, Kt., but נִהַיִת, Kf.; ΔΔΥΑΙΟΙ [A], -ΛΙΟΙ [L], but A omits 'Elamites'), generally regarded as one of the peoples represented in Samaria among the colonists of ASNAPPAR (Ezra 49). They stand apparently between the Susanchites (Susianites) and the Elamites. No plausible identification has yet been offered (see Schr. *A. T.* 7^{vol} 376, 616).

The reason is plain, as soon as it is mentioned. If we point, with G. Hoffmann (*Z A* 2 54), נִהַיִת, and take this with the following word נִהַיִת, we shall get the phrase 'that is, Elamites' (עב already has *וְעַתָּה חֲלֹמֵיכֶם*): which is an explanatory gloss on the preceding word 'Susanchites.' So Marti, *Gramm. der bibl. Aram. Spr.* 40*.

DEKAR (דְּקָר), 1 K. 49 AV; RV BEN-DEKER, AV^{mg}. BEN-DEKAR (*q. v.*).

DELAIAH (דְּלַיָּהּ, דְּלַיָּהּ, perhaps 'God hath drawn out,' § 30; ΔΔΛΑΙΑ [NA], -ΔC [BQL], some compare ΔΕΛΑΙΑΚΤΑΡΤΟΣ in Jos. *c. Ar.* 18, which is more correctly given by Niese as ΛΕΑΚΤΑΡΤΟΣ).

1. Son of Shemaiah, a prince of Jehoiakim's court; Jer. 36 (54) 12, ΔΔΛΑΙΑΣ [N], -Δεας [A]; 25 (Λααία [N. c. mg. sup., γοδολαία [BA 3]).

2. Head of one of the priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24 18 (Δαλαία [L], ΔΔΛΑΙΑ 25 17 [L]).

3. (AV DALAIAH), a descendant of Zerubbabel (Δααία [B], -Δεα [L]), 1 Ch. 3 24.

4. The B'ne Delaiah were a post-exilic family who were unable to prove their pedigree; E. *Pratt* 260 (Δαλαία [B], Δαλαία [L.]) = *Neh.* 7 42 (Δεα [B]). DALLAN, 1 Esd. 5 17 (Δαλα [B], Δαλαρ [A]).

5. Father of Shemaiah (-Δεα [B], -Δαλαία [L]), *Neh.* 6 10.

DELILAH (דְּלִילָה, 'delicate?' § 67; ΔΔΛ(Ε)ΔΔ [BAL]; דְּלִילָה, DALLAN), Judg. 16 4-20. Whether the name has, like SAMSON [*q. v.*], any mythological connection we cannot at present say. Delilah dwelt in the vale of SOKER (*q. v.*), and we may presume that the tradition regarded her as a Philistine. Her temporary relation to the Philistine princes hardly warrants us in calling her a 'political agent' (Smith's *DB*⁽²⁾ *s. v.*). See SAMSON.

DELIVERER, THE (ο ρυόμενος [Ti. WH])

Rom. 11 26 || Is. 59 20 (דְּלִיָּהּ); see GOEL.

DELUGE. Postponing the various interesting questions, as well of comparative folk-lore (§§ 18-20) as of biblical theology (§§ 10 ff. 17), which are connected with the title of this article, let us confine ourselves at present to the relation between the Hebrew Flood-story and that of Babylonia. Of all the parallel traditions of a deluge the Babylonian is undeniably the most important, because the points of contact between it and the Hebrew story are so striking that the view of the dependence of one of the two on the other is directly suggested even to the most cautious of students. The account in the Berossian excerpts will be referred to below (see § 16); but we may state here that the genuine Babylonian character of the Berossian story has, since 1872, been raised above all doubt by George Smith's discovery, in the remains of the library of Asur-bani-pal, of a copy of a very ancient cuneiform Deluge-story derived, it would seem, from the city of Surippak in Babylonia, and by a more recent discovery by Scheil (see § 6). The former story fills the first four columns of the eleventh tablet of the epic of Gilgameš,¹ a cycle of legends to which, in studying the early narratives of Genesis, we have so frequently to refer (see, e.g., CAINITES, § 6).

A paraphrase of its contents is all that we can give here: translations of recent date and critical in character will be found in *KAT*⁽²⁾ 55 ff. (by Paul Haupt); Jensen's *Kosm.* 367 ff.; A. Jeremias's *Isdubar-Nimrod*, 32 ff.; Muss-Arnolt's essay in *Bibl. World*, 3 109 ff. ('94);

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¹ [The exploits of this hero are celebrated in the twelve chants or lays of the epic. The text of the Deluge-story was published in 4 R (1st ed. 50 f., 2nd ed. 43 f.) and most recently by Haupt, *Das Bab. Nimrodepös.* 95-150 ('91)].

and Gunkel's *Schöpfung.* 423 ff. (by H. Zimmern).¹ The gods, more especially Bēl, wrought at the sins of men, determine to bring upon them a judgment consisting in a great all-destroying flood. One of the gods, however, namely Ea, selects a favoured man, named Pār(?)-napišti,² of the city of Surippak, for deliverance. This is the Xisuthrus of Berosus, and be it observed that the name Xisuthrus is found, in all probability, by transposing the two component parts of Atra-hasis—i. e., 'the very wise,' or, still better perhaps (so Haupt), 'the very pious'—one designation of the hero of the cuneiform account. Pār(?)-napišti is in a dream acquainted by Ea with the purpose of the gods, and commanded to build a ship (*elīppu*, cp Aram. עֲבִירָה), the form of which is prescribed, as a means of saving his life, and to take with him into it 'seeds of life of all kinds' (l. 25). Accordingly, the ship is built; its dimensions³ are given with great precision by the poet, who mentions that it was coated within and without with bitumen (*kurru*), and that cells were made in it. Into this vessel Pār(?)-napišti brings gold and silver and 'seeds of life of all kinds,' besides his family and servants, beasts of the field, and wild beasts of the field (ll. 84 f.). Shortly before the Flood, the beginning of which is made known to him by a special sign, Pār(?)-napišti himself enters the ship and bars the door, while his steersman, named Puzur-Bēl, takes over the direction of the vessel (l. 94). Upon this the deluge begins: it is thought of as an unloosing of all the elemental powers, torrents of rain, storm and tempest, together with thick darkness. The waters rise higher and higher, till the whole land becomes a sea; all men and animals, except those in the ship, perish. Six days and nights the flood rages; on the seventh day a calm sets in. Then Pār(?)-napišti opens the air-hole (l. 136; *nappāsu* = *nappāsu*, cp עֲבִירָה) and sees the widespread ruin. At the same time land emerges, and the ship grounds on the mountain of Nisir (l. 141).⁴ After seven days more Pār(?)-napišti sends out successively a dove, a swallow, and a raven. The dove and the swallow, finding no place of rest, return to the ship; but the raven is seen no more. Upon this Pār(?)-napišti clears the ship and offers a sacrifice on the summit of the mountain. 'The gods smelt the savour, the gods smelt the sweet savour.' The gods gathered like flies about the sacrificer' (ll. 160-162). As for Bēl, however, he is at first displeased at the deliverance of Pār(?)-napišti and his household; but on the representations of Ea,⁵ who points out the rashness of his act in causing a universal deluge, and recommends the sending of wild animals, famine, and pestilence, as a more fitting mode of punishing human sins, Bēl becomes reconciled to the escape of Pār(?)-napišti, and even gives him and his wife a share of the divine nature, and causes them to dwell 'afar off, at the mouth of the rivers'⁶ (ll. 199-205).

Before attempting to explain this Deluge-story, and comparing it with the corresponding Hebrew account, we must consider the position which it occupies in Babylonian literature. It stands at present, as we have seen, in close connection with other traditional stories, and particularly with the cycle of Gilgameš-legends. The hero, Gilgameš, who, after his various adventures, is visited with a sore disease, sets out on the way to his

¹ The references here given to lines of the Deluge-story accord with Zimmern's numeration.

² [Cp § 15 d. The reading of the first part of the name is uncertain; Pār-napišti ('sprout, or offspring, of life'), Sit-napišti ('the escaped one'), Šamaš-napišti ('sun of life'), Ūm-napišti ('day of life'), and Nūb-napišti (see NOAH) have found their respective supporters.]

³ [See Haupt, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* 9 419 ff.]

⁴ On the land and mountains of Nisir, cp *Annals of Akkad*, 2 23-29 (*RPO* 2 150 f.). They were situated between the Tigris and the Lower Zab, between 35° and 36° N. lat. (Del. *Par.* 105).

⁵ [Jastrow sees here traces of a collision between the cultus of Bēl and that of Ea.]

⁶ [See below § 15 (end), and, for a legendary parallel § 14.

ancestor Pär(?)-napišti, whose dwelling is remote from that of all other men, beyond the river of death (cp CAINTES, § 6, ENOCH, § 2). From this fortunate possessor of eternal life, Gilgameš hopes to learn how to obtain, not only the cure of his disease, but also the same supreme felicity. Pär(?)-napišti answers by a detailed description of the Deluge, in which he was himself so prominent a figure, and at the end of which he was admitted to the life of the gods. Obviously, the present connection of the Deluge-story with the Gilgameš-tradition is secondary in character, and it becomes all the more reasonable to maintain that the Hebrew Deluge-story too has only an artificial connection with the framework in which it now stands. Noah may originally have had no more connection with Nimrod than Pär(?)-napišti with Gilgameš (see NIMROD, NOAH).

The secondary character of the present connection of the Babylonian Deluge-story being granted, can we venture to indicate a more original connection? According to Bērōssus,¹ Xisuthrus (the hero of the Deluge) was the last of the ten primitive Babylonian kings, whose immensely long lives so forcibly remind us of those ascribed to the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis, and, as has been repeatedly pointed out,² are closely related to the theory of an artificially-calculated cosmic year. The Bērōssian cosmic year had the enormous duration of 518,400 ordinary years, and each of its twelve months consisted of 12 sari—i.e., (12 × 3600), 43,200 ordinary years. According to this system, ten cosmic months are equivalent to 432,000 years, and this is exactly the number of the years assigned by Bērōssus to the ten antediluvian Babylonian kings (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 4, end). The theory of the Babylonians appears to have been that these ten primitive kings reigned during the first ten cosmic months of the great cosmic year (each king for a cosmic month), and that the Deluge fell at the end of the tenth month. Now, the eleventh month was for the Babylonians (who began the year with the vernal equinox) the time from the middle of January to the middle of February—in other words, the middle of the rainy or winter season.

It is also to the winter season that the position of the Deluge-narrative in the Gilgameš-epic points—more particularly to the eleventh month Sebāt (Jan.-Feb.). For, as Sir Henry Rawlinson saw, the twelve tablets of the adventures of Gilgameš stand in relation to the passage of the sun-god through the twelve months of the year, and the principal event on every tablet has its analogue in the corresponding one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which, as is now certainly known, had their origin in Babylonia. Now, it is the eleventh tablet that contains the Deluge-story, and the eleventh zodiacal sign is Aquarius. The conclusion is obvious. Lastly, it is also probable that the Assyrian name of the eleventh month, Sabātu (probably 'destruction'), and its ideographic designation as 'month of the curse of rain,' both have reference to the Deluge. Clearly the connection of the Deluge-story with the story of the ten primitive kings is much more close and original than its present connection with the Gilgameš-legends. The fixing of the great catastrophe in the eleventh month is a fact of importance with reference to the question, which will shortly (§ 8) claim to be answered: Has the Deluge-story a historical kernel, or is it simply and entirely a nature-myth?

The elaborate account in the Gilgameš-epic is not the only cuneiform record of the Babylonian Deluge-story. Peiser has published (ZA 4 369 f. [89]) a mythological text, with a map, giving a primitive picture of Babylonia at the time of the Deluge under

Pär(?)-napišti. The text is very fragmentary; but as far as it can, with the help of the map, be understood, this is the notion of the Flood which it suggests.—The Persian Gulf was conceived of as encompassing Babylonia, and round about this ocean lay seven islands. The mountain of the Deluge was due north of Babylon, but still within the tract enclosed by the ocean. It is noteworthy that the time of the Deluge is apparently designated in this text—'the year of the great serpent.'

[Further, among the tablets in the Constantinople museum Scheil has recently discovered a mutilated fragment of a new Deluge-story, containing 6. Scheil's part of columns 1 f. 7 f. In the twelfth line occurs the word *libib* ('effaced'), which, according to Scheil, suggests that our tablet is but a copy of a much older original which had been injured. The date of the tablet itself, however, is sufficiently ancient: '4 month of Sebāt, day 28, the year in which Ammi-zaduga built the fortress of Ammi-zaduga at the mouth of the Euphrates'—not much later than 2140 B.C. By whom the story is told, is not evident. The complaints of mankind are spoken of first; the god Rammān appears to be angry with them. Thereupon a god pronounces sentence upon mankind; reference is made to a destroying rain-storm. In the seventh column the god Ea speaks. He expostulates with the other god for wishing to destroy men. Some men at least, Ea will save; 'let them come into [the vessel . . .] . . . the oar (?) . . . let him come . . . let him bring . . . let him . . .'. That the great Deluge is referred to is now clear: the occurrence of the word *abūbu* must dispel all doubt. In the eighth column only two lines are complete; but these contain a reference to Atra-basis (Xisuthrus), who is introduced speaking 'to his lord'—i.e., to the god who has proved himself a friend to the human race. The name of the scribe suggests to Scheil that this version of the Deluge-story is that which was current in the city of Sippar¹ (see § 16.)]

We have also a list of royal names which bears the inscription, 'These are the postdiluvian kings of Babylon,'

7. Other thus implicitly confirming the Bērōssian references. distinction between kings after the Deluge (cp COT 161). The word here used for Deluge is *abūbu* (cp below, § 13), which elsewhere is of frequent occurrence,² the Deluge being referred to as an event of hoary antiquity—*c. g.*, when it is said of old inscriptions that they go back to the time before the Deluge (*abūbu*). See TEL-ABIB.

We have now to take up the question, What was probably the true origin of this Babylonian Deluge-

8. Origin of story, looking at it by itself, without Deluge-story. comparing the Hebrew records? The first thing that strikes us is the harmony between the narrative and the local conditions of Babylonia, which justifies us in regarding that country as the native place of the story. It is more difficult to determine whether any real historical event lies at the foundation of the narrative, or whether we have to do with a mere myth. In itself it would, of course, not be inconceivable that in days of yore an unusually extensive flood from the Persian Gulf, combined with continuous rain, burst upon the Babylonian lowlands, and destroyed countless human lives; that a dim tradition of this event was preserved; and that the Babylonian Deluge-story was a last deposit produced by this genuine occurrence. Judging, however, from what is known of the growth of myths and legends, especially among the Babylonians,

¹ The reason is that one element in the name of the scribe is Aya (Aa). Now it was chiefly at Sippar that the goddess Aya was honoured in conjunction with Samaš (the sun-god); her name was borne by the inhabitants.' Scheil, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes. Tirage à part du Recueil de travaux,' etc., vol. xx, (197).

² [*Abūbu*, 'storm,' is also used as a title for the god Marduk's weapon in the Creation-story, Tab. iv. 49, and King Hammu-rābi calls himself *abūbu tuqmatim*, 'tempest of battles,' *K B* 3a 115.]

¹ For the Bērōssian story, see below, § 16.

² See especially Marcus v. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assyris und Babels* (37), 237 ff.

we think that this is far from probable. The entire character of the narrative, and the connection with other myths indicated above, are much more favourable to the view that we have to do, not with a legend based upon facts, but with a myth which has assumed the form of a history (cp below, col. 1063, note 3). The colouring may have been partly supplied by the cyclones which, in an alluvial country like Babylonia, frequently make their appearance from the sea; but the origin of this myth will have to be sought in quite another direction. We noticed above that the great catastrophe is placed by the Babylonians in the middle of the winter season, in the eleventh month¹ (Sēbāt = Jan.-Feb.), which was regarded as specially the time of storms, and had for its patron the rain-god and storm-god Rammān. To the present writer it seems most probable that the Deluge-story was originally a nature-myth, representing the phenomena of winter, which in Babylonia especially is a time of rain. The hero rescued in the ship must originally have been the sun-god.² Thus, the Deluge and the deliverance of Pār(?)-napišti are ultimately but a variant to the Babylonian Creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2 f.). Now we can understand the very peculiar designation of the Deluge-period mentioned already. The 'great serpent' is no other than the personified ocean, which on the old Babylonian map (see above, § 5) encircles Babylonia, just as 'leviathan the wreathed serpent' (Is. 27:1) is the world-encircling ocean personified as a serpent;³ it is the same monster that is a central figure in the Creation-story.

The question as to the relation of the Babylonian to the Hebrew Deluge-story can now be satisfactorily answered. If, as we believe, the former had its origin in Babylonia, and is fundamentally a myth of winter

9. Of Hebrew story.

and the sun-god, the Hebrew story must have been borrowed from the Babylonian. In this case, Dillmann's theory of a common Semitic tradition, which developed among the Hebrews in one way, and among the Babylonians in another, is once more put out of court (see CREATION, § 4).

H. Z.

The Israelitish story of the submergence of the earth (i.e., of the part known to the narrators) by a Deluge is found in the Book of Genesis (6:5-9:19)

10. P depend-ent on J₂.

in two forms, belonging respectively to J₂ and to P, which have been welded together (see GENESIS, § 8). There are also allusions to the story (all late) in Ezek. 14:14-20 Is. 54:9 Ps. 29:10 Is. 24:18 Job 22:15 f. (?). It remains to be seen, however, whether the two forms of the tradition in Genesis are really independent; it may be that, as in the case of the Creation-story (see CREATION, § 12), P has only given a somewhat different setting to data which he has derived from J₂. It is no objection to this view that P's account is longer and in some respects less fragmentary than that of J₂. The editor (or editors) naturally preferred the former, because P's work was systematically adopted as the framework of the combined historical narrative. The three principal points in which P is fuller than J₂ are (1) the announcement of the coming deluge to Noah, and the command to build an ark (or chest), the measurements of which are prescribed; (2) the notice of the place where the ark grounded; and (3) the appointment of the rainbow as the sign of the covenant between God and man. On all these points, we may

¹ The fragments of Bérössus mention Daisius (May-June) as the month of the Deluge. This notice is suspicious on several grounds. The writer was evidently Bérössus probably identified the eighth Babylonian month Arab-samma = Marḥešwan (= Oct.-Nov.) with the eighth Syro-Macedonian month Daisius. The biblical recession also makes the Deluge begin in Marḥešwan. On this view, both Bérössus and the OT placed the beginning of the Deluge early in the winter, instead of in the middle of that season—an equally intelligible variant.

² [The same view is given in Che.'s art. 'Deluge,' *EB* (1911), See below.]

³ Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 46. See BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3 (C), SERPENT, § 3 (C).

safely presume, information was given in the original J₂. To suppose that the latter began with the words, 'And Yahwē said to Noah, Go thou with all thy house into the ark,' would be absurd, and Budde seems to be right in supposing that the measurements of the ark in Gen. 7:15 come from J₂, who on his side may have derived them from some form of the Babylonian myth (cp GOPHER-WOOD). Budde has also made it probable that J₂ gave a statement as to the resting-place of the ark, which he placed among the mountains E. of Ur-Kasdim. P knew that there were higher mountains than these in the N., and transferred the locality to ARARAT (*q.v.*, § 3); though it is probable that he had the support of the later Babylonian tradition (cp Bérössus).

Nor need we doubt that the episode of the rainbow also was told by J₂, to whose delicate imagination it

11. Rainbow episode.

would be in a high degree congenial. It is true, there is nothing like it in the Deluge-story given in the Gilgames-epic; but we do not know all the variants of the Babylonian myth. Most probably, however, J₂ may claim the honour of having invented this exquisite sign of the covenant. The covenant is distinctly Israelitish, and the sign should be Israelitish too. A probable point of contact for the rainbow episode is suggested by these words of the Babylonian poet (*II. 92-102*, Jensen): 'A dark cloud came up from the foundation of heaven; Rammān (the storm-god) thundered therein. . . . The noise of Rammān penetrated to heaven; it turned all brightness into obscurity.' The flashes of lightning are the storm-god's arrows (Ps. 76:3 [4] 78:48 Hab. 3:11), and when the storm ceases, the god lays aside his bow (this is said, e.g., of the god Indra, after his battle with the demons). If the Hebrew story in its original form referred to the thundering of Yahwē, we can well believe that when J₂ appended the account of the covenant he said to himself that the bow which Yahwē had laid aside could be no other than the rainbow. There is, at any rate, no exact mythic parallel elsewhere to the use made of the rainbow in Gen. 9:12-17.

There are also other points of difference between J₂ and P. (a) The latter is without the vivid details of

12. P's deviations.

the sending out of the birds (Gen. 8:6-12, J₂); such a prosaic writer would probably think these superfluous. (b) A more important point is P's non-recognition of the distinction between clean and unclean animals (Gen. 7:2-8 J₂), and his not mentioning the sacrifice which, according to J₂ (Gen. 8:20), Noah offered after leaving the ark. The cause of these deviations of P is obvious. His historical theory of the origin of the cultus imposed on him the necessity of harmonising the tradition with it.

(c) Not less remarkable is the difference between J₂ and P as to the duration of the Deluge. According to J₂, seven days elapsed after the command to Noah to enter the ark; then the rain-storm¹ came, and it lasted forty days and forty nights; then in three times seven days the waters disappeared. The computation of P gives more occasion to debate.

It is stated in MT (7:11) that the deluge began on the seventeenth of the second month, and that on the twenty-seventh of the second month in the following year the earth was dry (§ 14). If this is correct, the flood lasted 1 year 11 days; i.e., if the lunar year forms the basis of the computation, 354+11 days which make a solar year. This looks very much like an editorial correction; the flood really lasted a lunar year. S , however, reads in 7:11 'twenty-seventh' (GADEL) instead of 'seventeenth'. In this case the solar year would be meant,² and the duration of the deluge (365 days) would be the same as that of the life of Enoch (365 years). We also learn that 'the waters prevailed on the earth 150 days' (7:24 cp 8:3). This ought to be equal to

¹ Cp Ps. 29:10. P (7:11) ascribes the deluge partly to rain, partly to the breaking up of the 'fountains of the great deep' (i.e., of the waters under the earth, cp Gen. 40:25). This approaches more nearly to the Babylonian account, which speaks of the sea as being driven on the land by a hurricane. Possibly J₂, in its original form, made some reference to the sea or to the subterranean waters.

² On P's year-ep also YEAR.

five months (7.11.84). But 150 days are more than five lunar months; it is clear that solar months must be meant (see, however, *Die Gen.* 129 f., and his dissertation on the Calendar, *Monatsver. der Bibel. Abh.*, 1881, pp. 290 f.; *Bab.*, 'Chronology of the Account of the Flood in P. Hebraica, 8 (92) 79-88; Nowack, *U. d. 2000*).

We are thus enabled to some extent to reconstruct the Deluge-story of J_2 . No doubt some archaic incidents

13. J_2 's have been lost, but P has preserved three narrative. of the most important details which were found in the earlier narrative, though he has moved the Mountain of the Ark northwards. He has also retained מִבַּיַת (*κατακλυσμός*), J_2 's term for the Deluge: ¹ outside of J_2 and P in the Deluge-story, the term occurs only in Ps. 29.10 (post-exilic), and in Gen. 6.17.76 an editor has glossed it by the word מַיִם 'waters'; also מִבַּיַת 'chest' (*κατακλυσμός*, Vg. *arca*), used elsewhere only of Moses' ark of Nile-reeds (Ex. 2.25, מִבַּיַת [BAF] מִבַּיַת [L.], and we may presume that the words מִבַּיַת (see GOPHER-WOOD) and מִבַּיַת 'bitumen', both occurring in 6.14 and nowhere else, were retained from the lost narrative of J_2 .

But what of J_1 ? Did his narrative of the origin of man contain any Deluge-story? No—at any rate, if the theory ably propounded by Budde

14. J_1 had no Deluge-story. J_1 's narrative contained (but on v. 27 see JAPHETH) 11.1-8: it included no Deluge-story. In this record Noah appears as the first agriculturist, and the inventor of wine. A corruption of the text, and perhaps editorial convenience, led to his identification with the hero of the Deluge, who (it is held) had originally the name of Enoch, but had now to take that of Noah in exchange (see NOAH). We need not, however, suppose that the Deluge-myth was unknown to the Israelites before J_2 wrote. It is in reality a pendant to the Creation-story: we should naturally have expected both stories to reach the Israelites at the same time. We have, indeed, no direct evidence of this; but the expression מִבַּיַת has a very archaic appearance. At one time מִבַּיַת must have had a meaning in Hebrew, and that time must have been long anterior to J_2 . But the Deluge-myth, like the companion-story which underlies Gen. 1, did not, it seems, take a firm hold on the Israelitish people: when J_2 , or (more probably) the earlier writer from whom he draws, shaped his story, the Deluge-myth had passed out of mind, and needed to be revived by the help of some one acquainted with cuneiform documents (cp CREATION, § 11 f.). (a)

15. Other Semitic Deluge-stories lost. Of the earliest Israelitish Deluge-myth and of its Canaanitish origin we know nothing (cp *Lucian* [180 & 181], laughing in his sleeve, gives the Syrian Flood-story of his day; ⁴ but it has been partly Hellenised, and probably Judaised (a 'great box or chest', *ἀγάραξ*, is spoken of), and we can lay no stress upon it. Its origin was no doubt Babylonian. 'Most people,' says Lucian, 'relate that the founder of the temple of Hierapolis was Deucalion-Sisythes.' (c) The Phœnician version of the myth, if there ever was one, has perished. (d) The

¹ מִבַּיַת 'destruction'; hence 'deluge' from Bab.-ass. *mabūtu*, 'to destroy': cp מִבַּיַת , מִבַּיַת , a softened form of מִבַּיַת , Gen. 6.4 Nu. 19.33. The word was chosen probably as a synonym for Bab.-ass. *abūtu* (deluge), on account of the assonance, when the Bab. Deluge-myth first became naturalised in Canaan. On the etym. cp *Frd. Del.* *Par.* 156; Haupt, in *KAT* (7) 66; Cheyne, *Psalmist*, 350, *Hebraica*, 3.175; Jensen, *Exp. Times*, 9 (18) 284 (derives from מִבַּיַת , 'to rain' (against which see *Del. Genesis* [87] 172, and cp König, *Lehrph.* 2.153). On the form of the Syriac loan-word *māmūl*, cp König, 1495. Such a notable mythological word as *abūtu* was certain to be naturalised in Canaan in some form (cp *BIBELAL*).

² מִבַּיַת may be of Egyptian, but can scarcely be of Bab. origin, as Jensen (*ZA* 4.273 f.) represents. The word (*tebitim* in the phrase *isa elippi tebitim* is most naturally connected with מִבַּיַת .

³ Cp *Kupri* in the parallel passage in the Gilgamesic.

⁴ *The Iliad*, *Sym.*, chap. 12 f.; cp *Jon. Abt.*, 1. 30.

⁵ Gruppe's opposite view (*EAU* 2.135 f. 170) is unsatisfactory.

Arabs, like the Egyptians,¹ certainly never had any, though the legendary el-Hidr (see col. 1064, n. 1), who in the Alexander-legend conducts the hero to the waters of life, and in the Koran, according to the commentators (*Sarr.* 1859), is found by Moses 'at the confluence of two seas (rivers?)', may be a reflection of Pār-nāpīsti, or rather Hasis-atra (from a shortened form of which el-Hidr may be derived).

Outside of Babylonia, therefore, the only extant Semitic tradition is that of J_2 and P. This is obviously based on the Babylonian myth, for the substitution of a 'chest' for a 'ship' is due either to reflection or to a confusion between two Babylonian words, and in any case not to independent tradition. J_2 's account is the typical one; P's statements as to the length of Enoch's life and the duration of the Deluge seem to rest on Jewish Aggada.

The typical Babylonian myth is that in the Gilgamesic-epic (see above), which appears to be the local tradition of the city of Surippak (see *Frd. Del.*

16. Berossian variant. *Par.* 224; Jensen, *Kosmos*, 387); but the variant discovered by Peiser² (§ 5), and the much fuller one transmitted by Bérössus,³ also are valuable. The Babylonian king, Xisuthrus, is the hero of the Berossian Deluge-story; in this way Bérössus disguised the name of Atra-hasis, transposing the two parts of the name or title.⁴ Xisuthrus, he says, was accompanied on board the ship (*σκάφος, πλοῖον, ναῦς*) by wife, children, friends, and steersman, and took with him quadrupeds and birds. He was ordered to turn the course of his vessel 'towards the gods.' How long the flood lasted we are not told. When it went down, he sent out birds three times; the third time the birds did not return. Then he discovered that the ship had grounded 'on a certain mountain.' With wife, daughter, and steersman, he disembarked, erected an altar, sacrificed, and then passed out of sight with his companions. Those who remained heard a voice which announced that Xisuthrus had been taken to be with the gods as a reward for his piety; also that the land in which they were was Armenia (cp Gen. 8.4 P). They were, further, commanded to dig up the sacred books which Xisuthrus, before embarking, had buried at Sippara to transmit them to mankind. This form of the story was, therefore, the local tradition of the ancient city of Sippara, on the left bank of the Euphrates (the *Abu Habba* of to-day). We may plausibly assume that the fragment discovered by Scheil (see § 6) also belonged to the story current at Sippara. Here, however, we find, only Atra-hasis as the name of the hero of the Deluge. This name, however, is perhaps to be regarded rather as a title than as a personal name.

The epic narrative fills up the lacuna in the Berossian story. It presupposes a division of the period of the

17. The Epic, J_2 , and Gen. 5.23. Deluge into an מִבַּיַת number of weeks. The same predilection for the number seven is visible in J_2 's account (see Gen. 7.24 8.11).

Similarly the epic agrees more definitely than Bérössus with J_2 in its notice respecting the birds. Seven days after the calming of the waters, Pār-nāpīsti sends out first a dove, then a swallow, then a raven. J_2 less naturally puts the raven before the dove; probably he did not draw directly from a Babylonian source (see above, § 11, end; § 14, end). The other details of the Deluge have been simplified by J_2 (or his prede-

¹ There is no Egyptian Flood-myth. It is hardly allowable to quote the myth of the Destruction of Man (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 164-166) as a 'dry deluge-myth', for the story has a ritual purpose.

² Cp Jeronimus, *Insuper-Nimrod*, 10 f.

³ See Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* 2.501 (Eus. *Chron.*, ed. Schmidt, 1.19 f.), and cp Eus. *Prep. Ev.* 9.12 (Abstemius) where the hero's name is Sisythus. Lucian (see above, § 15 (6)) had heard the name Sisythes.

⁴ Probably, according to Haupt, the adverbial accusative *atra* was affixed in the later period of the language (*Proc. of Amer. Or. Soc.*, March 1894).

cessor). The rather grotesque polytheistic setting has disappeared: P, who retained the plural form ('Let us make man') in Gen. 1.26, found nothing corresponding to this in the old Deluge-story. In Gen. 8.21 ('And Yahwé smelled the sweet savour') we find a reminiscence of the mythic description in the epic (see above, § 2); but the most startling part of the description has vanished. The cause assigned to the Deluge is nobler in J_2 (P) than in the epic. In the latter (*ll.* 168-175) Ea reproaches Bél with having punished the innocent with the guilty: the offence consisted, it appears, in the neglect of the accustomed sacrifices to the gods.¹ In J_2 (P), on the other hand, no special stress is laid on sacrifices, and no limitation is made to the sweeping declaration that 'the earth is filled with violence' (Gen. 6.13), whilst the injunction laid upon the survivors after the Deluge is not that they should be 'reverent' in a ritual sense, but that they should not deface the image of God by shedding man's blood (Gen. 9.6). The close of the epic narrative, however, redeems the character of the poet, and irresistibly suggests the theory, supported elsewhere, that 'Noah' should rather be 'Enoch.' It was for the children of the Hebrew Xisuthrus to re-found a human race of finer quality than that which had perished. Xisuthrus himself was too great and good a man to encounter once more the ordinary trials of humanity. Atrahâsis was transported to the earthly Paradise, 'afar off at the mouth of the rivers'² (the Euphrates and the Tigris). The Hebrew Xisuthrus, like his model in the Berossian account, 'was not (=disappeared), for God had taken him' (Gen. 5.24).

Both Bérössus and the priestly writer represent a period later than *Āšur-bāni-pāl's* epic. The earthly Paradise was no doubt the original home of the translated Xisuthrus, though we cannot suppose that it was always placed 'at the mouth of the rivers': mythic geography is notoriously fluctuating. The earliest location of Paradise was on the slopes of the mysterious mythic mountain which reached upward to the sky (cp *CHERUB*, i. § 7). When the idea of an earthly Paradise had worn out, men thought of Xisuthrus as in heaven, and this is really more in accord with the earliest form of the myth. For, though the theory offered above by Zimmern (§ 8) probably does embody the interpretation of the most cultured Babylonian priests, we can hardly regard it as a complete explanation. It is more like the after-thought of a semi-philosophic age than like the spontaneous imagination of primitive men. There would be more plausibility in the notion that some definite historical catastrophe lies at the root of the story, if we could only believe that tradition could preserve so remote an occurrence. The truth is that a definite occurrence does lie at the root of the story: only, it is an imaginary, not a historical occurrence.

The Deluge-myth in Babylonia and elsewhere seems to have grown out of an archaic ether-myth, akin to that prevalent in Egypt. Originally the sun was imagined as a man voyaging on a boat in the heavenly ocean. When this story had been told and retold a long time, rationalism suggested that the sea was not in heaven but on earth, and observation of the damage wrought in winter by incessant rains and the inundations of great rivers suggested the introduction of corresponding details into the new earthly Deluge-myth. This theory is supported by the Polynesian Deluge-myths collected by Gerland,³ the origin of which is still plainly visible. In these, the sun and the moon were imagined sometimes as peaks emerging out of a flood, sometimes

¹ Throughout the epic-story the sacrificial interest is prominent. Bérössus, too, relates that a voice from heaven bade the friends whom Xisuthrus left behind be reverent towards the gods (*θεοφιλείς*)—i.e., punctual in sacrifices.

² Probably an island in the Persian Gulf is meant (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 213).

³ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 6 266-373. See also Schirren, *Wanderungen der Neuseeländer* (56), p. 193.

as canoes, sometimes as a man and his wife; the stars, sometimes as ships, sometimes as human beings—the children of the sun and moon; the clouds too were described as ships—the 'ships of Tangaloa' (the heaven- and air-god). The flood itself was called sometimes 'flood of the moon' (so at Hawaii), sometimes 'flood of day's eye,'—i.e., the sun (so at Tahiti). This accounts for the strongly mythological characters of Pār-napišti in Babylonia and of Maui in New Zealand, who are, in fact, solar personages. Enoch too must be classed in this category; his perfect righteousness and superhuman wisdom⁴ now first become intelligible. Moreover, we now comprehend how the goddess Sabitu (the guardian of the entrance to the sea) can say to Gilgameš (himself a solar personage) 'Šamaš the mighty (i.e., the sun-god) crossed the sea; besides (?) Šamaš, who can cross it?'⁵ For, though the 'sea' in the epic is no doubt the earth-circling ocean, it was hardly this in the myth from which the words were taken.

The transference of the Deluge from heaven to earth had two effects. First, it produced a virtual duplication of the Creation-myth.⁶ This points the way to a probable explanation of the appearance of the raven, the swallow, and the dove in the Babylonian account, and of the dove and the raven in the Hebrew account. An authentic and striking Polynesian parallel to the description in Gen. 1.2 ('... brooding over the face of the waters') has been given already (see *CREATION*, § 10). N. American tribes, too, frequently connect the emergence of the earth from the primordial ocean with the descent of a raven, and their flood-myths, according to Brinton, connect the rebuilding of the earth with the agency of birds.⁷ In the Algonkin account, however, the muskrat succeeds, when the raven fails, in finding a portion of the submerged earth.⁸ In the primitive Babylonian myths of Creation and Deluge a bird (whether raven or dove), or birds, probably had a share in the process of creation and re-creation.

The second effect of the transference spoken of was a new speculative theory. It occurred to the early men that the idea of a second construction of the world lightened the problem of the origin of things. How the primeval world arose might be difficult to explain satisfactorily: various mythic stories were current; but it was not so hard to conceive of a world once destroyed being reconstructed. Thus, in course of time, systematisers devised schemes bearing some resemblance to the cycles of the Stoics. It seemed to them as if the Creator were constantly being baffled in his experiments by physical or moral perversity in the materials. Thus the priests of the Aztecs spoke of four antecedent ages, separated by universal cataclysms, the present being the fifth and last,⁹ and a similar belief, in rudimentary forms,

¹ Enoch, like Pār-napišti, might be called *Atrahâsis*, 'the very wise.' Omniscience is an attribute of the sun-god. The same title appears to be given to the young eagle in the myth of Etana (see *ETANA*)—a supernatural bird (*Beitr. zur. Ass. 2.444*). Notice, too, that the old eagle in the Etana-myth and Pār-napišti are both mentioned in connection with magical plants. The legendary el-Hidr of the Moslems, whom Guyard and Gignoulet (*Les origines, 2. 127*) identify with Hachisatra, was also the wisest of beings. Cp above, § 15. On this interesting parallel, cp Lidzbarski, *Z. A. 7. 104 ff.*, 2. 263 ff., and Dussoff, *Z. A. 7. 310 ff.*; also Clermont Ganneau, *Rev. Archéol.* 32 388 ff. See also *ELIJAH*, § 5.

² See Maspero, *Dixes of Civ. 52*; Jeremias, *Ind.-Nimrod*, 31. Sabitu, it has been remarked, has some slight affinity to Circe.

³ Was the Akitu-festival at Babylon a commemoration of the Deluge? It is referred to in the epic narrative, l. 71. From an inscription of Nebuchadrezzar we learn that it was 'in Zakmuk' (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 85). Now Zakmuk, the New Year's festival, commemorated Creation. See col. 941, n. 1.

⁴ Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 204; cp Macdonell, *JR. 15.*, 1895, p. 189.

⁵ Brinton (*op. cit.* 209 ff.) gives the 'authentic form' on the authority of Father Le Jeune (1634). It appears that the Algonkins supposed all mankind to have perished in the Deluge. This is against deriving this Deluge-myth from a previous ether-myth. The Algonkin view, however, is not largely represented.

⁶ Reville, *Religions of Mexico and Peru*, 114.

is still prevalent throughout the American-Indian tribes. The Zoroastrians believed in six ages of the world, with the final catastrophe issuing in a renovation. The six ages are of late origin (see CREATION, § 9); but the renovation, as Darmesteter admits, goes back to the Achæmenian period. Not without stimulus from Zoroastrianism, the Jews in later times advanced to the same belief.¹ They were assured that the present world would be destroyed and that a new heaven and earth would take its place (Is. 24.418-20, 51.62 65.17 66.22 Mt. 19.28 2 Pet. 3.12 f. Enoch 45.4 f. Apoc. Bar. 32.6); in harmony with Gen. 9.15 fire was to be the destroying agency (2 Pet. 1.c.). These beliefs were naturally fostered by the moral idealism of the best men, as we see, not only from the biblical writings (e.g., Gen. 6.5.11 2 Pet. 2.5 κόσμος ἀρεῶν, 37), and from the Babylonian story, but also from an American (Quiché) story, which says, 'They did not think or speak of the Creator who had created them, and who had caused their birth.'² The intense moral fervour of the ancient Zoroastrian hope of world-renovation is well known (see PERSEA).

If it were possible to believe in a primitive tradition respecting early human history, and to accept all mythic narratives as independent traditions, we should have a weary waste of Deluge-stories still to plod through. There are, however, only three more such accounts which have any special interest from our present point of view. (a) The Indian Deluge-story is the first.³ This can hardly be a genuine Aryan myth, for there is no clear reference to it in the Rig Veda.

The *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata*, where it first occurs, was written (Weller) not long before the Christian era. Another version, in which the lacunæ of the earlier one are filled up, is given in the *Mahābhārata*; but this poem, though it existed in part before the Christian era, did not assume its present form till long afterwards. A third version, still more decidedly Indian in character, but with some suspicious resemblances to the Semitic accounts, is given in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*; but the earliest possible date of this work is the twelfth century A.D., which deprives its account of the deluge of all claim to originality.

The principal characteristic of the older Flood-story is the part assigned to the fish which warns Manu of the Deluge, and ultimately saves him by drawing his ship to a northern mountain. This is surely out of character with Aryan mythology. The horned fish, in which Brahma appears, reminds us strongly of the Babylonian fish-god Ea. It was Ea who gave notice of the coming Deluge to Pār-nāpīsti. Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, 1011, Jensen (*Konow*, 457) and Oldenberg (*Rel. des Veda*, 276) consider the Babylonian origin of the Indian Flood-story to be certain; but on the other hand cp Usener, *Untersuch.* 3.240-244.

(b) The second account is a Zoroastrian myth in the *Avesta* (*Vendidad*, 2.46 ff.). In its present form (even after the prosaic additions have been removed; see Geldner, in Usener, 3.209 ff.) it seems to have been influenced by the Hebrew Deluge-story.

The Var, a square enclosure constructed by Yima (= Yama, the Vedic god of the dead), had a door and perhaps a window,⁴ like Noah's Ark, and it was designed to preserve men, women, and animals. Apart from this, it reminds us of the biblical Eden, and the calamity which was to be averted was, not a flood, but a terrible winter's frost, connected, however, with the end of the world.⁵ The myth seems to be a recast of elements from more than one source.

(c) The third is a Phrygian myth. Possibly there was a primitive native Deluge-story; but, if so, it was vitalised from a Jewish source, some time during the third or the second century, B.C., when (as Ramsay has

pointed out) many thousands of Jews from Babylonia were settled as colonists in the cities which the Seleucid kings had built. This was the period of the intermingling of religions, when Judaism too made conquests, especially in Asia Minor. Even those who were not otherwise Judaized were influenced by Jewish legends (cp SODOM AND GOMORRAH). Important cities exhibited on their coins biblical symbols, and harmonised their old traditions with biblical narratives.⁶

Thus Apamea (formerly Kelainai) adopted the Noah-legend; Iconium, that of Enoch, whose name was connected with the Phrygian name of Νουερεος or Αιρεος. The king (who in tradition made him) was said to have lived more than 300 years, to have announced the coming Deluge, and to have prayed for his people. The mountain hard by Apamea was said to be that on which Noah's ark grounded; the city therefore assumed the title Κιβωτος (Ark).

The references already given are almost sufficient (they may be supplemented from Dillmann's *Genesis*;

21. Appendix but at least a brief mention is due to Lenormant's study in *Les origines de l'histoire*, 1.382 ff.

The conclusion arrived at is that of Franz Delitzsch and Dillmann, that the Deluge is no 'myth,' but a historical fact. Lenormant, at any rate, holds that the three great civilised races of the ancient world preserved a dim recollection of it. This implies a self-propagating power in tradition which the researches of experts in popular traditions do not justify. Lenormant died, a martyr of patriotism, in 1884. Would he have changed his mind had he lived? At any rate, he would have respected the honesty of those who regard the Deluge-story as a precious record of the myth-forming imagination which has been made subservient to a high moral idealism. See ADAM AND EVE.

Lastly, the writer would call attention to Jastrow's two articles on Scheil's Deluge-story (§ 6) in the *New York Independent*, vol. 10, and 17th Feb.

22. And on Jastrow's theory. It is here maintained that a local tradition of a rain-storm which submerged a single city has been combined in the Gilgames-epic with a myth of the destruction of mankind based upon the annual phenomenon of the overflow of the Euphrates.

Pir-nāpīsti or Pār-nāpīsti (as Haupt in *KAT*⁷) and Jastrow prefer to read the name) is the hero of the local tradition, while Hasis-adra (= חַסִּי אֲדָרָה, Gen. 6.9, according to Jastrow) is the hero of the larger nature-myth. The present writer admits that the version in the epic is of composite origin, and that the names Pir-nāpīsti and Hasis-adra may perhaps come from different sources; but he holds that all the Babylonian deluge-stories, whether simple or composite, have a mythic basis. Moreover, he does not recognise that the simplicity of the oldest Hebrew version of the Deluge-story heightens the probability that the Hebrews carried that story with them when they left their Euphratean settlements. The account given above of the origin and development of the Hebrew story has surely not lost any of its probability in consequence of Scheil's discovery.

[See, in addition to works already cited, Nöldeke, 'Der Mythos von der Sündfluth,' *Im neuen Reich* [72], pp. 247-259; R. Andree, *Die Flutsagen; ethnographisch betrachtet* ('91); H. Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Untersuchungen*, pt. 3 ('99), especially § 7, 'Ergebnisse'; M. Jastrow, 'Adrahbas and Parnapīstium,' *ZA* 1899, pp. 288-301. On the chief questions arising out of the Babylonian Deluge-story, cp Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* ('98), pp. 493-508, which, as also Usener's work, appeared after this article had been written.]

H. Z. §§ 1-5, 7-9; T. K. C. §§ 6, 10-22.

DELUS, RV DELOS (ΔΗΛΟΣ [ANV], *Delus*), the

1 See Babelon, 'La Trad. phryg. du Déluge,' *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* ('91), pp. 174 ff.; Usener, *op. cit.*, 48-50; and, on Apamea-Kelainai, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, chaps. 11, 12.

¹ Che. *OPs*, 404 ff.

² Is. 51.16 is a late mosaic of phrases, and irrelevant (see Du. *ad loc.*).

³ Brinton, *op. cit.* 207 ff. This is, of course a later addition, as in one of the forms of the Tahitian myth (Waitz-Gerland, 671).

⁴ See Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, 1.195-301; Burnouf, *Bhāgavata Purāna*, 2.101; Weller, *Indische Studien*, 1.163-232.

⁵ The Zend word rendered 'window,' however, is said to be as obscure as the Hebrew חַסִּי, Gen. 6.16; see LATTICE.

⁶ Cp. Kohut, *JQR*, 1890, pp. 225-227.

smallest of the Cyclades, regarded by the ancients as the centre of the group—a confusion of the geographical and religious points of view (cp Str. 485). Delos was both a shrine and a commercial centre, and 'her whole destiny is explained by her religious traditions and her geographical situation.' Though nominally free, the island was really subject to the dominant power for the time being in the Aegean. It was a free port as early as 168 B.C., and attracted a great part of the Rhodian trade (Polyb. 317). After 146 B.C. it entered upon the heritage of Corinth (Str. 486). The acquisition of the province of Asia by the Romans in 133 B.C. added greatly to the wealth and importance of Delos. Now began the most brilliant epoch of its history: the inscriptions show that its commercial relations were with the Levant, chiefly Syria and Egypt. So Pausanias calls the island τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλληνῶν ἐμπόριον (viii. 332). For long it was the chief emporium of merchandise from the E. to the W., so that the fine bronze or copper wares of Greece were called indifferently Corinthian, or Delian, from the place of export (Pl. *HN* xxxiv. 29; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 283). The island became especially a great slave mart, where the Asiatic slave dealers disposed of their human cargoes to Italian speculators; as many as ten thousand were landed and sold in a day (Str. 668). Naturally such a spot attracted large numbers of Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 108; Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 36; cp *1 Macc.* 1523). According to a Greek inscription, a company of Tyrian merchants was settled there as early as the second century B.C. (*CIG* 2271). At the altar of Delos Antiochus Epiphanes set up statues (Polyb. 261), and an inscription to Herod Antipas has been discovered in the island (cp Schür. *GV I* 358). In 88 B.C. 20,000 men, mostly Italians, were massacred in the island by Archelaos, admiral of the Pontic fleet of Mithridates, a blow from which it partially recovered, only to be finally ruined about twenty years later by the systematic and wholesale destruction wrought by the pirate Athenodorus. The resurrection of the island was rendered impossible by the rapid growth of Puteoli and the revival of Corinth (for its decay, cp Paus. viii. 332 ix. 346).

See the articles by M. Homolle in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, especially *Les Romains à Delos*, *op. cit.* § 257. A good account in Diehl's *Excursions in Greece*, ET, 128 f. W. J. W.

DEMAS (ΔΗΜΑΣ [Ti. WH]) is enumerated by the apostle Paul as among his 'fellow-workers' at the time of his (first) Roman captivity (Philim. 24; see also Col. 4.14). In 2 Tim. 4.10 he is thus alluded to: 'Demas forsook me, having loved this present world, and went to Thessalonica.' Nothing is known of him beyond what may be inferred or conjectured from these allusions.

He is enumerated in the 'list of the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre (*Chr. Pasch.*, Bonn ed., 212) and is stated to have become a priest of idols in Thessalonica. Along with Hermogenes, he figures prominently in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* as a hypocritical companion of the former, and to Hermogenes and Demas is assigned the particular heresy about the resurrection which in 2 Tim. 2.17 is attributed to Hymeneus and Philetus.

DEMETRIUS (ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ [ANV])—i.e., of, or belonging to, Demeter, a proper name of very common occurrence among the Greeks).

1. Demetrius I., surnamed Soter,¹ king of Syria, son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, was sent in his early youth to Rome as a hostage, the throne meanwhile being occupied by his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes (see **ANTIOCHUS**, 2). After some time he effected his escape to Tripolis (chiefly through the aid of the historian Polybius), and thence proceeded to Antioch where he proclaimed himself king, securing his position by putting to death his cousin Antiochus Eupator (**ANTIOCHUS**, 3), and **LYSIAS** (1 *Macc.* 7; 162 B.C.). He lost no time in pleasing the Hellenizing party by sending Bacchides to instal Alcimus as high-

¹ He received this honorary designation on account of his delivering the Babylonians from the satrap Hecataeus.

priest (see **BACCHIDES**, **ALCIMUS**). The disturbances caused by the latter need not here be described; the Syrian general **NICANOR** [q.v.] was defeated at Capharsalama (726 ff.), and at Adasa (739 ff.). A warning was sent from Rome to Demetrius not to interfere with the Jews; but it was too late. Less than two months after the fall of Nicanor a fresh invasion under Bacchides took place, the Judæan power was seriously crippled (chap. 9, 160 B.C.; see further **BACCHIDES**). Seven years later Demetrius, disputing the sovereignty with Alexander Balas, endeavoured, though in vain, to secure the support of the Maccabean party (chap. 10), and after some hostilities died fighting his rival¹ (*vv.* 49 f.; 150 B.C.). See **MACCABEES**, § 5.

2. Demetrius II., Nicator, son of the above, who had been living in exile in Crete, came over to Cilicia to avenge his father's ill success in 147 B.C., and secured a powerful follower in the person of **APOLLONIUS** (q.v., 2). An engagement took place at Ashdod, and Apollonius was decisively beaten (1 *Macc.* 1067 ff.). Shortly afterwards, however, his hands were unexpectedly strengthened by the secession of Ptolemy VI. Philometor (see **PTOLEMY**, 1), who transferred to him his daughter Cleopatra, the wife of Alexander Balas (see **ALEXANDER**, 2). Alexander was put to flight and Demetrius became king in 145 B.C. (1119). A treaty by which Jonathan obtained favourable concessions was concluded (**MACCABEES**, § 5), and Demetrius, believing his position secure, took the unwise step of discharging his regular troops, who at once went over to Tryphon, the guardian of the young son of Alexander Balas (1138 ff.; see **TRYPHON**). Profiting by the approach of a disturbance, Jonathan obtained fresh concessions from Demetrius on the understanding that Tryphon's rebellion in Antioch should be put down. This was successfully accomplished; but when Jonathan saw that Demetrius showed no signs of carrying out his promises he was easily persuaded to transfer his allegiance to Tryphon. Demetrius' princes entered Judæa and after a temporary success were routed in the neighbourhood of Hazer (1163 ff.). Another invasion was meditated in B.C. 144, but was successfully warded off by Jonathan's skilful generalship (1224 ff.). The scene suddenly changed when Tryphon usurped the throne of Syria, and endeavoured, with some success, to reduce Judæa. Jonathan was dead and Simon busied himself in strengthening the defences. An embassy was sent to Demetrius II., who, to obtain Simon's support, readily granted all the Jewish demands including even a complete immunity from taxation² (1312 ff.). Trusting Simon to continue the struggle against Tryphon, Demetrius marched to Persia, partly for conquest, partly to acquire auxiliaries; but he was captured by Mithridates I. (see **PERSIA**) and imprisoned, his place in Syria being taken by his younger brother Antiochus Sidetes (1 *Macc.* 141 ff.; see **ANTIOCHUS**, 5). From non-biblical sources we know that, at the expiration of ten years, he resumed the throne (128 B.C.), quarrelled with Ptolemy Physkon and his protégé Alexander Zabinas, and was finally conquered at Damascus, after fleeing from which place he was murdered at Tyre in 125 B.C. (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 93).

3. A silversmith of Ephesus, who was the chief instigator of the tumult in the interests of his craft which brought Paul's mission in that city to a close (*Acts* 19.24 ff.). See **DIANA**, § 2, **EPHESUS**. The conjecture that he figures again in 3 Jn. 12 as a convert to Christianity, precarious at best, becomes singularly so when the commonness of the name is considered.

4. A Christian mentioned with commendation in 3 Jn. (9. 12). That he was the bearer of the epistle is sometimes inferred; but

¹ If we follow RV (after AM, etc.) and read 'the army of Alexander fled,' it would seem that *v.* 49 and *v.* 50 must belong to two different accounts. See more fully Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2.4 and cp *Camb. Bible*, ad loc.

² This independence gained by the Jews was marked by the introduction of a new era; cp **CHRONOLOG.** § 1.

the inference has no more stringency than that mentioned in the text.

DEMONS. Demons are a survival from an earlier faith; continued belief in them is due to the conservative instincts of the ordinary religious mind, and is thus particularly characteristic of the popular religion. For this reason references to demons scarcely occur in the earlier OT literature, which is so largely prophetic. Such references increase in frequency, however, in the later Jewish writings, and are numerous in NT; this is due partly to the foreign influences (Babylonian, Persian, and Greek) under which the Jews came in exilic and post-exilic times, and partly to the fact that the earlier beliefs, after being transformed, lent themselves as explanations of some of the religious problems that were arising.

For the Gk. (Hellenistic) term *δαίμων* or *δαίμων* (see below, § 6), whence the English term 'demon' is derived, Hebrew possessors no clear equivalent. *Δαίμων* occurs in the LXX only in Dt. 32:17 Ps. 106:37 106:37 Is. 13:21 34:14 65:11 [BA] and in Tobit; yet it represents no fewer than five Hebrew words, viz., *'ēlil, gad, šā'ir, šippōr,* and *šed* (Dt. 32:17 Ps. 106:37, cp 91:6, where *š* reads *שׂר* for *שׂד*). Of these the first is a general term for false gods; details as to the second and the third will be found in the articles FORTUNE and SATYR, and as to the fourth in WILD BEASTS; only the last is translated 'demon' in RV.

Similar objects of popular superstition are LILITH, AZAZEL, ASMODEUS (in Tobit), and probably the 'horse-leech' of Prov. 30:15 (see HORSE-LEECH). For details of these also reference must be made to the separate articles. Closely connected with the present subject is the practice of consulting the dead,¹ to which we have reference in the earliest narrative literature (1 S. 28). See DIVINATION, § 4.

Jewish demonology, then, is the result of the survival of primitive Hebrew (Semitic) beliefs, which, having been neither suppressed by, nor wholly assimilated to, the prophetic religion, were quickened by contact with Babylonian, Pērsian, and Greece (cp *š*'s use of *δαίμων*, as above, § 2). The chief primitive survivals in the Jewish belief are the quasi-divine character of these beings as shown by the sacrifices offered to them (Dt. 32:17, cp Bar. 4:7 1 Cor. 10:20 Ps. 106:37 Lev. 17:7; cp further, in *š*, Is. 65:11, and the sacrifice to AZAZEL [9.7.] described in Lev. 16), their undefined yet local character shown by their association with waste places (Is. 13:21 34:14, cp Rev. 18:2 Bar. 4:35, and [Vg.] Tob. 8:3), and their connection with animals, indicated by their sharing the waste places with wild beasts (foregoing references, and Mk. 1:13), and the meaning of such a term as *š'irim* (hairy ones, goats); on the similar character of the Arabian *jinn*, see Robertson Smith's *Rel. Sem.* (2) 120 ff.

The term that is most general in character is certainly *šēdim*. Unfortunately the etymology of the word is doubtful, for the view that it signifies 'lord' (Mullau and Volk's *Gesenius*) cannot be said to be well supported. The cognate word in Assyrian (*šidu*) denotes the gods or genii who, in the form of huge winged bulls, guard the entrances of the temples (COT 140). In both passages (exilic or post-exilic) where *šēdim* occurs in OT it is used quite generally of illegitimate objects of worship (Dt. 32:17 Ps. 106:37), and in the Pesh. *šidā* is the equivalent of *δαίμων*. In the later Jewish writings the *šēdim* are frequently referred to as noxious spirits (see Buxtorf, *Lex.*, s. v.); this they have not definitely become in the

1 [In the age of the Gospels and of Josephus the spirits of the (wicked) dead were certainly described as *δαίμονες* or *δαίμονια* = *šēdim*. While the worship of dead ancestors was at its height, however, the wicked dead were disregarded, and the spirits of the good were honored as *εὐδαίμονες* (1 S. 28:14; cp. Is. 19:18). It is best therefore to treat necromancy separately; see DIVINATION, § 4.]

OT (on the *šēdim* see further Dr. and Di. on Dt. 32:17; Hl., Now. on Hos. 12:1a (read *שׂר* for *שׂד*); Che. *Psalms*, 258; *OPs*, 334; G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phantastische Inschriften*, § 5, B. 11. See SHADDAI, § 2, and cp SIDDIH, VALE OF.

When angels came to be differentiated as helpful and harmful, and, later, as good and bad (see ANGELS, § 5),

the harmful or bad ones commonly resembled demons; the difference between the two became, in consequence, less and less. Speculations on the difference may be found in Enoch; the same uncertainty prevails in Mohammedan theology, where, e.g., it is disputed whether Iblis was an angel or a demon. G. B. G.

The classical inferiority of *δαίμων* (and *δαίμωνιον*) to *θεός* finds its lowest depth in the Old and the New Testaments, most plainly so in the New.

Even as early as Homer the general equality of the two words (*Od.* 21.195-201) was varied by the frequent distinction between *θεός* as the *personality* (*deus*), and

6. NT usage. *δαίμων* as the more abstractly personifiable influence (*numen*), and by the sense of *luckiness* in the subjective *δαιμονισμός*, in *παύλ.* as well as by such epithets for *δαίμων* as *κακός* and *καταρτικός*. In post-Homeric Greek the inferiority grew in distinctness and degree, and gathered round itself more and more a sense of evil; and, while *δαίμων* (*dæmon*) never altogether ceased in profane Greek to be a *vox media*, the tendency to degradation overwhelmingly prevailed. Thus the word that stood to Hesiod (*Op.* 321) for the benignant souls of heroes of the golden age, served Plato (*Ly.* 223) for an evil apparition, and the tragedians (*Æsch.* *Ag.* *lines* 309-77) regarded the Attic heroes as *δαίμωνια* genii of misfortune, often attached to families or to individuals; and finally Plutarch (probably under the influence of Eastern and Alexandrian dualism) included it in his category the *δαίμονες* *φύσεις*, *καταρτικῆς καὶ κακῆς* that was *δαιμονισμὸς* (*man*) (*Plutarch* *de mal.*, 14).

The sense of *evil spirit* for *δαίμωνιον* is in the NT quite unmistakable.

δαίμων does not occur in the LXX, except once in *ῥ.* and, according to the best authorities, appears but twice in the NT, viz. in Mt. and Mk.'s accounts of the Gerasene demoniac (Mt. 9:17 Mk. 5:18-20) and in 1 Jn. 4:7. In the former passage *δαίμων* is represented by the compound *δαίμονιον* (*δαίμωνιον*). Cp *δαίμονια* *κακῆς*; *Plat.* *deim.* 271b and 271c *δαίμονια*, Act. 17:16.

The word *δαίμωνιον* (used in the NT about sixty times), best reproduced as 'dæmon,' is almost entirely confined to genii in the worst form, evil spirits possessing human beings, though it is used occasionally of evil spirits in general (Ja. 2:19), and once (as above, Acts 17:16) of heathen gods of an inferior order, as well as three times in one passage (1 Cor. 10:20 f.) of evil spirits working in the background of idolatry. (See *The Thinker*, May 1895.)

The identity of *dæmon* and *evil spirit* is obvious from such passages as Lk. 8:2 and 1 Tim. 4:1, and from the comparison of such passages as Mt. 17:18 and Lk. 11:19, Mt. 23:26 and Jn. 10:20, Rev. 16:13 and 14.

The accounts of evil spirits as *possessing* are confined to the Synoptists and Acts, though the idea crops up also in Jn., only however in 7:20 8:48 f. 52, and 10:20 f. (*δαίμονίζονται* and *ἔχειν δαίμονιον*, said of Jesus himself), and never as actually posited by the writer.

The period immediately embracing the Christian era saw a vast development of the idea of *dæmons* or genii,

which may be traced to the survival of early animistic conceptions in a higher stage of culture (see Taylor, *Prim. Cult.*, chap. 14 f.). For our present purpose it is most important to refer to the Persian, the Hellenistic-Jewish, and the Talmudic beliefs. We shall, however, here limit ourselves to the second of these classes of evidence, which appeals most to ordinary educated readers (see also below, § 11, and cp PERSIA).

On the philosophic basis of the Platonic *Ideai* or *Formæ*, and the Stoic *Logoi* or *Reasons*, combined with the Hebrew conception of angels, Philo had bridged over his dualistic gulf between God and the world with intermediate beings, some 'blessed' and others 'profane'; the incorporeal souls being pure

1 An article by the present writer on 'St. Paul's view of the Greek Gods.'

and hovering in the air, which was full of them, some of them, however, descending into bodies and so becoming impure. These 'souls' are identified by him with the 'angels of Moses and the 'dæmons' of 'other philosophers' (*de Conf. Ling.* 35; *de Gigant.* 2-4). A kindred belief in demons as good and evil *media* of divine action pervaded the cosmology of the Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists towards the close of the first century A.D. (Hatch, *Hiib. Lect.* 216 ff.; Zeller, *Die Phil. der Griech.* iii. 10² 291); and Epictetus, about the same date, held that 'all things were full of gods and demons' (Zeller, iii. 10² 745). Josephus also (seeking, like Philo, to conciliate Jewish and heathen views) testifies to the prevalence of a similar belief among his countrymen, but in his description makes the demons passively *παθητικὰ πνεύματα* (*Ant.* viii. 25; *BJ* vii. 63). On the Talmudic evidence for the contemporary Jewish acceptance (doubtless developed under Parsee influence) of a countless number of spirits, good and bad, and legions of demons lying in wait for men, see Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, Ap. xiii., and cp Weber, *Altjhm. Theol.* 242 ff.

The number, prominence, and activity, therefore, of evil spirits in the NT is in general harmony with the views of the times.

Germinal ideas of possession are to be found even in Homer (*Od.* 5 396, where a *δαίμων* *στρυγερὸς* causes a sickness), wasting sickness). The verb *δαμονῶν*

8. **Possession.** represents insanity in Æschylus (*Choeph.* 566), Euripides (*Phon.* 888), Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 1054) and Plutarch (*Vit. Marcell.* 20); whilst Herodotus (479), Euripides (*Bacch.* 298 ff.), and other writers attribute to divine possession the frenzy of the Bacchantes and Corybantes. To a sense of the same mysterious power may be traced Herodotus's name *ἰσθὺ νόστος* for epilepsy (Hippocrates, 400 B.C., attributed the disease to natural causes), and the phrase of the Greek physician Aretæus (1st century, A.D.), *δαίμονος εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰσόδος*. That the nations with whom the Jews in later times were brought into contact held similar views in systematised forms has often been shown (see below, § 11), and we cannot doubt that, though not originating in any one of these forms, the popular belief of the Jews was largely influenced by the beliefs of their neighbours. That belief, as reflected in the NT, regards the dæmons (which are spirits entirely evil) as a definite class of beings, injuriously affecting, mostly internally and by possession, the human, and (in the case of the Gerasene swine) the animal personality, the subjects being usually described as *δαμονιζόμενοι*, 'demonised' (all the Gospels, though only once each in Lk. and Jn.)—the less classical form of *δαμονώμενοι*, and the equivalent of Josephus's *οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανόμενοι*, by which phrase is justified the rendering 'possessed'. The moral connexion of dæmons in the NT is subordinate. Without doubt they are regarded as diametrically (though by no means with dualistic equality) opposed to the work of Christ, and their subjugation is looked upon (especially by Lk.) as his primary healing function and as the sign above all others that the kingdom of God had come (Lk. 13 32 11 20). Their moral and spiritual influence is recognised in Jesus' parable of the unclean spirit (Mt. 12 43 Lk. 11 24); in what Paul says of the 'table of dæmons' (1 Cor. 10 20 f.); in the 'doctrines of dæmons' of 1 Tim. 4 1, and in Rev. 9 20, where the worshipping of dæmons (cp Dt. 32 17) is another expression for idolatry. This moral and spiritual evil in the dæmonic world is also certainly kept in view whenever the NT writers speak of the opposition of God and the devil (Ja. 4 7); of the subjugation thereof by Christ of the kingdom of evil (Lk. 10 18 f. 1 Jn. 38 Rom. 16 20); and of the final destruction (Mk. 12 24 Mt. 8 29) of the devil and his angels in the lake of fire (Rev. 20 10), after a period of relative independence which finds its counterpart in the moral and spiritual freedom of man.

The effects of dæmonic possession which are constantly

¹ [On this second theory relative to the demons, viz., that they are the spirits of the (wicked) dead, see Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 191 f., where, on the ground of their residence in the tombs and of the passage from Josephus referred to above, it is maintained that the two dæmons in Mt. 8 28 were (thought themselves) possessed by spirits of the dead.]

prominent in the Synoptists, however, appearing occasionally in Jn. and in Acts (87 16 16 18).

9. **Common effects.** are physical and psychical, and are distinguished from Satanic influence such as that upon David in 1 Ch. 21 1, or upon Judas in Jn. 13 27. It is not a mere influence: it is a besetting internal malady. This form of possession, which presupposes a large development of the belief in dæmons, is distinctive of late Jewish times, as we see not only from the Gospels, but also from the references of Josephus (especially *Ant.* viii. 25), and from the quasi-professional status of Jewish¹ (as previously of Egyptian and Persian) exorcists (Acts 19 13 *πρεσβυτέρων*) Mk. 9 38 Mt. 12 27; Justin, *Apol.* 26 *Τρυφῶ*, 311; Pliny, *HN* 30 2), as well as from the many methods of expulsion recorded in the Talmudic writings (Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, Ap. xvi.; cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 25 *BJ* vii. 63; Solomon's ring and the root *baaras*).²

One point to be carefully noted is that, whilst at times disease is attributed to demons, possession is not a comprehensive word for disease in general. The practice of the Synoptists in this respect is not quite uniform.

They give in their summary records of healings, agree in distinguishing the demonised from the sick (Mt. 10 8 Mk. 1 32 Lk. 6 17 f.), while Mt. (4 24) expressly distinguishes them also from the lunatic (*σέληνιαζόμενοι*). They all likewise, in the mention of individual cases, agree in speaking of maladies without making any reference to possession (Mt. 9 27-31 Lk. 17 11-19 Mk. 7 32-37). Out of twelve individual cases which Mk. records, eight are so presented; and, in the six of these recorded by Mt. and Lk., as well as in the cases peculiar to them, reference to possession is also absent. Mk., in the four remaining cases, confines possession to psychical maladies, such as insanity and epilepsy; Mt. and Lk. add cases in which possession takes the form of purely bodily disease—dumbness, Lk. 11 14 Mt. 9 32 f.; dumbness and blindness, Mt. 12 22; curvature of the spine, Lk. 13 10-17. The comparison of these agreements and differences suggests that the tendency to account for purely bodily disease by possession was a tendency, not of Mt. and Lk. themselves, but of a source or sources used by them but unknown to Mk. (see Schür. *JPT*, vol. xviii., 1892).

The drift of the evidence seems to carry us to the conclusion that the idea of possession was associated, in the main, with psychical disease (cp also Mk. 5 15 Lk. 7 33 Jn. 7 20), and this is confirmed by the hints thrown out here and there that this affliction was of all afflictions the direst and most impracticable. The peculiar emphasis laid by Jesus upon the power given to the missionary disciples to expel demons (Mt. 10 1 and parallels); the special exultation of the Seventy upon their return, 'Even the dæmons are subject unto us' (Lk. 10 17); the intense amazement at the ease with which Jesus cast out the spirits (e.g., Lk. 4 36), dispensing with the more elaborate incantations and manipulations of the professional exorcist; ³ the helplessness of will in the possessed; their identification of themselves with the demon, their aversion to deliverance (Lk. 9 39), and the wrench with which the deliverance was sometimes effected (Mk. 12 4); the fact that Jesus never in these cases called for faith, but seems to have felt that only some external force, acting in spite of the subjects of the disease, could free them from it; all these considerations point to psychical, nervous disorder, which could, of course, manifest itself in various forms.

There is no sign on the part of Jesus any more than on the part of the evangelists, of mere accommodation to the current belief. It is true that

10. **Attitude of Jesus.** 'Satan' is used metaphorically in the rebuke of Peter (Mt. 16 23) and that 'unclean spirit' (*πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον*) is figurative in Mt. 12 43. Accommodation is just admissible in the

¹ Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte*, viii., last part, 107.

² The plant which gave rise to the fable of Baaras was probably a strange-looking crucifer described by Tristram, *Land of Moab*, who found it near Callirrhoe.

³ In one instance, that of the Gerasene demoniac, Jesus appears to have found it advisable to follow the precedent of Jewish exorcists (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 25) and give the demoniac a visible proof of his deliverance, though in a way not suggested by them. It may be observed, in passing, that the word *εξorcism* is never applied to Jesus' method of expulsion, though the Jews in Acts 19 13 are called *εξorcists*.

better to suppose that the 'mount which is on the east of Jerusalem' (1 K. 11:7) was anciently called, not only 'the ascent of the olives' (2 S. 15:30), and in a late prophecy 'the mount of olives' (Zech. 14:4), but **הַר הַשֵּׁמֶרֶת** ('mount of those who worship'), of which **הַר הַשֵּׁמֶרֶת** would be a purely accidental corruption. Cp 2 S. 15:30. 'And when David had come to the summit, where men are wont to worship the deity' (**אֶת־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לְעֹרְבֵי הַר**), which comes near proving that this view is correct. Observe, too, that the Mt. of Olives appears to be once referred to as the 'hill of God' (Is. 10:30 emendated text. See Note).

Brocardus (1283 A.D.) gives the name *Mons Offensivus* (cp Vg.) to the most southern eminence of the Mt. of Olives, because Solomon set up there the image of Moloch; on the northern summit, afterwards called *Mons Scandali*, he placed the idol of Chemosh. Quarasmus, however (circa 1630 A.D.), calls the southern ridge *Mons Offensivus et Scandali*. Grätz, after a full discussion, pronounces in favour of the northern summit, i.e., the 'Ari Gadibai' (*MGWJ*, 73, p. 97 ff.) so also Stanley (*SP* 188, n. 2). No doubt this view is correct; Solomon would certainly prefer an eminence already consecrated by tradition.

The phrase 'mount of destruction' is found also in Jer. 51:25 as a symbolic term for Babylon (EV 'destroying mountain').

T. K. C.

DEUEL (דְּעוּלָה). Nu. 11:1; see REUEL (13).

DEUTERONOMY. The name comes ultimately from the Greek translation of Dt. 17:18, in which the

1. Name and contents. words **כִּי־יִנָּהֵג הַחֹקֹת** 'the duplicate (i.e., a copy) of this law,' are rendered **τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο**.¹ As a

title of the book, *Δευτερονόμιον* (without the article) occurs first in Philo.² Philo takes the word to mean 'second or supplementary legislation,' and more than once cites the book as *Ἐπιτομὴ*.³ Others, with Theodoret, explain the name, 'repetition, recapitulation of the law.' Criticism has shown that Deuteronomy is neither a supplement to the legislation in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, nor a *résumé* of it; but to modern critics also it is the Second Legislation, an expansion and revision of older collections of laws such as are preserved in Ex. 21-23:31.

Deuteronomy contains the last injunctions and admonitions of Moses, delivered to Israel in the land of Moab, as they were about to cross the Jordan to the conquest of Canaan; and, with the exception of chaps. 27:31-34, and a few verses elsewhere, is all in the form of address. It is not, however, one continuous discourse, but consists of at least three distinct speeches (1-4:40, 5-26, 28, 29 f.), together with two poems recited by Moses in the hearing of the people (32 f.). The narrative chapters record doings and sayings of Moses in the last days of his life, and are more or less closely connected with the speeches. Besides this unity of situation and subject there is a certain unity of texture; the sources from which the other books of the Hexateuch are chiefly compiled (JE, P) are in Deuteronomy recognizable only in the narrative chapters, and in a few scattered fragments in the speeches; a strong and distinctive individuality of thought, diction, and style pervades the entire book.

It was observed by more than one of the fathers that Deuteronomy is the book the finding of which in the temple gave the impulse to the reforms

2. Book found in Temple.⁴ of the eighteenth year of Josiah (622-621 B.C.).⁵ In conformity with the prescriptions of the newly discovered book, the king not only extirpated the various foreign religions which had been introduced in ancient or recent times, together with the rites and symbols of a heathenish worship of

¹ Cp also Josh. 8:32.

² *Log. Abbr.*, § 101; *Quod Deus immut.* § 10. See Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, xxiii f. The corresponding Hebrew title, **סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי מֹשֶׁה**, is found occasionally in the Talmud and Midrash as well as in the Massora.

³ *Quæ vivunt dic. heres.* § 33. See Ryle, as above.

⁴ Cp *HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE, ISRAEL*, § 37 f.

⁵ Athanasius, Chrysost., Jerome.

Yahwè, but also destroyed the high places of Yahwè, desecrating every altar in the land except that in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 22 f.). In Deuteronomy, and there alone, all the laws thus enforced are found; and the inference is inevitable that Deuteronomy furnished the reformers with their new model. This is confirmed by the references to the book found in the temple as 'the law-book' (2 K. 22:8, 11; cp 23:24 f.) and 'the covenant book' (23:2 f., 21).

The former of these names is found in the Pentateuch only in the secondary parts of Dt. (28:61, 29:20, 30:10, 31:24, 26), and, like the phrase 'this law' (48:27, 38, 29, 20), signifies Dt. or the deuteronomic legislation exclusively; 'covenant book' is an appropriate designation for a book in which the covenant of Yahwè with Israel (see COVENANT, § 6) is an ever recurring theme (22:7, 17, 29, 4, 1, 2, 3, 20, 29, 31, 21, 25, 28, 31).

That the book read by Shaphan before Josiah was Deuteronomy has been inferred also from the king's consternation (2 K. 22:11 f.), which seems to show that the law was accompanied by such denunciations of the consequences of disobedience as are found especially in Dt. 28.

The opinion, once very generally entertained, that the book found by Hilkiah was the whole Pentateuch, is no longer tenable. In addition to arguments of more or less weight drawn from the narrative in Kings,—that the whole Pentateuch would hardly be described as a law-book; that a book as long as the Pentateuch could not be read through twice in a single day (2 K. 22:8, 10); that, with the entire legislation before him, the king would not have based his reforms on deuteronomic laws exclusively,—recent investigation has proved that the priestly legislation in the Pentateuch was not united with Deuteronomy till long after the time of Josiah.² Modern critics are, therefore, almost unanimous in the opinion that the law-book, the discovery and the introduction of which are related in 2 K. 22 f. (see next §), is to be sought in Deuteronomy; and they are very generally agreed, further, that the book was written either in the earlier years of Josiah, or at least under one of his next predecessors, Manasseh or Hezekiah (see § 16).

The soundness of these conclusions has recently been impugned by several French and German scholars (Seinecke, Havet, d'Eichthal, Verres, Horst),³ on the ground, 2 K. 22 f.

3. Account in partly of sweeping doubts concerning the trustworthiness of 2 K. 22 f., partly of *possibilist* theories of the composition of Dt. These theories cannot be discussed here; but the great importance of 2 K. 22 f., in the modern construction of the history of Hebrew literature and religion, makes it necessary to examine briefly the historical character of those chapters. It is generally agreed that the account of Josiah's reforms, as it lies before us, is the work of an author of the deuteronomic school, who wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem. If this author had drawn solely upon oral tradition, he might well have derived his information from eye-witnesses of the events of 621; but it seems to be demonstrable that in 23:2-23:24 he made use of an older written source, a contemporary account of Josiah's reign, which was probably included in the pre-exilic history of the kings. This narrative was wrought over and enlarged by the exilic writer; in particular, the original response of Huldah, which was not confirmed by the event, was superseded, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., by a wholly different one, in which the judgment is represented as inevitable (22:15-20; cp 23:26 f.); 23:15-20, also, is generally recognised as a legendary addition; but, notwithstanding these changes, the outlines of the original account can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence, and it appears to be in all respects deserving of credence.⁴ See KINGS.

The historical evidence proves only that the law-book which was put into force by Josiah contained certain deuteronomic laws concerning religion,

4. Josiah's Dt. not that it comprised the whole of the = chaps. 5-26:28 present Book of Deuteronomy. A superficial examination of the book shows that the latter cannot have been the case.

Chaps. 31-34 are composite. Besides the two poems, 32:1-43 and 33, they contain the links which connect not only Dt.

¹ Ex. 21-23, often called by modern scholars 'The Covenant Book' (see 24:7), cannot be meant; for, so far from putting the high places under the ban, these laws assume the existence and legitimacy of many local sanctuaries (see 21:6, 23:14 ff.; cp 20:24).

² See CANON, § 23 f., and the articles on the several books of the Pentateuch; also *HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE*.

³ For the titles, see below, § 33 (2).

⁴ See St. *GVY* 1:649 f.; *Kue. Ond.* (2) 1:47 f., cp 407.

but also the narratives of JE and P in Nu. with Josh. Chap. 27, also in narrative form, may, both on external and on internal grounds, with equal confidence be set aside.¹ What remains (1:1-5:20) is all in the form of address; but even this is not a unit, as is shown by the fresh superscriptions in 3:1-12:26, and the formal closes in 28:1-29:10 and 29:18-29:29; in particular, 3:1-4 and 4:4-4:9 are completely parallel introductions, which strictly exclude each other. Chaps. 5-26 contain no allusion to a former discourse such as 1-4 do; nor do the latter chapters form a natural introduction to 5-26 or 12-26. Chaps. 1-4 are distinguished also by style, but not necessarily, production of style, and more decisive differences of historical representation. The short prophetic discourse, 29:1-29, bears all the marks of a later addition to the book; 28:1-29:10 is a formal subscription; the following chapters have their own brief superscription; and the tone of 29:1 is noticeably different from that of the exhortations and warnings in the body of the book.

Most recent critics conclude that the original Deuteronomy contained only the one long speech of Moses, 5:29-28, to which 1:1-4 is the introduction and 29:1 [28:6] the conclusion.

Others, urging that the book put into the hands of Israel is manifestly composed of a law-book, infer that it is to be sought in 12:12-26 alone;

5. Not simply it is to be sought in 12:12-26 alone; chaps. 12-26, 5-11, as well as 1-4, is an introduction subsequently prefixed to the original Deuteronomy by another hand. This conclusion is confirmed by the way in which the author of 5-11 dilates on the motives for keeping the laws, as though the laws themselves were already known to his readers.²

Against this view, which would limit the primitive Dt. to 12-26, it is argued that the law-book itself presupposes some such introduction as is found in 5-11.

In 12:12-26 there is nothing to show when or by whom the law was promulgated; it appears possible, the information which 12:13 contains, to suppose the command of Book, with the Deuteronomy, 28:1-29:10, to have been given; the relation of the laws now about to be delivered to that of the law and covenant, 1:1-4, 5:1-5:29, 29:1-29:10, which is the subscription, not to 28 alone, but to the whole law-book: 'These are the words of the covenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the Israelites in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them at Horeb.'

The situation supposed in 12-26 is throughout the same as that described in 5-11. The language and style of the two portions present just that degree of resemblance and of difference which, remembering the difference of subject matter, we should expect to find in the writing of one author; nothing indicates diversity of origin.³

In regard to chap. 28 also, critics are divided. Wellhausen finds in 28:58-61—where, as in 30:10, the law is already a book—evidence that 28, as well as 29:1, is secondary; these three chapters formed the conclusion of an enlarged edition of the law-book, to which 5-11 was the introduction.⁴ On independent grounds, however, 28:47-68 is to be recognised as a later addition to the chapter, and with these verses the only reason for connecting 28 with the two following chapters disappears. Not only are they separated by 29:1 [28:6] and 29:1, but also the whole attitude and outlook of 29:1 are different from those of 28:1-46. On the other hand, it would be natural for the author of 12-26 to conclude his book by urging as strongly as he could the motives to obedience, and solemnly warning his readers of the consequences of disobedience. Similar exhortations and warnings are found at the end of the so-called Covenant Book (Ex. 23:20 ff.), and at the end of the Law of Holiness (Lev. 26), the latter passage being strikingly parallel to Dt. 28; and such a peroration was the more appropriate in Dt., because its laws are all in the form of address. The profound impression made upon the king by the reading of the book is most naturally explained if it expressly and emphatically denounced the wrath of God against the nation which had so long ignored his law.

The Deuteronomy of 621 B.C. has not come into our

hands unchanged. Not only have the exhortations and warnings been amplified and brought forward, but also, in all probability, many additions have been made to the laws.

6. Later pieces At the very beginning of the code in 12, and in connection with the most distinctive of the Deuteronomian ordinances—the restriction of sacrifice to Jerusalem—there are unmistakable doublets; cp 12:5-7 with 11:1, and especially 15-19 with 20-28. In the following chapters a good many laws are suspected, because of their contents, or the unsuitable place in which they stand.

Thus, the detailed prescriptions of 14:3-20 are foreign to the usual manner of Dt. (cp 24:7), and appear to be closely related to Lev. 11; the law of the kingdom, 17:14-20, represents the law as written (thus anticipating 31:9-16), is in conflict with the legitimate prerogatives of the monarch, and is clearly dependent on 1 S. 8:4 ff. 10:25; the rules for the conduct of war in 20 are not reconcilable with the necessities of national defence, and can hardly have been dreamed of before the Exile.⁵ Others, however, the utopian character of these laws seems not a sufficient reason for excluding them from the primitive Deuteronomy.⁶

While many of the instances alleged by critics are in themselves susceptible of a different explanation, there seems to be sufficient evidence that the Deuteronomian code received many additions before the book reached its present form. Certain supplementary provisions may have been introduced soon after the law was subjected to the test of practice; others in the Exile; while still others probably date from the period of the restoration; cp 1:1-4, 12:12-26 § 6.

In 5-11 also, it is evident that the original contents of the chapters have been amplified, and 5-11 28, their order and connection disturbed by later hands.

The story of the sin at Horeb in 9:1 is a long and confused digression. Chap. 7:16-25 ff. repeats 1:5; 1:5 is separated from 12:13 by 6:11, which has no obvious opportunity in this place; 17:2-22 represents the same material as 17:1-11. Similar phenomena may be observed in the following chapters.⁷ Nor has 28 come down to us unaltered. Verses 45 ff. plainly mark what was, at one stage of its history, the end of the chapter of comminations. The two pieces which follow, 47-57 and 58-68, are shown by internal evidence to be additions, presupposing the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the miserable remnant of the people; the former, 47-57, is a list of sins of this law, which are written in this book; (58; cp also 61). Verses 58 ff. also, which threaten the deportation of the king and people in phrases derived from Jeremiah (with 35, which repeats 27, are probably additions.⁸

In the Hebrew legislation three strata are to be recognised: the collections of laws incorporated in JE

8. D's laws: (Ex. 21-23, often called the Book of the Covenant; Ex. 34); the Law of Holiness, contained (in a priestly recension) in Lev. 17-26 and cognate passages (H); and the rest of the laws in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, predominantly liturgical, ceremonial, and sacerdotal, which, though not all of the same age or origin, may here be treated as forming a single body of priestly law (P). The result of modern criticism has been to establish more and more conclusively that P, as a whole, is later than Deuteronomy.⁹ On the other hand, it is

¹ For a list of passages in 12-26 which have been challenged by critics, see Holz, *Eint.* 263 ff.; cp also Horst, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 27 135 ff. (193). Analyses of the legislation have recently been attempted by Staerk, *Das Deut.*, 1894, and Steuermann, *Die Hebräer, ihre Geschichte und ihre Literatur*, 2 Bde., 1898. The substantial unity of the laws is maintained by Kue, *Hex.* § 14, nn. 1-7. Against Horst, see especially Piepenbr., *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 29 130, 25, 113.

² Valetton (*Stud.* 6 157-174) and Horst (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 10 39 ff., 18 320 ff., cp 27 174) have gone farthest in the attempt to eliminate the secondary elements in 5-11. See Kue, *Hex.* § 7, n. 6; Piepenbr., *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 29 165 ff. A formal analysis has recently been attempted by Staerk (see the last note), and Steuermann, *Der Rahmen des Deut.*, 1894.

³ For attempts to restore the primitive brief form of the blessings and curses, see Valetton, *Stud.* 7 44 ff. (cp Kue, *Hex.* § 7, n. 21[2]); Horst, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 18 327 ff., cp 16 59 ff.; Staerk, 77 ff.; Steuermann, *Rahmen*, 40-44. See also Steinhauser, *Zeit. f. Volkpsych.* 11 14 ff. The substantial unity of the chapter is maintained by Kue, and Dr.

⁴ Cp. HEXATEUCH. It is not hereby denied that many of the institutions and customs embodied in P are of great

¹ See below, § 71.

² See Wellh. *Ch* 192-195; Valetton, *Stud.* 6 157 ff.; St. *GVI* 161.

³ See Kue, *Hex.* § 7, n. 5-11; Dr. *Comm.* 263 ff.; Dr. *Dt.* 65 ff.

⁴ Cp. *CH* 192-195. Chaps. 1-4 and 27 were the introduction and conclusion, respectively, of another edition.

agreed by all that the little collections of laws in JE are older than Deuteronomy. The most convincing proof of this is given, of course, by the Deuteronomic laws restricting the worship of Yahwè to the one temple at Jerusalem. It may confidently be inferred also from the prominence given throughout Deuteronomy to motives of humanity, and the way in which old religious customs, like the triennial tithing, are transformed into sacred charities, as well as from the constant appeal to the memory of God's goodness as a motive for goodness to fellow-men. Where the provisions of Deuteronomy differ from those of the Book of the Covenant, they sometimes appear to be adapted to a more advanced stage of society; as when the old agricultural fallow-year is replaced by an experiment in the septennial remission of debts. The many laws dealing with contracts of one kind or another also are to be noted.

Most recent critics are of the opinion, further, that the author of the Deuteronomic law-book was not only 9. To Ex. 21-23, accompanied with Ex. 21-23, but also made this code the basis of his own work; Deuteronomy, it is said, is a revised and enlarged Covenant Book, adapted to some extent to new conditions, but with only one change of far-reaching effect, the centralisation of worship in Jerusalem. It may be questioned, however, whether the evidence will sustain so strong a statement of the dependence of Deuteronomy on the Book of the Covenant.

Verbal identical clauses are very few, and in some instances, at least, have probably arisen from subsequent conformation. There is no trace of the influence of the Covenant Book either in the general arrangement of Dt. 12-26 or in the sequence of particular laws. To fully one half of the Covenant Book (after the subtraction of the religious precepts), viz., the title Assaults and Injuries, Ex. 21 13-22 17, there is no parallel in Dt.; while the subject of Authorities in Dt. 16 18-18 has no counterpart in Ex. 21-23; of thirty-five laws in Dt. 21 10-25 16 only seven have parallels in the older code. Finally, in the corresponding laws the coincidences are hardly more frequent or more nearly exact than we should expect in two collections originating at no great distance in place or time, and based upon the same religious customs and consuetudinary law; the evidence of literary dependence is much less abundant and convincing than it must be if Dt. were merely a revised and enlarged Book of the Covenant.²

Certain laws in Deuteronomy have parallels also in H; but, whilst the provisions of these laws are often closely similar, the formulation and phraseology are throughout entirely different.³ In some points H seems to be a stage beyond Dt.; but the differences are not of a kind to imply a considerable interval of time so much as a diversity of dominant interest, such as distinguishes Ezekiel from Jeremiah.

Dt. 14 3-21, compared with Lev. 11, has been thought to prove that Dt. is dependent upon H; but the truth seems rather to be that both are based on a common original, a piece of priestly Torah, which each reproduces and modifies in its own way.⁴

References to the history of Israel are much fewer in Dt. 12-26 than in 1-3 4; they are of a more incidental and allusive character, and the author exercises some freedom in the use of his material; but, as far as they can be certainly traced, they appear to be all derived from JE, or from the cycle of tradition represented by that work. That the author did not have before him JE united with P is proved by his reference to the fate of Dathan and Abiram (11 6); if he had read Nu. 16 in its present form, in which the story of Dathan and Abiram (JE) is almost inextricably entangled with that of Korah (P), he could hardly have failed to name the latter, who is the central figure of the composite narrative (cp Nu. 26 9 f. 27 3 Jude 11, and see KORAH and DATHAN AND

antiquity: nor that in particular instances they may be more primitive than the corresponding titles of Dt.; nor that some of them may have attained a comparatively fixed form, oral or written, before the 'exile.'

¹ They may be conveniently compared in the synoptical table in *Dr. Deut.* p. iv ff., or in Staerk, *Deut.* 48 ff., where they are printed side by side.

² See also Stegemüller, *Einleitung*, 28 ff.

³ *Dr. Deut.* p. iv ff.; Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz*, 76 ff.

⁴ See also LEVITICUS.

⁵ *Kue. Hex.* § 14, n. 5; Paton, *JBL* 14 48 ff. [95].

antiquity: nor that in particular instances they may be more primitive than the corresponding titles of Dt.; nor that some of them may have attained a comparatively fixed form, oral or written, before the 'exile.'

¹ They may be conveniently compared in the synoptical table in *Dr. Deut.* p. iv ff., or in Staerk, *Deut.* 48 ff., where they are printed side by side.

² See also Stegemüller, *Einleitung*, 28 ff.

³ *Dr. Deut.* p. iv ff.; Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz*, 76 ff.

⁴ See also LEVITICUS.

⁵ *Kue. Hex.* § 14, n. 5; Paton, *JBL* 14 48 ff. [95].

ABIRAM). But even if he had possessed P separately, it would be almost inexplicable that he so uniformly follows the representation of JE where it differs from P or conflicts with it. The instances which have been adduced to prove that he was acquainted with P are too few and uncertain to sustain the conclusion; moreover, they are all found in the long digression, 9 9-10 11, which probably was no part of the primitive Deuteronomy.¹

The traditional opinion among Jews and Christians, that Deuteronomy was written by Moses shortly before

12. Date: not his death, though resting on the testimony of the book itself (31 9 ff. 34 ff.), pre-monarchic, is contradicted by both the internal and the external evidence; the contents of the book and the entire religious history of Israel prove that Deuteronomy is the product of a much later time. The legislation of JE (in the main, doubtless, merely the booking of an ancient consuetudinary law) is without exception the law of a settled people, engaged in husbandry. Deuteronomy reflects a still more advanced stage of culture, and must be ascribed to a time when Israel had long been established in Palestine. The fundamental law for the Hebrew monarchy, Dt. 17 14-20, presumes not only the existence of the kingdom, but also considerable experience of its evils. Solomon appears to have sat for the portrait of the king as he ought not to be.²

In the prohibition of the multiplication of horses and treasure we may recognise the influence of the prophets, to whom the political and military ambition of the kings seemed apostasy (see, e.g., Is. 27). The constitution of the high court in Jerusalem (Dt. 17 13-13, cp 19 17) is thought to be modelled after the tribunal which Jehoshaphat (middle of 9th century B.C.) established (2 Ch. 19 8-11).³

More convincing than the arguments derived from these special laws are the ruling ideas and motives of

the whole book. The thing upon which 13. Idea of one Deuteronomy insists with urgent and unwearied iteration is that Yahwè shall be worshipped only at one place, which he himself will choose, where alone sacrifices may be offered and the annual festivals celebrated. Although no place is named, there can be no doubt, as there was none in the minds of Josiah and his counsellors, that Jerusalem is meant.

Jerusalem was not one of the ancient holy places of Israel. It owed its religious importance to the fact that in it was the royal temple of the Judaean kings; but this was far from putting it upon an equality with the venerable sanctuaries of Bethel and Shechem, Gilgal and Beersheba. The actual pre-eminence of Jerusalem, without which the attempt to assert for it an exclusive sanctity is inconceivable, was the result of the historical events of the eighth century.

The fall of the kingdom of Israel (721 B.C.) left Judah the only 'people of Yahwè.' The holy places of Israel were profaned by the conquerors—proof that Yahwè repudiated the worship offered to him there, as the prophets had declared. A quarter of a century later Sennacherib invaded Judah, ravaged the land, destroyed its cities, and carried off their inhabitants; the capital itself was at the last extremity (see HEZEKIAH, I; ISRAEL, § 33 f.). The deliverance of the city from this peril seemed to be a direct interposition of Yahwè, and Jerusalem and its temple must have gained greatly in prestige through this token of God's signal favour.

This of itself, however, would not give rise to the idea that Yahwè was to be worshipped in Jerusalem alone. The genesis of this idea must be sought in the monotheism of the prophets. At a time when monotheism had not yet become conscious of its own universalism, men could hardly fail to reason that if there was but one true God, he was to be worshipped in but one place. And that place, in the light of history and prophecy, could only be Jerusalem. The way in which Dt. attempts to carry

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out this principle, by simply transferring to Jerusalem the cultus of the local sanctuaries with their priesthoods, was only practicable within narrow territorial limits, such as those of the kingdom of Judah in the seventh century.

We have the explicit testimony of the Books of Kings that there was no attempt to suppress the old local sanctuaries in Judah until the reign of Hezekiah; the most godly kings left the high-places un molested (1 K. 15. 14 22; 2 K. 12. 11; 15. 19). The deuteronomist author of Kings, to whom the temple in Jerusalem was, from the moment when Yahwè took up his abode in it (1 K. 8. 10 f.), the only legitimate place of sacrifice, condemns this remissness as a great sin; but there is no evidence that the religious leaders of Israel down to the end of the eighth century so regarded it. Elijah is in despair over the sacrifice which threw down the altars of Yahwè; when he goes to meet God here to face, it is not to Jerusalem, but to Horeb, the old holy mountain in the distant S., that he turns his steps. Amos and Hosea inveigh against the worship at the holy places of the Northern Kingdom because it is morally corrupt and religiously false, not because its seats are illegitimate; nor is their repudiation of the worship on the high-places more unqualified than Isaiah's rejection of the cultus in Jerusalem (Is. 1. 10 f.). The older law-books, far from forbidding sacrifice at altars other than that in Jerusalem, formally sanction the erection of such altars, and promise that at every recognised place of worship Yahwè will visit his worshippers and bless them (Ex. 20. 24).

According to 2 K. 18. 2-5, Hezekiah removed the high-places, smashed the standing stones, bowed down the sacred posts.¹ The false tenses prove, however, that 184 has been interpolated by a very late hand; the original text said only that Hezekiah removed the bronze serpent which was worshipped in the temple (see NEHUSHTAN); nor can much greater reliance be put upon the reference in the speech of the Rabshakeh (18. 22). It may well be that Hezekiah, after the retreat of Sennacherib, took vigorous measures to suppress the idolatry against which Isaiah thundered in both his earlier and his later prophecies (2. 18-20 30-22 31 7), perhaps including the sacred trees and other survivals of rude natural religion (Is. 1. 29).² In any case, the reaction of the following reign swept away all traces of his work. 4 p. HEBER, *loc. cit.* HEBER, I., § 13.

Another very distinct indication of the age in which Dt. was written is found in the foreign religions which it combats. The worship of 'the whole

14. Foreign cults, etc. Assirian cult frequently condemned by the prophets of the seventh century (Jer. 8. 2 19. 13; 32. 29 Zeph. 1. 5),³ but not mentioned by any earlier writer, was probably introduced by Manasseh, during whose reign Assirian influence was at its height in Judah. The sacrifice of children, 'sending them through the fire' to the King-God (Dt. 18. 10 12. 31), also belongs to the seventh century (see MOLECH); neither Isaiah nor any of the other prophets of the eighth century alludes to these rites.

A relatively late date has been inferred also from the laws against the erection of steles and sacred poles (*mas-šēbōth* and *āšērīm*) by the altars of Yahwè (Dt. 16. 21 f.).

The older laws only enjoin the destruction of the Canaanite holy places with all their appurtenances (Ex. 34. 13 23. 24; cp Dt. 12). The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea and Isaiah, assail the idols of Yahwè, but not the more primitive standing stones and posts; the polemic against the latter begins with Jeremiah.

The age of Dt. may be determined also by its relation to other works of known date. From the time of Jeremiah, the influence of Dt. is unmistakably to be recognised in the whole prophetic and historical literature, whilst we look in vain for any trace of this influence in

¹ Cp the much more extended account of these reforms in *Ch.* 28-31.

² It is more established that Hezekiah put down the high-places, it would not follow that Dt. is older than Hezekiah; the more probable hypothesis, in view of all the testimony of the prophets and the historical books, would be that the Deuteronomical law was in the line of the measures adopted by the king.

³ Cp also the worship of the Queen of Heaven, Jer. 7. 1-4 17. See QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

the prophets of the eighth century; neither the impressive ideas nor the haunting phrases of Dt. have left their mark there.¹ The inference that Dt. was unknown to the religious leaders of Israel before the seventh century is hardly to be avoided.

On the other hand, in all its ruling ideas, Dt. is dependent upon the prophecy of the eighth century. We have already seen that the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib prepared the way for the belief that the temple on Mt. Zion was the only sanctuary at which Yahwè should be worshipped, and that the monotheism of the prophets was the theological basis of the same belief. The lofty theism of Dt., which exalts Yahwè, not only in might and majesty, but also in righteousness, goodness, and truth—the moral transformation of the old conception of 'holiness' (see CLEAN, § 1)—is of the same origin, whilst the central idea of the book, that the essence and end of true religion is the mutual love of God and his people, is derived from Hosea. In general, the theology of Dt. is an advance upon that of the prophets of the eighth century, whose teaching it fuses and assimilates, and approximates to that of Jeremiah and Isaiah 40-55.

To the same result we are led by the literary character of Dt. Its style is more copious and flowing than that of earlier writers; but it lacks their terse vigour, and is not free from the faults of looseness, prolixity, and repetition, into which a facile pen so easily glides. In these respects it exhibits the tendencies which mark the literature of the seventh century and the Exile. The diction, also, is distinctly that of the same period, closely resembling that of Jeremiah.²

Evidence of every kind thus concurs to prove that the primitive Dt. was a product of the seventh century.

16. Result as to date of D. The fact that it combats foreign cults which were introduced by Manasseh militates against the opinion entertained by some scholars, that it had its origin in the last years of Hezekiah, perhaps in connection with the reforms of that king. A hypothesis which commends itself to many critics is that Dt. was composed in the reign of Manasseh as a protest against the evils of the time and as a programme of reform. Its authors died without being able to accomplish their object, and the book was lost, until, many years after, it was accidentally discovered in the temple by Hilkiah. To others it seems more probable that Dt. was written under Josiah, shortly before it was brought to light, by men who thought the time ripe for an attempt to introduce the reforms by which alone, they believed, Judah could be saved, and had intelligently planned the way in which this should be effected.³

Everything points to Jerusalem as the place where Dt. was written; a work whose aim was to exalt the

17. Place. temple to the position of the sole sanctuary of Yahwè can hardly have originated anywhere else. The Torah of the priests is throughout so intimately united with the religious teachings of the prophets that we are constrained to believe that both priests and prophets were associated in its production, or at least that its priestly authors were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the prophets. Who these authors were cannot be more definitely determined.⁴

That the authors of the primitive Dt. freely used older collections of laws has been generally recognised.

17a. Sources of D. Besides Ex. 21-23 (on which see above, § 9) the remains of another collection are found in Dt. 22-25. Stark and Steurnagel have recently undertaken to show by minute

¹ This is equally true of the older historians; but their works have been preserved only in deuteronomic recensions.

² On the diction of Dt., see the commentaries of Kn. and Di.; Kleiner, *Deut.* 214 ff.; Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 4; Holtz. *Endl.* 289 ff.; *Hex. Dt.* p. xxxvii ff. On the style, Di. 611; *Holz.* 215 ff.; *De. p. lxxxvi ff.*

³ So De Wette, Reuss, Graf, Kue., We., St., Che., and others.

⁴ The suggestion that Jeremiah was the author of Dt. (von Bohlen, Colenso) is for various reasons untenable.

analysis that both the hortatory and the legislative portions of Dt. are in a stricter sense composite.

According to Steuernagel, the book discovered in the temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah (Dt. 1.1-2) was the work of a redactor, who combined with considerable skill—but mechanically, and without substantial additions—two older works of like character, each consisting of a hortatory introduction and a body of laws. One of them (Sg.) is marked by the direct address to Israel in the second person singular; the other (Pl.) uses the plural. The older of these works (Sg.) is assigned to the early years of Manasse's reign (shortly after 700 B.C.), the other (Pl.) was composed about 670. The union of the two by the redactor (Dr.) falls in the middle of the century, twenty-five years or more before the discovery of the book in the temple. Both Sg. and Pl. made use of older collections of laws, and these sources can still in part be recognised. One of the chief sources of Sg. (the 'Grundsammlung') was put out in support of Hezekiah's reforms, probably not long after 722 B.C.

Chaps. 1-3, in the form of an address of Moses to Israel, contain a review of the principal events of the

18. Additions: migration, from the departure of the tribes 1-3, Israelites from Horeb to the moment at which he is speaking to them.¹ This retrospect throughout follows the history of JE, from which its material is drawn and many phrases and whole clauses are borrowed.² Upon closer examination it appears that the chief source of the chapters is E, which the author had before him separately; whether he made use of J is doubtful; of dependence on P there is no trace.

The retrospect begins abruptly with the command to remove from Horeb (1.6-8), and it has been conjectured that 9.9-10.11 (or at least 9.25-10.11), which recites the transgression at Horeb, and brings the narrative to the precise point where it is taken up in 1, once stood before 17. More probably, however, 9.9-10.11 is not a misplaced fragment of the retrospect, but the product of successive editorial amplifications.³ The review ends as abruptly as it begins; the words, 'And we abode in the valley in front of Beth-peor' (3.29), must originally have been followed by an account of the sin at Baal-peor (Nu. 25.1-5; cp Dt. 4.3, 7).

The chapters (1-3) are not by the author of 5-26. The resemblance in language and style is unquestionably very close, though there are some noticeable differences; but the diversity of historical representation is decisive; cp 2.29 with 29.9-7 f., 1.35 ff. 2.14-19 with 11.1 ff. 5.2 f. The opinion of some critics, that 1-4 was prefixed to the primitive Dt. to connect it with the history in Ex. and Nu., is improbable; for such a purpose a recapitulation of the history was more than superfluous. Others, with better reason, suppose that the historical *résumé* was intended as the introduction to a separate edition of Dt. The way in which it begins and ends (see above, small type) suggests that it was not composed for the purpose, but was extracted and adapted by the editor from some older source. Conclusive marks of the age of the chapters, further than their dependence upon E and the general affinity to the deuteronomistic school, are hardly to be discovered.

Chap. 4:1-40 has generally been taken with 1-3, as a **19. Chap. 4** hortatory close to the historical introduction. There is, however, neither a formal nor 2-40 **exilic**. a material connection between them.

The historical allusions in the exhortation are to events related, not in 1-3, but in 5 ff.; 4.20 f. 32-35 differ from the retrospect (1.39 f., etc.) and agree with 5.2 f. 11.2 f. 29.2 f., in making the speaker's audience witnesses of the scenes at Horeb; the greater part of 4 is only a homiletical enlargement on 5.25 ff.

In other points 4 goes beyond 5-11; its monotheism takes a loftier tone, like that of Is. 40-55 (see 4.35-39 15-19). In 4.25-31 deportation and dispersion are inevitable; the prediction that in the far country Israel will return to Yahwé and find forgiveness takes the central place which it has in the exilic prophets.

The language resembles 5-11 more closely than 1-3, but has peculiarities of its own: 4.17 f. are full of words and phrases which remind us of Ezekiel, H, and P (cp

¹ Chap. 1-5, which now forms the introduction to the speech, is not homogeneous, and glosses have been pointed out in the discourse itself.

² See particularly Dr. Dt. on these chapters, where the relation is well exhibited.

³ Cp above, § 11.

also 32); 28 seems to be directly dependent upon Jeremiah (16.13; cp 5). Chap. 4 thus appears to be a secondary addition to Dt., composed in the Exile, and closely akin to 29, if not by the same hand.¹

Chap. 4:42-43, the designation by Moses of three asylum cities east of the Jordan, has no connection

20. Chap. either with what precedes or with what follows. In phraseology the verses agree 4:42-43 4:44-49. closely with Dt. 19.1 ff., after which they are probably modelled. They may originally have stood after 3.17 or 20, or perhaps after 29.

Chap. 4:44-49, the title and superscription to 5 ff., like the corresponding superscription 1-5, appears to be the product of successive additions and redactions by scribes or editors; the oldest form of the title may have been simply, 'This is the law which Moses laid before the Israelites on the other side of Jordan, in the land of Moab' (cp 1.5).

Chap. 27, in narrative form, stands entirely disconnected in the midst of the speeches of Moses, separating 28 from 26. Graf, accordingly, **21. Chap. 27** regarded it as an interpolation, introduced **four pieces** when Dt. was united with the older historical book (JE), whilst Wellhausen sees in it the conclusion of a separate edition of the Deuteronomic law-book (1-4.40 12-26 27). The chapter (27) consists of four distinct parts: viz., 1-8 9 f. 11-13 14-26. 17. 9 f. may, as many critics think, have originally connected 26 with 28. In 1-8, where there is much repetition, 5-7² has long been recognised as a fragment of the ancient source to which Ex. 20:24-26 [21-23] belongs. 17. 12 f. seem to be the sequel of 11.29 f., the whole being a liturgical embodiment of 11.26-28, and plainly secondary. 17. 14-26 cannot be by the author of 11-13; the things on which Dt. lays the greatest stress are lacking in this decalogue, which is a cento gathered from all strata of the legislation, especially from Lev. 18-20.

Chap. 29 f. contain a new address of exhortation and warning, introduced, like 5 ff., by the words, 'And 22. Chap. 29 f. Moses convoked all Israel.' The standpoint of the writer is similar to that of 4:1-40, and differs in the same way from that of 5-26 28 1-46; cp in particular 30:1-10 with 4.25-31. The author had before him the deuteronomic law, with its blessings and curses, in a book (29.20 f. 27 30.10, cp also 29.9 28.38 61). The diction differs considerably from that of 5-26, and approximates more closely to that of Jeremiah, upon whom the author is evidently dependent. Chaps. 29 f. are, therefore, like 4, an exilic addition to Dt. The movement of thought in these chapters is far from being orderly or coherent: 29.16-28 [15-27] does not naturally follow 10-15 [9-14], and the latter verses have no obvious connection with 2-9 [1-8]; 30:1-10 cannot originally have stood between 29 and 30.11-20. The position of these chapters is difficult to explain. Chap. 28.1-46 is the proper conclusion of the long speech of Moses, 5-26; 29.1 [28.69] is a formal subscription, marking the end of the book. The only natural place for fresh admonitions to observe the law would be after the law had been committed to writing (31.9-13; cp 24.27); and it has been conjectured, not without probability, that this was the original position of the parting charge.²

Chap. 31, which takes up the narrative again, is composite, and presents to criticism most difficult problems. Verses 1-8 are not the sequel of 29 f. or of 28; they take up the story at the point which the historical introduction reaches in 8.23 ff.; they are deuteronomistic in colour, **23. Chap. 31,** and Dillmann surmises that once they followed 3.28 immediately. A parallel to 1-8 is found in 14.7, 23, in which Yahwé himself gives the charge to Joshua at the sacred tent; these verses are probably derived from E. The intervening verses, 16-22, are an introduction to the 'Song of Moses,' 32.1-43, to which 32.44 is the corresponding close. This

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¹ On this point see further below, § 23.

² See next section (23), on 31.24-29.

26-29, have no connection with the Blessings, and it is not improbable that they are fragments of another poem. Whether the Blessing of Moses was contained in J or E is a question which we have no means of answering; neither the short introduction, nor the titles of the several Blessings (which alone can be attributed to an editorial hand), offer anything distinctive; nor do the reminiscences of the earlier history.

Chap. 34. The story of the death of Moses is highly composite, elements from JE and P, as well as the hand of more than one editor, being recognisable in it.

Deuteronomy is the prophetic law-book, an attempt to embody the ideal of the prophets in institutions and laws by which the whole religious,

27. Religious character of Dt.

social, and civil life of the people should be governed. We recognise this aim in the treatment of the older right and custom of Israel, and more clearly in those provisions which are peculiar to Deuteronomy, above all in the fundamental law, chap. 5 *ff.* It seeks, not to regulate conduct by outward rule, but to form morality from within by the power of a supreme principle.

The dominant idea of Deuteronomy is monotheism. The first sentence of the older Decalogue, ¹ repeated in 56 *f.*, expresses, indeed, only a relative monotheism; but the fundamental deuteronomic law, 'Yahwé our God is one Yahwé' (6.4 *f.*), declares, not only that there are not many Yahwés, as there are many Baals, but also that there is no other who shares with him the attributes of supreme godhead which are connoted by his name. He is 'the God of gods and the Lord of lords, the great, mighty, and awful God' (10.17), to whom belong 'the heavens and the heavens of heavens, the earth and all that therein is' (10.14), 'the [only] God in the heavens above or in the earth beneath; there is no other' (4.39, cp 35).² The unapproachable majesty of Yahwé (5.1 *ff.*, 22 *ff.*, 49 *ff.*), his constancy to his purpose, and his faithfulness to his word are often recurring themes (7.8-10.12 *ff.*, 9.5, etc.). He is a God who requites his enemies to the full (7.10); yet a compassionate and forgiving God to those who under his judgments turn to him again (4.29-31, cp 30.1 *ff.*).

Idolatry is strictly forbidden. The images and emblems of the Canaanite gods are to be totally destroyed (12.2 *f.*, 7.5-25).

28. Monotheism.

The Decalogue prohibits the making of images of Yahwé in the likeness of any object in heaven, or on the earth, or in the sea; and in 4.15 *ff.*, where this prohibition is emphatically repeated, Israel is reminded that at Horeb, when Yahwé spoke to them out of the midst of the fire, they saw no form—a lesson to them not to image him in any form. The more primitive standing stones and sacred poles are included in the prohibition (16.21 *f.*, 12.3 *ff.*). All kinds of divination, sorcery, and necromancy are condemned as heathenish (18.9-14); Yahwé's will and purpose are made known, not by such signs as are interpreted by the magic art, but by the mouth of his prophet (18.15 *ff.*).

Yahwé is to be worshipped, not at many sanctuaries, but at one only, in the place which he chooses to fix his name there (12. *pass.*, 14.23, 15.20-16.1 *pass.*, etc.). The unity of the sanctuary is a consequence of the unity of God. The suppression of the high-places, which is so strenuously insisted on in Dt., was primarily dictated, not by practical considerations, but by the instinctive feeling that their existence was incompatible with monotheism; as long as there were many altars there were as many local Yahwés. It is doubtless true that, for the religious consciousness of the great mass of worshippers, the Yahwé of Dan was not just the same as the Yahwé

of Bethel or of Beersheba. But the great doctrine of Dt. is, 'Yahwé thy God is one Yahwé.' The exclusive principle, 'Thou shalt have no other gods beside me,' is strongly reaffirmed (6.12-15, 10.20-22, 11.16 *f.*, 28, etc.); the worship of other gods is punished by death (17.2-7, see also 13), the apostasy of the nation by national ruin (6.14 *f.*, 7.4, 8.19 *f.*, 4.25-28, 30.17 *f.*, etc.); for Yahwé is a jealous God (6.15, 4.24). Not only in Israel, which is Yahwé's people, but also in Canaan, which is his land, there shall be no other god or cult. Every trace of the old religions of Palestine is to be obliterated. The Canaanites themselves must be exterminated, lest, in intercourse with them, Israel be infected with their religion (7.1 *ff.*, 16.9-3, cp 12.29 *f.*, 20.16 *ff.*).¹ Alliance and intermarriage with the heathen are stringently prohibited (7.3 *f.*, etc.); and many special laws are directed against heathen customs and rites: see, *e.g.*, 22.5, 23.17 *f.*. No less urgent warnings are given against the religions of remoter peoples (13.6 *f.*).

The essence of the religious relation between Yahwé and his people is love. He has loved Israel from the beginning (10.15, 7 *f.*, 23.5), and if they keep his commandments he will love and bless them in all the future (7.13, cp 4.37 *f.*). They are the children of Yahwé their God (14.1); his discipline and his care are parental (8.5, 13.1). All good things are from him; but the signal proofs of his love to Israel are the deliverance from Egypt (*passim*, *e.g.*, 8.14 *ff.*), and the law which he has given them (4.5-8.32 *ff.*). The love of Yahwé to his people demands, as it should inspire, their love: 'Thou shalt love Yahwé thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (6.5) is the first commandment of the law, the first principle of religion (10.12 *f.*, 11.1, 13.2, 13.4, 19.9, 30.6, 16.20). Love to God constrains to do his will; to love God and to keep his commandments are inseparable. His commandments are not remote or incomprehensible: they are in men's hearts and on their lips (30.11-14, cp Jer. 31.31-34); nor are they difficult and burdensome (10.12 *f.*, cp Mic. 6.8): to keep them is for man's own good (6.24, 10.13). It is a religion of the heart, not of outward observances or of formal legality. Observances are not rejected; a religion without worship and distinctive ceremonial is not contemplated; but festivals and sacrifices are only the expression of religious feeling—above all, of loving and joyful gratitude for God's love and goodness.

The relation of Yahwé to Israel is not a natural and indissoluble relation, such as subsists between a tribal and his people; it is a moral relation, which has its origin in his choice of Israel to be his people. He chose it, not for any good in it (7.7, 9.4 *ff.*), but because he loved its forefathers (10.15); and love and faithfulness bind him to their descendants (7.8, 9.5). The election by which Israel alone of all the nations of the earth is made the people of Yahwé is Israel's glorious distinction; but it imposes the greatest obligation. Sin, in this light, is more heinous, judgment more necessary and more severe; but in God's constancy to his purpose and his promise faith finds the assurance that the severest judgment will not be utter destruction.

The bond between Yahwé and Israel is the covenant which he made with them at Horeb (5.2 *ff.*) and renewed on the plains of Moab (29. [28.6]). The deuteronomic law sets forth the obligations imposed by Yahwé and accepted by Israel (17.2); strict observance of the law is the condition of the fulfilment of the promises of Yahwé, the obligations which he voluntarily took upon himself in the pact (7.9-13, 11.22 *ff.*, etc.).

Israel is to be a holy people (7.6, 14.21, 26.19)—that is, one set apart to Yahwé in all its life. The stringency of the laws which are to preserve the purity of the

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people and the land from false religion and immorality is thus explained and justified: 'I have shut exterminate the evil from the community' (135 and pass; see 22 12-21 21-22 13-21 etc.).

Notwithstanding the sanguinary thoroughness with which it demands the extirpation of heathenism, and the severity of many of the special laws, the distinctive note of the deuteronomic legislation is humanity, philanthropy, charity. Regard not only for the rights, but also for the needs of the widow, the orphan, the landless Levite, the foreign denizen, is urged at every turn.¹ The interests of debtors (23-24 15-17), slaves (5-14 15-18-18), and hired labourers (24 f.) are carefully guarded. Various provisions protect the rights of the wife or the female slave (24-1-22 13-19 21-10-14-15-17). Nor are the animals forgotten (25, 22 f.). The spirit of the legislation is seen not least clearly in the laws which appear to us altogether utopian, such as 20 (cp 24 17 14-20 15-16).

In conformity with its prophetic character, Dt. presents itself not merely as a law-book, but also as a book of religious instruction. Its lessons are to be diligently remembered, and not forgotten in times of prosperity (6-6-12 8-1-18 etc.). Its fundamental precepts are to be repeated daily, to be worn as amulets, to be inscribed in public places (6-7-9 11-18-21). They are to be taught to children, that each succeeding generation may be brought up in the knowledge of Yahwe's will (6-7-20-25 11-9-14); and every seven years the whole law is to be publicly read in the hearing of the assembled people (31-1-10).

Taken all in all, Dt. will ever stand as one of the noblest monuments of the religion of Israel, and as one of the most noteworthy attempts in history to regulate the whole life of a people by its highest religious principles.

1. *Commentaries*.—Of the older works, Drusius (1617), Gerhardt (1873), and Keil (1881) stand upon the most solid profit. The principal modern commentaries

33. **Literature.** are Vater, *Pent.* iii., 1805; M. Baumgarten, 1824, 1844; F. W. Schottke, 1839; Knobel, 1844; Schmalzer, 1866 (*Leçons de Théologie*); E. F. with annotations by Gosselin, 1878; Keil, 1881, and ed. 1890; F. 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and, but for the shock to our associations, 'night mist' would be a preferable rendering to 'dew'.

This explanation clears up certain otherwise obscure passages. It also enables us to identify with considerable probability the season to which any important passage mentioning *tal* refers. The miracle of Gideon's fleece, e.g., was presumably placed by the writer in the summer. At the same time, when perfectly general language is used respecting *tal* ('dew'), it may be open to us to suppose that a confusion exists in the writer's mind between the genuine 'dew' of winter (spring and autumn) and the 'night mist' of summer, which is not, in our sense of the word, dew at all, since the vapour becomes condensed in the air before it reaches the ground.

In illustration, see *Luce's Jewish Literature*, etc., ed. 1880. One example given is, 'The sky rained-small-rain (*allat*) upon the earth.' *Tal* is defined as 'light or weak (i.e., drizzling) rain, or the lightest and weakest of rain; or dew that descends from the sky in cloudless weather.' Cf. also *Koran*, Sur. 2:267, 'And if no heavy shower (*qabilun*) falls on it, the mist (*allatun*) does.'

(a) *Where the 'dew' comes from.*—Job 38:28 is, probably enough, a scribe's insertion (Bi., Duhm); but, if so, the scribe gives an invaluable early summary of what precedes. He states that what is said of the rain in *vv.* 25-27 refers not only to the winter rains or to the occasional thunderstorms but also to the 'night mist.'

Has the rain a father?

Or who has begotten the streams? (not 'drops') of 'dew'?

To this question a wise man replies (*Prov.* 3:20),

By his (God's) knowledge the depths were opened (i.e., at creation).

And the sky drops down 'dew.'

So *Gen.* 27:28 *Dt.* 33:28 *Hag.* 1:10 *Zech.* 8:12; cp also *Judg.* 5:4 (*Q*) and *Theod.*¹ A more complete answer is given in *Enoch*, where the 'treasuries' of snow and hail (*Job* 38:22) and also of dew and rain are described. If *Job* did not 'come to those treasures' *Enoch* did, according to the current legend. The statements are important: 'The spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer; and its clouds, and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one passes over into the other' (60:20, Charles).

In chap. 70 the twelve portals of the winds are described. From eight of them dew and rain are said to proceed; the winds are not, however, always beneficial. The author is by no means a good observer, and his statement is of value only as confirming the statement of 60:20 that 'dew' and 'rain' are connected.

(b) *Preciousness of 'dew.'*—The land of Israel is called 'a land of corn and wine; yea, his heavens drop down dew' (*Dt.* 33:28). The blessing of Jacob says: 'God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the land' (*Gen.* 27:28; contrast *v.* 39, *RV*^{mg.}). *Yahwé* himself resembles 'dew'; 'I will be as the dew for Israel' (parched up, desolate Israel), *Hos.* 14:5 [6]. The preciousness of the 'dew' is shown by its effects, which are next described.

Perhaps, however, *tal* here includes rain. Dew is an emblem of resurrection: 'A dew of lights is thy dew, and to life shall the earth bring the shades' (*Is.* 26:19, *SFOU*). From the world of perfect light where *Yahwé* dwells a supernatural 'dew' will descend on the dead Israelites. 'The dew of resurrection' (*רִמְיָהוּ* *רִמְיָהוּ* *לֵב*) is a Talmudic phrase based on this prophecy. In the *Koran*, also (e.g., *Sur.* 41:39), rain is referred to as a sign of the resurrection. Probably, too, *Micah* 5:7 [6] also should be mentioned here. The traditional text, as it stands, is unintelligible. The 'remnant of Jacob' among the nations cannot be at the same time like showers of night mist on the earth and like a lion. The upright lion (*Pasek*) placed after 'And shall be' (*רָמַח*) warns us (as so often) that there is something doubtful in the text. Possibly *עַל*, 'upon' has dropped out. The passage

then reads thus, 'And there shall be on the remnant of Jacob . . . as it were "dew" from *Yahwé* . . . which carries not for man, etc.—i.e., which is independent of human effort. Reluctant as one may be to deviate from an unquestioned tradition, it becomes necessary to do so, when even the acute Wellhausen admits that the point of the comparison in the present text is unintelligible to him.

(c) *Other illustrative passages.*—The dew (night mist), like the rain, comes by the word of a prophet (1 *K.* 17). It falls suddenly (2 *S.* 17:12), and gently, like persuasive eloquence (*Dt.* 32:2); it lies all night (*Job* 29:19), but early disappears like superficial goodness (*Hos.* 6:4). Such a night mist is to be expected in the early summer, in the settled hot weather of harvest (*Is.* 18:4; but, on text, see *VINE*, § 1). It has a healing effect on vegetation (*Eccles.* 18:16 43:22); but for a man to be exposed to it is a trying experience (*Cant.* 5:2). It is all-pervading; hence Gideon asks, as a sign of his divine mission, first, that the fleece which he has put on the threshing-floor may be wet with a night mist (*tal*) when the floor itself is dry, and next, that the fleece may be dry when the floor is wet. So abundant is the moisture of the night mist that in the morning after the first experience Gideon is able to wring out of the fleece a whole bowlful of water (*Judg.* 6:36-40).

(d) *Two doubtful passages.*—In *Ps.* 110:3, if the scribes have correctly transmitted the text, there is a condensed expression of a king's youthful army to the countless drops of dew: a highly poetic figure, adopted by Milton in speaking of the angel-hosts. The words, however, 'thou hast the dew of thy youth' ('dew' is not attested by the LXX, though the other Greek translators all have *δρόσος*), are probably corrupt (see *Ch. Psalms*). The other passage (*Is.* 13:3) appears to state that it is the dew of Hermon that comes down on the mountains of Zion. Some (so *Del.*) have thought that a plentiful dew in Jerusalem might be the result of the abundance of vapours on Hermon; others (so *Baeth.*), that 'dew of Hermon' is a proverbial expression for a plentiful dew. Robertson Smith (*OT* [1892] 2:2) suggests that the expressions may be hyperbolic; the gathering of pious pilgrims from all parts at the great feasts at Jerusalem was 'as if the fertilising dew of great Hermon were all concentrated on the little hill of Zion'; but the passage, as it stands, is incapable of a natural interpretation. The text came into the editor's hand in an imperfect condition. Hermon and Zion can by no possibility be brought into connection either here or in the equally corrupt passage, *Ps.* 42:6 [7]. T. K. C.

DIADEM. Strictly *διάδημα* (*diadēma*, to bind round) is no more than a rich fillet or head-band. It was worn around the Persian royal rai (*see* *MITRE*, 2), and, as distinguished from *στέφανος* (*see* *CROWN*), is the badge of royalty; cp 1 *Macc.* 19:6 15:8 14:4 etc., *Rev.* 12:3 13:1 19:12 (*RV*, 'crown', and so *EV* in 1 *Esd.* 4:30). It is probable that fillets of a more or less ornate character are referred to in the Heb. *קֶרֶן*, *קֶרֶן* (*see* *CROWN*) and *קֶרֶן* (*see* *MITRE*).

1. *Διάδημα* is used by *Q* to render *קֶרֶן*, *kether*, *Esth.* 1:11, and *קֶרֶן*, *nēser*, 2 *S.* 1:10 [*L. Sym.* *Theod.*] (*see* *CROWN*, § 2), *קֶרֶן*, *takrih*, *Esth.* 8:15 (*see* *MANTLE*), and *קֶרֶן*, *gāniph*, *Is.* 62:3 (*cp* *Eccles.* 47:6); see 4 below.

Diadem, in *EV*, represents the following words:—

2. *μῆτρα*, *Bar.* 5:2 (*EV*, in *Judith* 10:3 16:8, *EV* 'tire', *AV*^{mg.} 'mitre').
3. *מִינְפֶהֶת*, *minphehet*, *Ezek.* 21:26 [31] *AV*; *see* *MITRE*, 1.
4. *טִירָן*, *tīranph*, *Is.* 62:3 *EV*, *Zech.* 3:3 *RV*^{mg.} (*EV* 'mitre' 3), *Job* 29:14 *EV* (*RV*^{mg.} 'turban'); *see* *TURBAN*, 2.
5. *קֶרֶן*, *qērān* (properly 'a plait'; *√* to weave), *Is.* 28:5 (*see* *קֶרֶן*, *qērān* or *קֶרֶן*, etc. [*DNACG*], *מִנְפֶהֶת* [*V. Theod.*], *קֶרֶן* [*Sym.*]). In *Ezek.* 7:10 (*RV* 'doom'), according to *Co.*, *qērān* means 'crown' (*cp* *RV*^{mg.} 'crowning time'); text perhaps faulty, *see* *Co.*, *Bertholet*.

DIAL AND SUN-DIAL *קִישְׁוֹת* literally 'steps,' *ἀναβάθμοι*; *תָּבֵן שֵׁנִי אֲבָן*, 'hour-stone'; *Sym.* in *Is.* 38:8 *ὠρολόγιον*; *horologium*; 2 *K.* 20:11 *Is.* 38:8. The term occurs in the account of Hezekiah's illness.

In point of fact, however, the narrator says nothing of a 'dial' and of 'degrees' but only of 'steps'; where *AV* says, 'The sun returned ten degrees,' *RV* more correctly says, 'The sun returned ten steps,' though immediately afterwards it uses the incorrect term 'dial' (with a marginal note, 'Heb. steps'). Hence both in *AV* and in *RV* the account is more obscure than it need have been. It is true, the parallel accounts in 2 *K.* 20 and *Is.* 38 differ, which produces some difficulty.

¹ This is the first rendering of *קֶרֶן* in *BDB*. It had been adopted by *Clay* in his *Prophecies of Isaiah and Book of Zechariah*, who followed *Nestl.*, *op. cit.*, 140.

² *MT* reads *קֶרֶן*, generally rendered 'drops' (*Q* *βάθους*).

³ 'Reservoirs' would be more defensible; but this does not suit 'begotten.' The obvious emendation is *קֶרֶן*. Rain is called *אֲרִיִּל* in *Ps.* 65:10. The scribe is thinking of the 'channel' *אֲרִיִּל* *Ps.* 25:6.

⁴ *Heb.* text has only 'dropped.'

'swarm' (so Curtius, *Ephesus*, 36); but it is perhaps wrong to follow Lightfoot (*Coloss. Intro.* p. 94) in denying all connection with the name of the Jewish sect of the Essenes. These priests were the connecting link between the hierarchy and civic life—*e.g.*, they cast the lot which determined the Thousand and Tribe of a newly created citizen (Hicks, *l.c.*, no. 447, etc.). Neither their number nor the mode of their appointment is known, but they held office only for a year and superintended the feasts at the Artemisium following the sacrifices at the Artemisia, or annual Festival (Paus. *iii*. 131). For minor sacred officials see Hicks, *l.c.* 85 f.

The analogous establishments of the goddess Ma in the remote E. of Asia Minor, at the two Komanae (Clapproot *op. cit.*, 287, 325; Pontus, *ibid.* 557), show us the system in a more thorough-going form. Strabo's words (1092) *ἐν τῷ αἰεὶ θεοῦ ἑστῆσαν τὰς κομῆσιν τῆς θεῆς Ἄρτεμιδος* imply that the grosser features of the cult had been got at Ephesus. In the eastern shrines we have a presiding priest allied in blood to the reigning family, and second only to him in honour, ruling the temple and the attendant ἱεροδούλοι (6,000 in number), and enjoying the vast revenues of the sacred estates.

The cultus-statue was thoroughly oriental in form, being a cone surmounted by a bust covered with breasts (Jer.

2. The image. *Prof. Eph.* Like the most ancient image of Athena at Athens (Paus. *i*. 266) and the statue of Artemis at Tauris (Eur. *Iph. T.* 977), and that of the allied Cybele of Pessinus, it 'fell down from Jupiter' (so AV and RV in Acts 19 35: *τοῦ διοπεροῦς*, 'that fell from heaven'). Such was her form wherever she was worshipped as Ephesian Artemis; but on the coins we find mostly the purely Hellenic type. The 'silver shrines' (Acts 19 24 *ναοὶ*) were offered by the rich in the temple; poorer worshippers would dedicate shrines of marble or terra-cotta.

Numerous examples in marble, and some in terra-cotta, are extant (*Athen. Myth.* 249, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1830); the series shows continuous development from the earliest known representation of the Mother-goddess (the so-called 'Niobe' at Magnesia near Mt. Sipylus) to such as that figured in Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Athens*, 48 (cp Rams. in *Hitt.* 1832, p. 43). Such shrines were perhaps also kept in private houses (Paus. *iv*. 31 8 *ἀνδρῶν ἴδιαι θεῶν οἰκίαις ἐκαστοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν*). Similar shrines were carried in the sacred processions which constituted an important part of ancient ritual (*Lucian. ad 1.99*, *ὁ ἀρχαῖος πατρις, θεοῦ οἴκου καὶ τειχῶν*; *Monarch. 1.12*, *Tinnis*, 1700; *ἐπίσταθα δὴα χερσὶν ἔχουσαι τὸ θεοῦ στήθος καλεῖται ἱεροστανάριον*; *Lucian. 1.102*, *ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἐπιπροσέταται τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο αὐτὸν στήθος ἀπαικονομεῖται*) presented by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 A.D.

In the manufacture of these shrines many hands and much capital were employed (Acts 19 24 *παρεῖχοντο τοῖς τεχνίταις οὐκ ὀλίγον ἔργασίαι*).

The characteristic formula of invocation was *μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις* (whence we must accept the reading of D as against the *μεγάλη ἦ Ἄρτεμις* of the other MSS). The epithet is applied in inscriptions (CIG 2063 C, *τῆς μεγάλῃς θεᾶς Ἀρτεμίδος*; *ibid.* 1724, *Ἐπίσταθα Ἀνασταί*). Its use in invocation has been detected at other centres of the allied cults.

This was the case, for example, at the shrine of Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairhenos at Dionysopolis (Rams. *Hist. Phryg.* 1. 181, p. 41, *μεγάλη Ἀρτέμις Λαιρηνοῦ, σοῦ I. Hell. Stud.*, 1880, p. 208 f.; cp *Hitt. Phryg.* 1. 51, n. 5, *εὐχαινομένη Μήτηρ Ἀρτέμις ἐπὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δυνατὰ ποιεῖ*). In an inscription from the Linnai (mod. *Tepiner Göl and İspiran Ç.*), where Artemis of the lakes was revered, we have the formula *Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις* (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of A.M.*, 410). The Artemis of Therma in Lesbos is invoked by the phrase 'Great Artemis of Therma' which appears on a stone still standing by the road between Therma and Mitylene (*Bull de Corr. Hell.*, 1880, p. 430). The Artemis of Perga also affords a parallel (Rams. *Church in R. Emp.* 138; cp also *ibid.* *Hitt. Geogr. of A.M.*, 292).

All these examples show that the power of the goddess was a prominent idea in the cult, and give point to the reiteration of the formula by the mob (Acts 19 34). Cp *New. Eph.* 111, *ὁμοῦν τὸ σοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἵκαν ἰκαν θεῶν, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐπίσταθα Ἄρτεμις*.

One of the secrets of the popularity of the temple was its right of asylum. Whatever the fate of the town, the temple and all within the precinct were safe (Paus. *vii*. 23 *τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκίαις δόματα ἦν αἰδῆν*). Cp also Herod. 126; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 133; Strabo, 641.

The peribolos-area was several times enlarged—by Alexander the Great who extended

it to a radius of a stade from the temple, and again by Mithridates. Antony doubled it, taking in *μέρος τὴ τῆς πόλεως*—*i.e.*, part of the suburbs. This extension worked in favour of the criminal classes (Strabo, *l.c.*, Tac. *Ann.* 360), so that Augustus in 6 B.C. narrowed the sanctuary area, and surrounded it with a wall (Hicks, *l.c.* no. 522 f.). There was a further revision by Tiberius in 22 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 361). Connected with this security was the use of the place as a national and private bank of deposit (Dio Chrys. *Rhod. Or.* 595; see also Cæs. *Bell. Civ.* 333 105; Strabo, 640). From the deposits, loans were issued to individuals or communities (Hicks, *Manual Gr. Hist. Inscr.* no. 205).

It is noteworthy that the opposition to Paul did not originate among the priests (see EPHEBUS). The energies of the priests of the great shrines must have been largely directed to the absorption of kindred elements in the new cults with which they came in contact, or at any rate to the harmonising of the various rival worshipers. In this they were assisted by the tendency of the Greeks to see in foreign deities the figures of their own pantheon. That very definite steps were taken in Ephesus to avoid conflict with the cult of Apollo is proved by the localisation there of the birth-place of Apollo and Artemis (Str. 639, Tac. *Ann.* 361; cp Paul's *Realenc.* 1373). The teaching of Paul would seem but another importation from the E., likely to effect a revival redounding to the advantage of the temple. This blindness of the priesthood to the real tendencies of the new teaching is well illustrated at Lystra, where the priest of Zeus Propoleos is foremost in doing honour to Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14 13). Not until a later period was this attitude exchanged for one of hostility; the earliest pagan opposition was based on lower grounds than those of religion (Rams. *Church in R. Emp.* 131, 200). [See especially Zimmermann, *Ephesus im ersten christl. Jahrhundert*, 1874.]

W. J. W.

DIBLAH (דִּבְלָהּ); ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ], Ezek. 614 RV. See RIBLAH.

DIBLAIM (דִּבְלַיִם), Hos. 13; see GOMER (2).

DIBLATH (דִּבְלָתַח) in MT; the statement that the true Palestinian reading is דִּבְל is weakly attested [Bd.]; ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ], Ezek. 614 AV (RV 'DIBLAH), where the 'toward' of EV demands an emended text. See RIBLAH.

DIBLATHAIM (דִּבְלָתַיִם), Nu. 3345; see BETH-DIBLATHAIM.

DIBON (דִּבּוֹן); so thrice [Bd. *ad* Is. 15 2]; elsewhere in OT and on Moabite stone דִּבְיָ, and so ΔΑΙΒΩΝ [BAFL]—whence the true pronunciation is probably Daibon, Meyer, *ZAW* 1128, n. 2—but in Josh. 13 17 ΔΑΙΒΩΡ [A], ΔΕΒΩΝ [I].

1. A city of Moab (Is. 15 2, *Δηθων* [B⁸ 10214], *Δαιβθδων* [N⁸], Δεβ. [Q1], Jer. 48 18 22 *δεβων* [N], *αἰβαιβων* [Q]), the modern *Dibān*, about 3 m. N. from Aroer and 4 from the Arnon. A fragment of an ancient song preserved by JE in Nu. 21 commemorates the conquests of the Amorite king Sihon over Moab 'from Heshbon to Dibon' (*v.* 30). According to Nu. 32 34 [E] it was 'built' by the Gadites, and it is alluded to as *Dibon-Gad* in Nu. 33 45 f. [P]. Josh. 13 17 [P] gives it to the Reubenites. In Is. 15 9 the name is written DIMON [*g.v.*]. It was at Dibān that the famous stone of King Mesha was discovered in 1868.

2. In list of Judahite villages (EZRA, ii. § 5 [δ] 15 [1] a), Neh. 11 25 (Διβων [8^{ca} 102], om. BA); perhaps the DIMONAI [*g.v.*] of Josh. 15 22.

DIBRI (דִּבְרִי); ΔΑΒΡ(ΕΙ) [BAF], ΔΑΜΒΡΙ [I.]; *DABRI*, father of SHELOMITH [*g.v.*, no. 1]; Lev. 24 11. P's story of the son of Shelomith who blasphemes 'the Name' ¹ bears a close family likeness to the incident in

¹ So MT. The original text no doubt had 'Yahweh.

used for a fatal sickness, such as the plague, in Jer. 15: 18: 21 22: 15. Cp the use of *θάνατος* in Rev. 6: 8 18: 6. (9) *דָּבַח*, *dabach* (perhaps originally a boil [*Socini*]), *θάνατος* is the most distinctive term (see, e.g., Ex. 9: 3 Dt. 28: 21). Possibly, too, in the phrase *דָּבַח רָבִי*, rendered 'an evil disease' (Ps. 41: 8), we should point *דָּבַח* (with Lag. Chcs.). (10) *דָּבַח*, *dabach* and *דָּבַח*, 'cutting off' (Dt. 32: 24 Ps. 91: 6 Hos. 13: 14), and (d) *דָּבַח*, *dabach* 'properly of flame', cp *RESHEPH*; Dt. 32: 24 Hab. 3: 5 (*דָּבַח*) are poetical words. See PESTILENCE.

The following terms, which are of a more specific character, occur chiefly in the threatenings of Lev. 26 26: 11 Dt. 28: —

1. *דָּבַח*, *dabach* (*ἀπαισιμία*), Dt. 28: 21, 'extreme burning'; RV 'fiery heat', may refer to some special fever, such as typhus or relapsing fever.

2. *דָּבַח*, *dalleketh* (*δύσος*), Dt. 28: 21; probably inflammation.

3. *דָּבַח*, *dabach* (*αὐχμή*), Dt. 28: 21, the itch, probably some eruptive disease, such as the *Lichen tropicus*.

4. *דָּבַח*, *dalleketh* ('consumption'? *αὐχμή*), Lev. 21: 20 22: 21, EV 'scab(bed)'; is, according to Jewish tradition, *דָּבַח* 'the Egyptian herpes'.

5. *דָּבַח*, *yabbeleth* (*γυμνηκία*), 'one suffering from warts' (so Jew. trad.), Lev. 22: 21; AV 'having a wen'; RVmg. 'having sores' (ulcers); from *דָּבַח*, 'to flow,' hence 'a suppurating'; see translation of Lev. in *SBOT*.

6. *דָּבַח*, *kaddathath* (*καύρα*), Lev. 26: 45 Dt. 28: 21, fever (AV in Lev. 'burning ague').

Under the last of these (*kaddathath*) may be included malarial or intermittent fevers, which are met with in the Jordan valley, but are not specially a disease of Syria and Palestine, owing to the equable climate and the moderate variation of temperature. It was at Capernaum (a place liable probably to malaria) that Simon's wife's mother was 'taken with a great fever' (Lk. 4: 38)—an expression which is thought to indicate medical knowledge.¹ Certainly Galen and Hippocrates use the phrase, as Wetstein has pointed out. There are parallel cases in Acts 12: 28 28: 8 (see 9: 10). According to Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*; cp *Expositor*, July 1899, pp. 20-23) the 'thorn (stake) in the flesh' spoken of in 2 Cor. 12: 7 means the severe headache ('like a hot bar') which follows an attack of the malarial fever of Asia Minor.

7. *דָּבַח*, *zabebeth*, Lev. 26: 19 Dt. 28: 21, 'consumption,' perhaps to be understood as the wasting of marasmus, which may attend various sicknesses. Pulmonary consumption is not, however, frequent in Syria (Pruner, 283).

8. *דָּבַח*, *garribh*,² Lev. 21: 20 22: 21 Dt. 28: 27, 'scurvy' (but AV in Dt. 'scab'). The reference seems to be to some chronic skin disease such as eczema; a sense in which 'scurvy' and 'scorbic' were once used.

9. *דָּבַח* (*so the best MSS*), Acts 28: 8; RV 'dysentery.'

The last of these terms, 'dysentery,' occurs in Acts 28: 8, where the combination of relapsing malarial fever (*πυρετός*) with dysentery is carefully noted. According to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 11) the disease of the Philistines in 1 S. 5 was dysentery, a view which, if the traditional Hebrew readings of the text may be accepted, has some plausibility. The more usual biblical expression for dysentery is the falling out of the bowels, implying either painful straining as if the bowels would fall out, or some shedding of the mucous membrane, or a degree of prolapse, such as occurs normally in the horse, mule, etc.

There is a singular combination of the idea of bursting asunder with that of falling out in Acts 1: 8; but the second part of this passage will not bear the stress of critical treatment: it is the conventional fate of traitors in apocryphal legends that is assigned to Judas. The statement must, if this view is correct, be classed with the less historical portions of Acts. Cp *ΑΕΙΘΕΛΜΙΑ*.

10. *σφαλιγόμενος* ('eaten of worms') gives us the only detail as to the disease by which Herod Agrippa I. was carried off (Acts 12: 8). It reminds us, however, of the disease of which, acc. to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii.

¹ Weistein (1752) remarks, 'Lucas medicus morbos accuratus describere solet.' Cp Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, Dublin, 1852.

² Cp *Ar. yarab*, a contagious eruption consisting of pustules.

65), Herod the Great died, one feature of which was *σφαλιγόμενος ἐμπασιμία*, and of that which 2 Macc. (ix. 50) asserts to have caused the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. One is almost led to think that, in the deficiency of evidence, narrators imagined such a fate as this for wicked kings. Sir R. Bennett conjectures, partly on the ground of Josephus' statement (*Ant.* xix. 82), that the cause of Herod Agrippa's death was perforation of the bowels by intestinal worms (*Diseases of the Bible*, 103).

On affections of the sight, see EYE; on other diseases see BOIL, LEPROSY, LUNATIC, PESTILENCE, THORN IN THE FLESH, etc.; cp MEDICINE.

DISH. See BOWL (*σφηδ*), CHARGER (*ἰσῶρα*), CRUSE (*gallahath*), and MEALS, § 9.

DISHAN (*דִּישָׁן*; *π[ε]ῖων* [ADEL], see DISHON).

1. A Horite clan, reckoned as the seventh and youngest son of Seir. The name occurs in Gen. 36: 21 (om. B), ΔΙΣΑΝ [L.], 1 Ch. 1: 36, Gen. 36: 9 ΔΙΣΩΝ [L.], 1 Ch. 1: 42 (MT *דִּישָׁן*); ΔΑΙΣΩΝ [BA.], Gen. 36: 9. The name is practically identical with DISHON, and should perhaps be emended after *שׁ* to *דִּישָׁן*.

2. Gen. 36: 26, RVmg, EV DISHON (*g.z.*).

DISHON (*דִּישָׁן* [1 Ch. 1: 41]; *דִּישָׁן* [1 Ch. 1: 41]; wrongly pointed *דִּישָׁן* [Gen. 36: 26]; *דִּישָׁן* [Gen. 36: 21]; *דִּישָׁן* [Ex. 28: 33]; § 63; ΔΙΣΩΝ [BADEL.]). Twice reckoned as the fifth son of Seir (Gen. 36: 21 1 Ch. 1: 36), but once (Gen. 36: 25 [Δαίσιω (L)]) as the son of Anah the son of Seir. His sons are enumerated in Gen. 36: 26 (RVmg DISHAN, following present MT), 1 Ch. 1: 41 (Δαίσιω BA.). Cp DUKE, 1.

In spite of his genealogical phraseology, the writer is fully conscious that he is dealing not with individuals but with clans. Dishon, like Lotan and the other names, belongs to a Horite clan. Its meaning seems to be some sort of mountain-coat (see PYGARG). As DL and WRS agree, the Horite genealogy is full of animal names.

DISPERSION. ΔΙΑΣΠΟΡΑ, so rendered by RV of 2 Macc. 1: 27 Jn. 7: 35 Ja. 1: 1 1 Pet. 1: 1, is used partly to denote the process itself, the gradual distribution of Israelites among foreign lands, and partly as a collective term for the persons so dispersed or for their surroundings. In the present article it is proposed to treat briefly of the origin of the Jewish Dispersion (§§ 1-4), its legal standing (§ 15), and its inner and outer life (§§ 16-22).

διασπορά occurs in *שׁ* of Dt. 28: 25 Jer. 34 [41] 17 for Heb. *דָּבַח*, 'tossing to and fro' (?). In Jer. 13: 4 *ב' (שׁ)* is apparently a corruption for *διασπορά* (so BA, etc.). It renders *דָּבַח* (a collective) in Dt. 30: 4 and Neh. 1: 9 and *דָּבַח* in Ps. 147: 2 ('outcasts'—'dispersed ones'), and in 1 S. 17: 52 *דָּבַח* (*דָּבַח*—'preserved of Israel'). It also occurs in Jer. 15: 7 Dan. (cod. 87) 12: 2.

1. Permanent settlements of Israelites in regions outside Canaan had their origin in one or other of two

causes—the exigencies of commerce and the

1. **Origin.** chances of war. The regular commercial

relations into which Solomon and his successors entered with Egypt, Phœnicia, and the countries of Middle and Northern Syria (1 K. 10: 28 f.) must of necessity have led to the formation of small Israelite colonies outside of Palestine. These enjoyed the protection of the foreign prince under whom they lived, and had in the city of their choice a separate quarter of their own, where they could follow their distinctive customs without disturbance or offence (cp 1 K. 20: 34, and see DAMASCUS, § 7; ISRAEL, § 23 f.). Prisoners of war, on the other hand, either remained under the power of their captors or were sold as slaves all over the world (Am. 1: 6). Obviously it was only in the first of these cases that the prisoners could by any possibility have formed the nucleus of a permanent Israelite community living abroad; but we know of no actual instance in which this happened.

The forced migrations arising out of the conquests of

the Assyrian and the Babylonian kings were of a quite different character. The first was brought about in 734 by Tiglath-pileser III. (2 K. 15 29); at a later date Sargon deported 27,280 inhabitants of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media (2 K. 17 6). These large colonies seem to have become completely absorbed; history furnishes no clear trace of their continued separate existence. Still, there is 'no improbability in the supposition that many of the banished Israelites subsequently became united with the later exiles from Judah. These later exiles were transported by Nebuchadrezzar II. to Babylon in 597, 586, and 582,—according to Jer. 52 28-30 to the number of 4600 souls. They did not readily accommodate themselves to the arrangements made by the king in their behalf, having

3. Feelings of Israelites.

been led by their prophets to expect a speedy return to Jerusalem (Jer. 29 Ezek. 13). This view, as we know, was not shared by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and hence it is that the first-named prophet has left us a clear utterance with regard to that (for Israel) perplexing event—the 'exile.' For him the Babylonian Exile is a prolonged punishment from God. It must be submitted to with resignation and patience, and relief will come only to those in whom the chastisement has fulfilled its purpose. Hence he admonishes the exiles to settle quietly down in Babylonia, to think of the welfare of their families, and to seek their own good in that of the foreigners among whom their lot is cast (Jer. 29 4-7). On the other hand, in his view the intention of those men of Judah who were proposing of their own proper motion to forsake the land of Yahwé and remove to Egypt was against the will of God: it was the road to ruin (Jer. 42 7). This view of the prophet did not, however, turn them from their purpose (see JEREMIAH). Nor did the distinction made by the prophet between involuntary and voluntary exile, however obvious in itself, affect the theorists of a later age, whom we find expecting the return of the Israelites indiscriminately from all the lands of the dispersion (Is. 11 12 13 7).

Let us now seek to trace the subsequent history of the diaspora in the various lands of its abode. The Judahites deported to Babylonia constituted, alike in numbers and in worth, the very kernel of their people (2 K. 24 12-16 25 11 Jer. 52 15). They carried with them, accordingly, as we learn from the Book of Ezekiel, into their new home all the political and religious tendencies of the later period. In particular, there was in Babylonia no want of persons who cherished and developed the ideas of the prophets of the eighth and the seventh centuries. For proof we have only to look at the great zeal which was shown in preserving and adapting the older historical and legal literature, or to call to mind the many prophetic utterances belonging to this period. Those who cherished these ideals did not constitute any 'close' community; they mingled freely with those who were opposed to them, and the prophetic conception always had much to contend with. Still, there were certain centres for Israelitic piety at which fidelity to the Law and hope in the return of the exiles were sedulously and specially cherished. TEL-ABIB (Ezek. 3 15), the river CHERAR (Ezek. 13), AHAVA (Ezra 8 15), and CASIPHIA (Ezra 8 17) are the only names of such places that have come down to us; but doubtless there were others. When we find Ezra fetching Levites from Casiphia we have evidence enough to mark the place as a centre of deuteronomic legalism. The Babylonian Diaspora was by no means entirely deprived of these devoted religious workers in the sixth and fifth centuries. The return under Cyrus must not be construed exactly

as we find it represented in Ezra 1-3 (see ISRAEL,

§ 50 ff.; EZRA, ii.; CYRUS). The command of Cyrus to rebuild the temple of Yahwé in Jerusalem and the mission of Sheshbazzar in 538 led to the return of but few families to the ancestral home; the tidings that the restoration of the temple had been accomplished (519-515) led only to the sending of deputations and of gifts to Jerusalem (Zech. 6 9 ff.); it was not more than some 5000 or 6000 persons that Ezra led back to Judæa about 430 B.C. All this abundantly proves that the inclination to return was not very strongly felt by the exiles.

For this there were various causes. Many of the exiles were indifferent in religious matters; some had in the interval adapted themselves too closely to the new conditions in which they found themselves; others held the return to be premature, deeming that the times of fulfilment had not yet come. In accordance with prophecy, the last-mentioned were expecting some special divine interposition to put an end to the 'exile' and to give the signal for the beginning of the glorification of Israel (Jer. 32 36 ff. Ezek. 34 11 ff. Is. 40 3 ff. 9 ff. Mic. 5 2). Just as, in Jerusalem, men hesitated as to whether they should proceed with the building of the temple and not rather wait for Yahwé's manifestation of himself in glory (Hag. 1 2 ff.), so in Babylonia they hesitated as to whether they ought to return forthwith and not rather await some special divine interposition. It is possible that a few additional families may have migrated to Jerusalem after the post-exilic community there had been reconstituted under Nehemiah and Ezra (430 B.C.); but in any case it is certain that a very considerable body of Jews who still adhered to the law remained behind in Babylonia, and thus that the same tendencies which had led to the great changes in Jerusalem brought about through the help of the Persian kings continued to be influential in Babylonia also. The Babylonian Diaspora received an accession under the reign of Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358-338) when he transported Jews to Hyrcania and Babylonia (Georg. Syncell. ed. Dindorf, 1 466).

The Persian overlordship may be assumed to have helped to open the way for the Jews of Babylonia towards the E. and the N. (The case of Nehemiah [Neh. 1 ff.] is a clear example of the kind of thing that must often have happened; compare also Tobit 1 9-22. Wherever a Jew had established himself in some advantageous position there were never wanting others to press forward and follow this up for themselves.) From Babylonia (and Hyrcania) the Jews advanced to Elam (Is. 11 11), Persia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, and the Black Sea. The relations which Herod the Great had established with the princes of the Upper Euphrates were utilised, we may be sure, by the Jewish Diaspora. Their centre of radiation for the whole of these Eastern countries, however, continued always to be in Babylonia, where the Euphrates and the Tigris begin to merge. Here was situated Nehardea (נְהַרְדָּא, נַהַרְדָּא), where the temple tax levied in these parts was annually collected (see below, § 16). In the same neighbourhood two Jews named Asineus and Anilæus, in the time of Caligula, founded a sort of robber state which held its own for sixteen years (Jos. Ant. xviii. 91). Another important focus of Judaism was the city of Nisibis (נִסְבִּינ), in the upper basin of the Chaboras. The Jewish community in Babylonia could boast of the conversion of King Izates of Adiabên (ܐܕܝܒܝܢ), on the upper Tigris, along with his mother and the rest of his kindred, in the reign of Claudius (Jos. Ant. xx. 2-4).

The development of the Diaspora in Egypt followed a quite different course from that which has just been

sketched. Whilst the Judaism of Babylonia maintained its Oriental character with considerable strictness, in Egypt, or (to speak more precisely) in Alexandria, it entered upon that remarkable alliance with Hellenism which was

destined to have such important effects on the history of religion. Whether Psamatik I. (662-609 B.C.) actually had Jewish mercenaries in his service (Letter of Aristides) may be left an open question. We know, however, that in 609 Necho II. condemned King Jehoshaphat to exile in Egypt, and that in 586 a body of Jews, including Jeremiah the prophet, under the leadership of Johanan b. Kareah, migrated to TAHANNAH (*Tell Defenne*; cp Jer. 42 f.). According to Jer. 44 16 (an insertion dating from about the fifth century) Jews settled also in MIGDOL, NOPH (Memphis), and PATHROS (Upper Egypt). Their settlement in Alexandria is assigned by the Pseudo-Hecataeus, by Aristides, and by Josephus to the period of Alexander the Great or Ptolemy I. It has been shown by H. Willrich,¹ however, that the statements of these writers must be taken with great caution. In his own view there was no considerable Jewish element in Alexandria until the second century B.C. Against this theory two objections can be urged. First, the statement of Apion that the Jews settled to the E. of the harbour of Alexandria (Jos. c. *Ap.* 24) can be understood only with reference to the time of the rise of the city. Secondly, the statement of Josephus (*ib.*; cp *HJ* ii. 187) that the Jews in Alexandria received the honorific name of Macedonian can hardly be doubted. Josephus indeed exaggerates; the Jews in Alexandria were in the first instance under the protection of the 'phyle' of the Macedonians, and the Jewish quarter formed a part of this 'phyle'; in the limited sense only came they to be called Macedonians. As the later Ptolemies, especially, from the time of Ptolemy VI. Philometor onwards, favoured the Egyptian more than the Grecian element in Alexandria, it is not to be supposed that the Jews reached this privileged position so late as the second century.² This being so, they can have obtained it only under the first Ptolemies, and in that case it is very far indeed from improbable that Jews were included among the earliest inhabitants of Alexandria and thus acquired special privileges there. They had a separate quarter of their own, known as the Δ (Delta) quarter (Jos. *BJ* ii. 188). The repeated struggles between Ptolemies and Seleucids, and the preference of the Jews for the former dynasty, may be presumed to have led in succeeding generations to further Jewish migrations into Egypt, especially to Alexandria, partly even as prisoners of war (cp Jer. in Dan. 114).

We are told of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 21) that, as a fitting prelude to the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, one hundred Jewish prisoners of war. The story is doubtless a fiction; but it throws light on some of the circumstances which had to do with the increase of the Jewish population in Egypt. Ptolemy VI. Philometor (181-145) also is mentioned in history as a friend to the Jews; Ptolemy VII. (see EVERGETES), as a relentless enemy. For the former see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 317 f.; for the latter Jos. *ib.* 316 f. We may take it that Evergetes for some years regarded the Jews as his political opponents, siding as they did with his rival Ptolemy Philometor; but we have evidence of papyri and inscriptions that he also showed them various marks of favour (Willrich, *op. cit.* 130 ff.).

In Philo's time (40 A.D.) the Jews in Alexandria were so many as to occupy two entire quarters, besides furnishing a sprinkling over the rest of the city (*in Flaccum*, 8, ed. Mangey, 250).

An exceptional position was taken by the Onias colony in the name of Heliopolis. The high priest

**8. LEON-
TOPOLIA.** ONIAS (*q.v.*), son of Simon the Just, had taken refuge from his adversaries, the children of Tobias, and from Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, in 173 or 170, by flight into Egypt. He was accompanied by a body of his adherents—among them DOSITHEUS (4), who is named in the subscription to the Greek version of the Book of Esther. From Ptolemy VI. Philometor he and his people received

permission to settle on the eastern border of the Nile delta in the name of Heliopolis. Here Onias built a fortress, and within this a sanctuary (on the pattern of the temple of Jerusalem), in which he established a legal worship of Yahweh. Philometor endowed the temple with land (cp Jos. *BJ* i. 11; vii. 102 ff.; *Ant.* xii. 51; 97; xiii. 31 ff.; also the recent discussions of the date of this exodus and the persons engaged in it in Willrich, *op. cit.* 64 ff. 130 ff.; Wolff, *Geogr. Anz.* p. 147 ff.; also ISRAELI, § 7).

The temple of Onias, however, did not receive universal recognition even in Egypt (not to speak of Palestine). It had, indeed, the legitimate high priest, of the family of Aaron; but it did not occupy the legitimate site. Thus the Diaspora in Egypt was brought to a state of schism, which is alluded to in a veiled manner in *Ant.* xiii. 34 and elsewhere, as Willrich (*op. cit.* 129 ff.) has conjectured, no doubt correctly. At the same time, the antagonism between Leontopolis (as the city of the Onias-temple was called) and Jerusalem does not seem to have been very intense; otherwise the allusion to the temple of Onias in Is. 19 18 f. (but cp HERES, CITY OF) would hardly have been allowed to pass. Moreover, national feeling appears on repeated occasions to have overridden religious or ecclesiastical differences (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 132; xiv. 81; *BJ* i. 94). Peculiarly noteworthy is the readiness for war and the ability for self-defence to which Josephus frequently calls attention in the followers of Onias (c. *Ap.* 25; *Ant.* xiii. 104; 131 f.; *HJ* i. 94; *Ant.* xiv. 81). The temple at Leontopolis was destroyed in 73 A.D. by Lupus and Paulinus by order of Vespasian (Jos. *BJ* vii. 102 ff.).

Jews penetrated also into Upper Egypt and Cush (Is. 11 11), as we learn from lately published papyri.

**9. Upper
Egypt, etc.** They were strongly represented in Cyrenaica also (c. *Ap.* 23; Jos. in *Dem.* 111 ff.; Strabo, cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 72), writing of 85 B.C., divides the inhabitants of the city of Cyrene into four classes—citizens, peasants, settlers (meteci), and Jews. In the city of Berenice the inscriptions show a special *πολιτεία* of the Jews dating from 13 B.C. (cp *CGI* iii. no. 5361).

The Diaspora in Egypt did not owe its origin entirely—as, in the first instance, did that of Babylonia—to

**10. Attrac-
tions of
civilisation.** external compulsion. It owed its growth and its reputable standing mainly to the great changes produced throughout the East generally by the conquests of Alexander. The greatly enlarged channels of commerce, especially by sea-routes, attracted many from the interior to the coasts. The newly-founded Grecian cities, rendered attractive by all the achievements of Greek art and civilisation, became favourite resorts. Henceforth trade relations, the desire to see the world, soon also political considerations and (we may well suppose) a certain conscious or unconscious craving for culture, became operative in promoting the dispersion of the Jews over the civilised world.

Such things seem to have been specially influential in bringing about the settlement of Jews in Syria. It is quite possible, indeed, that the old

**11. Diaspora
in Syria.** Israelite colony in Nidassus (see above,

§ 1) may have maintained an uninterrupted existence and gradually developed into the Jewish community to the largeness of which Josephus bears witness (*BJ* ii. 202; vii. 87). In some of the Phœnician cities also, as for example, in Tyre (cp Ezek. 27) and Sidon, Israelites may have settled from a very early period; as at the main points on the great trade route between Jerusalem and Mesopotamia, such as Hamath (Is. 11 11). The Syria of the Seleucids, however, seems first to have become thoroughly accessible to Jews only after the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. It was his successors, for example, who first conceded to them the right of free settlement in Antioch (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 33). The later Seleucids had abundant occasion for showing

¹ *Uden u. Griechen vor d. makkabäischen Erhebung*, 143, 126 ff. 193.

² Cp Lambros, *L'Égiphte des Grecs e dei Romani* (195); Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 359 ff. 383 ff. (195).

consideration to the resident Jews: in the frequent struggles for the crown, the support of the Maccabees became important (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 53). The opposite statement of Josephus that it was Seleucus I. (306-280 B.C.) who granted to the Jews the rights of citizenship in Antioch (c. *Ap.* 24), or even equal rights with Greeks in all the cities founded by him in Asia and Lower Syria (*Ant.* xii. 31), is probably to be understood only as meaning that the Jews ultimately received the rights of citizenship in all the places named. It is easy to understand how the astonishing increase in numbers, power, and influence, which the Jewish commonwealth gained under the rule of the Maccabees, should first have made itself felt in the neighbouring kingdom of the Seleucidae. The Maccabees had subjugated and converted the Idumæans in the south as well as the Ituræans in the north; Galilee and Peræa also became Judaised during their supremacy. What was the little community founded by Ezra and Nehemiah, either in extent or in numbers, in comparison with this? Jerusalem had become so strong that—reversing the prophetic prediction—it could lend to the Dispersion from the abundance of its own forces. From this time forward it was, we may plausibly conjecture, that the Diaspora in Syria became so strong as to exhibit the largest admixture of the Jewish element known anywhere (Jos. *BJ* vii. 33). Precise details regarding the individual localities are, however, lacking.

The immigration of Jews to Asia Minor and its islands was partly overland by way of Syria and Mesopotamia, and partly by sea from Egypt and Phœnicia, but for the most part not before the Grecian period. It is possible, however, that Jews may have been sold as slaves into these regions at an earlier date (cp Ezek. 27.13 Joel 3[4]7). It is interesting that Clearchus of Soli (circa 320 B.C.) speaks of a meeting between his master Aristotle and an already Hellenised Jew (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22). In the passage in question the Jews are represented as descendants of the Indian philosophers; which shows that at that time and place the Jew was looked upon with wonder as a new phenomenon—the educated Jew, at least. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 34) will have it that a colony of 2000 Jewish families was transported by Antiochus III. the Great (224-187) from Mesopotamia and Babylonia into Lydia and Phrygia. The form and the substance of the statement alike arouse suspicion (Willrich, 39 ff.). Here again we are in ignorance as to the details of the migration. In any case, it was to the advantage of the Jewish Diaspora when Greece and Asia Minor in 146 and 130 B.C. became Roman provinces and the kings of Eastern Asia Minor accepted the supremacy of Rome. From the days of Simon, the Maccabees had been in friendly alliance with Rome, and the Jews very soon began to realise that under the Roman rule they enjoyed greater freedom in the exercise of their religious customs than they had found in the Grecian kingdoms (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 24, and below). Accordingly, as early as the first century B.C., we find them making use of their good relations with the Romans to secure any doubtful or disputed rights in the cities of Asia Minor and Syria by decisions of the supreme authority (cp decrees and the names therein mentioned as given in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, xiv. 123 ff., xvi. 23 ff., 62 ff.; for Cyprus, *Ant.* xiii. 104, Acts 134 ff.; for Crete, *BJ* ii. 71; also Acts 13-21 *passim*).

Jews arrived in Greece and Italy in the second century B.C. if not earlier. Between 170 and 156 we find an emancipated Jewish slave named in a Delphi inscription (Willrich, 123 ff.), and Valerius Maximus (132) mentions that in 139 B.C. certain proselytising Jews were expelled from Rome. The fabulous assertion of kinship between the Jews and the Spartans (1 Macc. 122) presupposes for the time of its origin (see SPARTA) a mutual

acquaintance. Jewish inscriptions, moreover, occur in Greece, and the apostle Paul found firmly organised communities there (Acts 17 ff.). In 63 B.C., Jewish captives were brought to Rome by Pompey and sold as slaves. Soon emancipated, they acquired the Roman citizenship and founded the Jewish colony upon the right bank of the Tiber (Philo, ed. Mangey, 2568). Cæsar conferred upon the Jews many favours: compare the decree of the senate in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 85, and the immediately preceding narrative. Herod the Great, who always interested himself in the welfare of the Jewish Diaspora (*Ant.* xvi. 22-5, 61-8), cultivated relations with Rome assiduously, and greatly promoted the Jewish settlements there. Thus in the course of the first Christian century the Jews had already been able to establish themselves on the left bank of the Tiber beside the Porta Capœna (Juv. *Sal.* 3 12-16), and at a somewhat later date on the Campus Martius and even in the Subura. In connection with events in the year 4 B.C. Josephus (*BJ* ii. 61) speaks of a Jewish embassy to Rome as having been supported by more than 8000 Jews there. Under the same year he incidentally mentions (*BJ* ii. 71) the existence of Jews in Dicaearchia (Puteoli). The friendship of the two Agrippas with the imperial house, the relations of Josephus with the Flavii, the love of Titus for Berenice, all testify to the progress which Judaism had made in the highest Roman circles; and no one will imagine the Jews of that day to have been so self-forgetful as not to utilise such favouring circumstances, as far as they possibly could, for their own advantage.

To complete the present survey, Arabia also ought to be mentioned as one of the fields of the Jewish Diaspora. From Acts 21 and Gal. 1.17 the inference that in the first century there were Jewish communities there is certain; but as to their origin we are left entirely to conjecture.

Philo (*in Flacc.* 6, ed. Mangey, 2523) estimates the number of Jews living in Egypt alone in the time of

14. Approximate numbers. Caligula at a million. If to this figure we add the total of the other groups mentioned above, we shall not be far wrong in putting the figure at three or four millions. The violent breaking-up of the Jewish population in Palestine in consequence of the war of 66-70 A.D. (cp Jos. *BJ* vi. 82, 93) raised this number still further; and thus the expression of Dio Cassius (693) in speaking of the Jewish insurrection under Hadrian—that all the world, so to say (*ἡ οἰκουμένη*), was stirred—is intelligible enough.

II. The legal standing of the communities of the Diaspora at first varied in the various lands. The colonies

15. Legal standing. in the Assyrio-Babylonian empire were crown possessions, under royal protection (*Ezra* 4.11). The lands they tilled were grants from the king, on which they were free to live in accordance with their own laws and customs (cp the counterpart in Israel 2 K. 17.24 ff.). If the colonists flourished they gradually established their independence; if otherwise, they ultimately lapsed into a state of serfdom (cp Gen. 47.13 ff.). In this respect it is not to be supposed that any considerable change came about under Persian or Greek supremacy as long as the aliens continued to be members of the colony. In Egypt the same course was followed by the rulers or pharaohs, as Gen. 47.3 ff. shows: to shepherds a pastoral region was assigned, and the pharaoh was their master (*v. 66*; Ex. 1.11). It must be borne in mind, however, that in this case Israelites came into Egypt not only as prisoners, but also as refugees.

Brighter prospects opened up before Israelites in foreign parts as Alexander and his successors founded new cities in the east. In Alexandria they received important privileges; they came into a fellowship of protection with the Macedonians—the 'phyle' which probably was considered the foremost of all and was therefore named after Dionysus (see above, § 7). What use the Jews made of this privilege is shown by Josephus,

who asserts that they had equal rights (*ισορρογία, ἰσωνομία, ἰσοπολιτεία*) with the Macedonians and even the right to bear this honorific name (c. *Ap.* 24; *Bj* ii. 187). As Alexandria never attained the characteristic constitution of a Greek city with a *βουλή*, but continued to be governed directly by royal officials, it is probable that the special administration and special jurisdiction in civil matters which the Jews enjoyed within the bounds of their own quarter of the city were of ancient standing. At a later period, as the Ptolemies came to take more account of the Egyptian population, it is possible that many of the Jewish privileges may have been curtailed (cp. Malatry, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 79, 359 ff., 381 ff.; Lambros, *L'Égypte des Grecs et des Romains*, 1895, 140 ff.). In Strabo's time, however, they still had an administration of their own under the special jurisdiction of an ethnarch (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 72). In any case, they again received full rights of citizenship in Alexandria from Cæsar (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10; c. *Ap.* 24). In Cyrenaica also they enjoyed special privileges (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 72). The Onias colony doubtless enjoyed the special protection of the sovereign (see above, § 8).

In the Greek cities properly so called the Jews were not so favourably situated. In these a group of foreigners could keep up the observance of its ancestral customs, especially its religious customs, only as a private society or club (*θλασος, ἔπανος*; cp. E. Zielbarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 1896). The Jews in this respect followed the lead of the Phœnicians in Athens and Delos. We do not possess definite evidence of the fact, though it is interesting to note that in the Roman decree preserved in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 108 the Jewish communities without prejudice to their privileges are placed upon a level with *θλασος*. In particular cities, such as Ephesus and Sardis, they no doubt sooner or later acquired the rights of citizenship (Jos. c. *Ap.* 24; *Ant.* xiv. 1024); but whether they already had it under the Seleucidae, as Josephus asserts, or whether they first received it from the Romans, is not quite clear (see above, § 11). It frequently happened that their citizenship became in turn a source of embarrassment. In the Greek cities, by ancient custom, community of place was held to imply community of worship; in many places the fact of citizenship found its expression in some special cult, such as that of Dionysus. Hence a demand that the Jews should worship the local god—a demand which they were compelled by their creed to resist (Jos. c. *Ap.* 26). Even in Caesarea Palæstina their *ἰσοπολιτεία* did not secure them full protection (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 879 *Bj* ii. 137 144-5 18 ff.).

It was not till the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus that the Jews of the Diaspora received a general recognition of their legal standing throughout the Roman Empire. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 85 10 123-6 xvi. 62-7) quotes a series of enactments from 47 B.C.—10 B.C. by which the Jews had secured to them the enjoyment of religious freedom, exemption from military service, special rights in the administration of property, and special jurisdiction (in civil matters). Nicolaus Damascenus, in his apology for the Jews before M. Vipsianus Agrippa in Lesbos, in 14 B.C., says: 'The happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means we estimate by this very thing, that on all hands we are allowed each one of us to live according to his conviction and to practise his religion' (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 24). In Roman law the Jewish communities came under the category of *collegia licita* (Tertullian, *religio licita*). After 70 A.D. this held only for the Jewish religion, not for the Jewish nation. From cases covered by these general regulations we must distinguish those in which individual Jews had obtained for themselves the Roman citizenship (Acts 22:25-29; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 16 17 ff.). See GOVERNMENT, § 30 f.

III. The great difficulty of Jewish social life in the Diaspora lay in the fact that community of place and community of worship no longer coincided. The case

had been quite otherwise in Palestine, and the Jewish laws in their original framing had contemplated Palestinian conditions alone. Communities

16. **Inner and outer life.** of some sort, however, had to be formed abroad, if Judaism was to maintain itself there at all. Thus the attempt to secure local separateness was abandoned. Attention was concentrated on the effort to maintain the bond of union by means of a separate, if restricted, jurisdiction, and administration of property; the sacrificial worship was given up; and the means for a new spiritual worship were sought in regularly recurring meetings for prayer, reading of the scriptures, and preaching (see SYNAGOGUE). For the central sacrificial worship there remained the high honour of being the expression of the connection still subsisting between Jerusalem and the outside communities; every Jew of twenty years old or more had yearly to pay a half-shekel or didrachma to the temple for the maintenance of the sacrificial system still carried on there. This tax was collected yearly in the various districts, and transmitted to Jerusalem by the hands of persons of repute (Philo, *de Mon.* 23) under carefully framed regulations (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 91). Further, the pilgrimages to the three principal feasts, particularly that of Tabernacles, annually brought vast crowds of Jews of the Diaspora to the religious capital. Josephus (*Bj* vi. 93) gives the number of persons—natives and strangers together—present at the Passover, according to a census taken in the time of Cestius Gallus (63-66 A.D.), as having been 2,700,000. After the sacrificial system had been brought to an end in 70 A.D., it was by the forms of religious fellowship which had been developed in the Diaspora that the continued existence of Judaism was rendered possible.

The individual community was called *קבוצה* (lit. 'congregation'; *συναγωγή*). In towns with a large Jewish population (Alexandria, Antioch, Rome) there were many synagogues. The heads of the communities are usually spoken of as *ἄρχοντες*. In Alexandria an *ἐθνάρχης* was at the head of the entire Jewish community (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 72); it may be added that he had nothing to do with the office of the Alabarch or Arabarch (cp. ALEXANDRIA, § 2). Under Augustus the direction of affairs was handed over to a *γερονσία* with *ἄρχοντες* at its head. In Rome each of the many synagogues had its own *γερονσία* with *ἄρχοντες* and a *γερονσίαρχης* over all. The building in which the meetings were held—on sabbaths and feast days especially—was called *תּוֹבֵבָה* (in Gr. *συναγωγή* or *προσευχή*, less frequently *συναγωγίον, προσεκτήριον, σαββατεῖον*). See, further, SYNAGOGUE.

The contact brought about by the Diaspora communities between Judaism and the Greco-Roman culture was of great consequence to the history of civilisation. Here again it is the Western Diaspora that principally claims our attention; the Eastern, in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, had little share in this movement, and indeed hardly comes under observation at all. It was not until comparatively late in the day, it would seem, that the Greeks began to take any but the most superficial interest in Judaism and the Jews. Willich (43-63) has collected all that Greek writers had to say about them down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and remarks (170): 'In the period before Antiochus Epiphanes the Greek regarded the Jew with feelings of mingled curiosity and wonder, astonishment and instinctive antipathy.' In these circumstances it is not surprising that, down to the date in question, the intellectual importance of the Diaspora was slight. Traders, freedmen, and prisoners of war constituted the majority of the Diaspora of these days; and such people should excite the interest and attention of educated Greeks was not to be expected. An educated Jew

acquainted with Greek is spoken of as a rarity by Clearchus of Soli (c. *Ap.* 1.22).

The question of the rapidity or tardiness of the change in this respect that ultimately came depends on

19. The Greek translation of the Pentateuch (at *sup.* 154 ff.), whether we date the production of the Septuagint. from the reign of Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), or, as has recently been done by Willrich (181-145 B.C.). Whatever its date, this attempt to make the Law speak in Greek conclusively shows that when it was made the Jews of Alexandria had already assimilated so much of what was Greek that they could no longer get on with Hebrew alone, either in their synagogues or in their courts. Their sojourn abroad made it imperative on Jews everywhere to complete their *rapprochement* with Hellenism. In the process many may well have become lost to Judaism altogether. The Greek version of the Pentateuch, however, evinces the fixed determination of the majority not to allow themselves to be robbed of the old faith by the new culture. As the influence of the Jews, on trade and public life generally, advanced—in Egypt and Syria in the first instance—it became increasingly necessary for the Greeks to decide definitely what their own attitude towards them was to be. This led to struggle, but also to friendly dealings.

Antipathy to Judaism manifested itself both in coarse and in refined ways. The uneducated masses scoffed

20. Foreign antipathy. at the Jews for their outlandish customs, plundered them at all hands, and occasionally gave expression to their hatred in massacres. Civic authorities tried to infringe Jewish privileges or to hinder the transmission of the temple money to Jerusalem (see the decree in *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 10). Roman emperors even more than once sanctioned measures that pressed hardly on the Jews. Tiberius in 19 A.D. expelled them from Rome, and forced 4000 of them upon military service to Sardinia (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 3.5; similarly Tac. *Ann.* 2.85 Suet. *Tib.* 36). They seem soon afterwards to have been restored to the enjoyment of their rights. Caligula gave free course to a bloody persecution of the Jews in Alexandria in 38 A.D. Petitions and embassies (Philo, Apion) to the emperor proved of no avail. It was not until Claudius had come to the throne that the old privileges were again restored to the victims of persecution (Philo, in *Placc.* and *Leg. ad Catum*; *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 8.1 xix. 52). Later, Claudius intervened in Rome in a hostile sense (Acts 18.2 Suet. *Claud.* 25 Dio Cassius ix. 6). The Jews defended themselves as best they could, not so much by force as by money or writings, and by cultivating friendly relations with those in high places.

The controversy carried on with the pen is worthy of remark. Gentile writers made it a reproach that the

21. Literary controversy. Jews as a people had done nothing for civilisation and had produced no men of distinction (so Posidonius, Polybius, Strabo, Apion). These and similar charges the Jews answered in innumerable apologies—some of them (such as those of Nicolaus Damascus and Philo) with a dignity and earnestness worthy of the cause, though others (such as that of Josephus in many cases) showed a disposition to confound the convenient with the true, and others did not hesitate to resort to misrepresentation and positive falsehood (Pseudo-Hecataeus, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristobolus, Aristaeus, etc.). The most incredible fables were gravely set forth.

Abraham was the founder of astronomy; Joseph the founder of geometry and the inventor of agriculture; Moses the author of the divisions of Egypt into nomes, and of the Egyptian animal worship. Jews and Spartans exchanged salutations as descendants of Abraham (1 *Macc.* 12.20 ff.; cp *Ant.* xiv. 10.2).

Such things could be written only by Jews who had become familiar with the activities and intellectual life of Hellenistic circles, by men for whom the Græco-Roman culture had become an indispensable element of

everyday life. They were only unconsciously proving the respect which they themselves cherished for foreign culture when they tried to trace the origin of culture to their own forefathers. Such literary phenomena could not be produced in Jerusalem, the home of Judaism; they prove that Judaism abroad, although still wearing the garment of the Law, carried a very different nature under that old-fashioned vestment. It had now found a large range of activities which it shared with contemporary humanity at large.

This struggle—itself an evidence of the power to which the Judaism of the Diaspora had attained—does

22. Friendly contact. not exhaust the history. There were many points of friendly contact between Judaism and the outer world.

For the more educated circles of the Gentile world the Judaism of the Diaspora had, in fact, a great attraction. In it men felt themselves face to face with a power which had developed new forces—unfinching self-sacrificing fidelity in the maintenance of religious customs which seemed to the outsider meaningless—sabbath observance, circumcision, laws of purity. Through Judaism they became acquainted with a conception of God which, strange in its severity, enlightened by its simplicity, and attracted religious natures by its purity and its sincerity. The popular polytheism of Greece and Rome had been shattered by philosophy; in the Oriental religions, which at that time were advancing in triumph westward, the idea of a supreme God found many supporters; Judaism in its monotheism presented the explicit conception for which so many were looking. Inseparably connected with it was the thought of a divine creation of the world, of the original oneness of the world and the human race, as well as that of the providential ordering of the world—thoughts which promised to provide fixed formulæ for the cosmopolitan tendencies of the time, and were welcome on that account. No one has set forth the contents of Judaism from this point of view more nobly than Philo, the contemporary of Jesus in Alexandria. The confidence with which he handles these conceptions makes it probable not only that he had literary predecessors in this style but also that an appeal to practical experience gave a powerful support to his teaching (cp Strabo ap. *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 7.1; also *Jos. c. Ap.* 1.22 36 39 41 *BJ* iv. 5.2 κοσμική θρησκεία; also PROSELYTE, § 3). The Diaspora of the Mediterranean, and especially in Alexandria, thus not only led the way to the breaking of the narrow bonds of the Jewish Law, but also was the first to make the heathen world acquainted with a spiritual conception of God and a spiritual worship presented in a positive religion, and thus paved the way for the coming of Christianity.

Schürer, *OT* 2. 433-438; O. Holtzmann, *Ende des jüd. Staatswesens u. Entsch. d. Christenthums* (1870) B. Stube, *OT* 2. 270 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *NTliche Zeitsch.*

Literature. (95) H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, 1895 (see also We. in *GA* 1895, p. 194 ff. and Schürer in *ZM.*, 1896, no. 2); Th. Reinach, *Textes d'antiquité grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme, romain, traduits, et annotés*, 1895; Cless, *De Colonia Judæorum in Æg. deductis*, i. (32); Schürer, 'Die Alabarchen in Ägypten' in *ZWT*, 1875, p. 13 ff. (cp Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 1. 448 ff.); Evely-Wissowa, *Real-encycl. d. class. Alterthumsk.* (2.2) 'Arabische et. Lumbrosi'; *L'Égypte des Grecs et des Romains*, 1895; 'Ricerche Alessandrine' in *Mem. d. Accademia di Scienza di Torino*, ser. ii. t. 27 (73) sc. mor. e filol. 237-245; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895; *The Flinders Petrie Papyrus*, ed. by J. P. Mahaffy, i. and ii., 1891, 1893; Ulr. Wilcken, 'Alexandrinische Gesundheitsverhältnisse vor Kaiser Claudius' in *Hermes*, 30.481 ff. (95); Th. Reinach, 'L'Empereur Claude et les Juifs'; *Égypte des Grecs et des Romains*, 1895; 'Ricerche Alessandrine' in *Mem. d. Accademia di Scienza di Torino*, ser. ii. t. 27 (73) sc. mor. e filol. 237-245; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895; *The Flinders Petrie Papyrus*, ed. by J. P. Mahaffy, 1896; Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek papyri chiefly Ptolemaic*, 1896; *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, introd. J. P. Mahaffy, 1896; Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt*, 1895; A. Benlone, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (95); Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (96); Alf. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, 1896; E. Schürer, 'Die Juden im bospora-

nischen Reich u. die Genossenschaften der *αρχαιονομοί* *ἀρχαιονομοί* *ἐκκλησιασταί* in *S.B.H.* 1307, p. 200 ff. H. G.

DITSTAFF. See FLAX.

DISTRICT 1. (דִּשְׁטְרִי; ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ; *viciis* [once *παγὸς* 30.]; *Neh.* 3:2-3:4; RV), the name given to certain administrative divisions of Judaea in Nehemiah's time, each of which was under a 'ruler' or 'chief' (דִּשְׁטְרִי). These 'districts' comprise Jerusalem and Keilah (each with two rulers), Beth-haccerem, Beth-zer, and Mizpah (BNA om. [I. *ἡ πόλις*; see Vg. see above]). It is not impossible that the list was originally much fuller. From the character of the names of the 'rulers' Meyer (*Entst.* 166 ff.) has concluded that they were Calebites (see CALEB, § 4). The organisation of the Calebites in the genealogies 1 Ch. 2:4 suggests further that the *pelek* was a tribal subdivision,² the head of which would correspond to the *ἑθνοάρχης* (in Gr. inscr. from the Haurān) of the later Nabataean kingdom (cp 2 Cor. 11:32, and see EPHSAKOR).

2. 'District' in Acts 16:12 RV also translates *μειρί*, which here represents, apparently, the Latin *regio*. See MACEDONIA, PHILIPPI. S. A. C.

DITCHES (צְדָיִם; K. 316, etc. See CONDUITS, § 1 (3, 5), and PIT.

DIVINATION. Men instinctively wish to know the future, and among all peoples there have been those who have, from certain omens, claimed to be able to predict it. Such knowledge could only come from supernatural beings.

1. **Divination.** When beasts or birds, by their movements, or otherwise, gave men intelligible signs, it was because they were 'indwelt' by beings that were supernatural, or because they were supernatural themselves. 'Omens are not blind tokens; the animals know what they tell to men' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 443).

Necromancy is a kind of divination, not a thing distinct in itself (see below, § 3). It is difficult, if not impossible, to indicate the boundary line between divination and *prophecy*. In both the same general principle obtains—intercourse of man with the spiritual world in order to obtain special knowledge. In divination, this knowledge is usually got by observing certain omens or signs; but this is by no means always the case, since sometimes the beings consulted possessed the soothsayer. Divination, as practised in this last method, does not differ from prophecy of the lowest kind—that of the ecstatic state—as distinguished from that higher species of prophecy which in Riehm's happy phrase is 'psychologically mediated.'³ See PROPHECY.

The ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc., had modes of divining that apparently were unknown to the

2. **Methods.** Hebrews of the OT—e.g., by observation of the flights and cries of birds, inspection of the entrails of animals, etc. (see Freytag, *Einkl.* 159 ff.); but there are mentioned in the OT many signs or omens that resemble or are identical with those in use among other nations.

i. *Rhodomancy* (divination by rods) appears to be referred to in Hos. 4:12, 'My people ask counsel at their "wood," and their "staff" declares unto them' (cp Herod. 467). The higher prophets of course forbade this; but we may perhaps assume that it was uncondemned in earlier times.

ii. *Belomancy* (divination by arrows), a development of rhodomancy, is mentioned in Ezek. 21:27 ff. [19 ff.], where the Babylonian king is said to have stood 'at the

parting of the way,' and to have 'shaken the arrows to and fro.' The doubtful point was whether he was to march from Babylon to Egypt by Jerusalem or by Rabbath-Ammon. As PROCK (quoted by Koenigsmüller) long ago pointed out, *belomancy* was much in use among the Arabs (see also We. *Heid.* 132). For the Babylonian practice, see Lenormant, *La Divination*, chap. 2; as this able though sometimes uncritical writer truly points out, *belomancy* had but a secondary importance. Nebuchadrezzar had certainly consulted the stars and the regular omens in order to ascertain whether the right time had come for the campaign against Egypt. Arab tradition tells how Imrasal-Kais practised *belomancy* before setting out against Asad. He did so 'by shuffling before the image of the god a set of arrows. These were here three in number, called respectively, "the Commanding," "the Forbidding," and "the Waiting." He drew the second, and thereupon broke the arrows, and flung them in the face of the idol.' Mohammed forbade the use of arrows, as 'an abomination of Satan's work' (Koran, Sur. 592). The arrows were special, pointless arrows (originally rods).

iii. The Babylonian king, however, did more than shake the sacred arrows; the passage continues, 'he looked in the liver' ('*hepatoscopy*'). (We omit the reference to the *teraphim* because no new point is indicated by it; the king consulted the *teraphim* [*singular*], by shaking the arrows *before* it, as was always done also by the heathen Arabs.) The liver, which was regarded as the chief seat of life (1 Prov. 7:23), was supposed to give warning of the future by its convulsive motions, when taken from the sacrificed victim (see LIVER). That an application for oracles was accompanied by sacrifices we know from the story of Balaam. Lenormant (*op. cit.* 58 ff.) refers to two Babylonian fragments relative to the inspection of the entrails, giving some of the features which had to be watched for. The Greeks, too, practised *ἥπατοσκοπία*.

iv. The objects used for *lots* in Arabia were, as we have seen, pointless arrows. Among the Israelites, however, the principal objects employed were probably stones of different colours, one of which gave the affirmative, the other the negative answer to the question put (so Wellh., *Ilu.*, H. P. Smith, in connection with the classical passage, 1 S. 14:41). Other passages in the historical books in which the phrase *2 שמע* ('to inquire of') occurs should probably be explained on the analogy of this passage. Cp EPHOD, URIM AND THUMMIM, TERAPHIM.

v. Passing over such omens as Gideon's in Judg. 6:36 and Jonathan's in 1 S. 14:8 ff., and reserving astrology for subsequent consideration (see STARS), we pause next at the most important of all the modes of divination that linked the Hebrews with other peoples—

(vi.) The method of *dreams* (*oneiromancy*). Jacob may have sufficient reason for making good his escape from Laban; but he will not take the decisive step without a direct revelation (Gen. 31:10-13). In other cases the divine communication is such as exceeds the power of human reason to discover; instances are the dreams of Abimelech (Gen. 20:3 ff.), and especially those of Joseph (Gen. 37:5 cp 40:8 41:1 ff.). Other noteworthy instances of divinely sent dreams are Gen. 28:12 ff. 31:24 Judg. 7:13 1 K. 3:7 Mt. 1:20 2:19 27:19. Notice is to be taken for relating dreams. The author of the speeches of Elihu also attaches great importance to dreams as a channel of divine communications (Job 33:14-16). It would almost seem as if the belief in the symbolic character of dreams should be reckoned among other revivals of primitive beliefs in the period of early Judaism (cp the dream-visions in Enoch chap. 83-90, and the dreams in the Book of Daniel; also Jos. *BJ* ii. 7:4 iii. 8:3). Men were oppressed by constant anxiety as to the future, and there was no prophet in the great old style to assuage this. They looked about, therefore, for artificial means of satisfying their curiosity. Prophets

¹ The word is no doubt the Ass. *paḫḫū* (cp. *paḫḫū*, *paḫḫū*, 'leader,' 'district'; cp probably Phoen. *ḫḫḫ* *ḫḫḫ*, 'district of Laodicea,' *CIS* 1, no. 7). On the Heb. *ḫḫḫ* see also Dr. on 2 S. 3:29.

² Cp *ḫḫḫ*, Judg. 5:15f (if correct, see Moore), *ḫḫḫ*, *ḫḫḫ*, 2 Ch. 35:10.

³ *Messianic Prophecy*, 45 *et passim*.

like Isaiah, however, never refer to their dreams, and it is even a question how far the visions of which they speak are to be taken literally (see PROPHECY).

vii. On a possible divination by means of sacred garments, see DRESS, § 8.

We must now consider briefly the various terms applied to divination and diviners, and endeavour to define their application.

1. **שׂוֹטְרֵי**, *soṭerim*, a general term for divination of all kinds (cp the Ar. *ṣawra*, and see PRIESTS), on the derivation of which see MAGIC, § 3 (1). Thus EV renders

3. **תַּרְגָּמִים**, 'divination' (once 'witchcraft', 1 S. 15:23 EV),

שׂוֹטְרֵי, 'diviner' (1 S. 10: 26; Zech. 10: 2), also 'soothsayer' (Josh. 13:22 EV) and 'prudent' (Is. 3:2 AV); and שׂוֹטְרֵי gives the more general terms *μαυροί, μαυρομαντεία, μαυροί, μαυροί*. Ezek. 21:26 [21], however, shows plainly enough that the word had the distinct sense of obtaining an oracle by casting lots by means of arrows (see above, § 2 [2]). The one selected by chance was supposed to represent the divine decision; on the other hand, in 1 S. 28:8, Saul is made to ask the witch to divine for him by means of the *ḥōb* (שׂוֹטְרֵי); see below, § 4 (ii.); and cp MAGIC.

2. **מְנַחֵן** (*meṭanen*). The etymology of this word is much disputed (cp Del. on Is. 26). Two interpretations deserve mention: (a) *Meṭanen* is one who divines by observing the clouds (denom. from **נָחַן**), a mode of divination well known among the ancients; or perhaps, one who brings clouds, or causes storms (*αφρονισμός*). In the passages in which the word occurs, however, there is nothing to suggest that the *meṭanen* has anything to do with the sky. (b) One who smites with the 'evil eye' (denom. from **נָחַן**); but, apart from other considerations, the Targ. rendering **נָחַן** appears to be decidedly against this view. In the absence of further evidence it is best to follow Ewald (*Bibl. Theol.* 1:234) and WRS (*loc. cit.*; cp also Dr.), who compare the Arabic *ganna*, 'to emit a hoarse, nasal sound.' The fact that so many of the words connected with magic and divination denote low vulgar or mournful speaking, favours this last surmise, though there must ever remain much doubt about the exact origin and meaning. שׂוֹטְרֵי renders by a word which means primarily to take an omen from the flight of birds, examples of which practice may be found in Arabia (cp We. *Heid.* 2:207 f.). The word is usually rendered by 'observers (once Judg. 9:37 AV) 'regarders of times' (AV), or 'augurs' (RV) (Dr. 18:10; 2 K. 21:6) in Is. 2:6; Mi. 5:12 [11] EV 'soothsayers' (so also Jer. 27:9 RV, where AV 'enchanter'; once Gen. 41:16 'sorceress' [Is. 57:3]. An oak near Shechem, famous in divination, bears the name 'Oak of MEON-ENIM' (Judg. 9:37). For other examples of sacred trees cp IDEALITY, § 2, and see NATURE-WORSHIP.

3. **שׂוֹטְרֵי** (*soṭerim*), 'to use enchantment' (2 K. 21:6=2 Ch. 33:6 Lev. 10:26; cp **שׂוֹטְרֵי**, 'enchantment' Nu. 23:23 24:1, or 'to divine' (Gen. 44:15 EV; and Gen. 30:27 RV, where AV 'to learn by experience'; cp 1 K. 20:35 'diligently observe', RV) 'take as an omen'), is probably used to include any kind of divination (WRS). In Gen. 44:15 the same word is used for divination by a cup of wine, probably by *hydro-mancy*, where a vessel is filled with water and the rings formed by the liquid are observed. Was **שׂוֹטְרֵי** originally used in a special sense, and connected with **שׂוֹטְרֵי**, 'a serpent'? So at least Bochart, Lenormant, and Baudissin (*Studien zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1:287); see SERPENT, § 1, 3; MAGIC, § 8, 3.

4. **שׂוֹטְרֵי**, *soṭerim*, is found only in Daniel (2:7 4:17 5:7 11: EV 'soothsayers', and may be rendered 'prognosticators,' properly 'those who determine [what is to befall]'; cp Rev. 18:24. The root means 'to cut'; but whether the 'cutting of the heavens' by Babylonian astrologers is meant, is uncertain (see STARS, § 5). Perhaps (cp Ar. *ṣawra*, 'to slaughter') the *soṭerim* originally offered a sacrifice in connection with the art (cp Vg. *haruspices*). See § 2, iii.

5. **שׂוֹטְרֵי** (*soṭerim*) and **שׂוֹטְרֵי** (*soṭerim*) occur in the Heb. (1:20 2) and the Aram. (2:10 4:7 [4], etc.) parts of Daniel respectively, and are rendered 'astrologer,' RV 'enchanter.' The word is of Assyrian origin (STARS, § 5). It is difficult to say whether **שׂוֹטְרֵי** and the other terms found were meant to represent a separate class, or whether the writer employed these terms indiscriminately (Dev. Ban. 63).

6. **שׂוֹטְרֵי** (*soṭerim*) in Dan. 1:4 2:10 (5:7 11) means the caste of wise men. This usage (well known from classical writers) arose after the fall of the Babylonian empire, when the only Chaldeans known were astrologers and soothsayers.

1 Possibly the Teraphim were similarly employed; see TERAPHIM.

2 The so-called *καλομαγεία*. Cp Joseph's divining-cup with the famous goblet of Jemshid, and see Lenormant, *La Divination*, 78-80. For a parallel French superstition, see B. Thiers, *Traité des superstitions* (2), Paris, 1697, 1:187 ff.

7. For **גַּד** (*Gad*) and **מְנַחֵן** (*Meṭen*) in Is. 65:11, see FORTUNE AND DESTINY. See also other terms under MAGIC.

Necromancy, to which we turn next, is, as the etymo-

4. **Necromancy.** **λογία** of the word implies, divination by resort to the spirits of deceased persons. Three terms or expressions fall to be noticed, all of them met with in Dt. 18:11.

i. We shall begin with that which occurs last in the verse, viz. **וְיָרֵם אֱלֹהֵיכֶם** (one who resorts with an inquiry to the dead), rendered by EV 'necromancer.' It is clear from Is. 8:19 that this is a general description embracing the kinds of necromancy indicated by the two words next to be considered and other kinds (see Dr. on Dt. 18:11); the conjunction with which it is introduced is simply the explanatory 'ואשר,' answering to the Gk. *επεξηγητικα*.

ii. **שׂוֹטְרֵי אֱלֹהִים** (*soṭerim*), one who consults an 'ḥōb. The word 'ḥōb is generally found with *yidd'oni* (see below, iii.), like which, from meaning the spirit of a departed one, it came to stand for the person who possessed such a spirit and divined by its aid. The full phrase **שׂוֹטְרֵי אֱלֹהִים** (the possessor of an 'ḥōb) is found in 1 S. 28:7, where it is applied to the 'witch of Endor.'

שׂוֹטְרֵי explains the expression by *ἐγγαστριμυθος*, 'ventriloquist' (i.e., in the OT passages, one who, 'by throwing his voice into the ground, where the spirit was supposed to be, made people believe that a ghost spoke through him'), and Lenormant (*Div.* 161 ff.), Renan (*Hist. ET.* 1:347), and others so explain the phenomenon; but the writer of Samuel, and other biblical writers who speak of this species of divination, evidently regard it as being really what it claimed to be. Lev. 20:27 is the only possible exception.

The etymology of the word is very uncertain. Other suggestions may be passed by, for the field seems to be held by two principal views, H. P. Smith's view (*Samm.* 239 f.) being not very probable. (a) *ḥōb* has been connected with Arab. *ḥōb* = *awaba*, and explained 'a soul which returns (from Sheḥōl)'; cp French *revenant*. So Hitz and Kö, (on Is. 8:19), St. (*GT* 1:504), and Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 69). Schwally also suggests a connection with **אָב** 'father' (note plu. of both in *oth*). Van Hoonacker (*Exp. T.* 9:157 ff.) objects that in Dt. 18:11 the 'ḥōb is distinguished from the dead (*metim*); but if the latter clause of the verse is simply a generalisation of the two foregoing clauses, this objection falls.

(b) The other view (Ges., Del., Di.) connects the word with **בֹּתֵר**, 'a bottle,' literally 'something hollow.' A similar word in Arabic (*but'ra*) means 'a hole in a rock,' a large and deep pit—i.e., something hollow.²

On the assumption that the fundamental idea of the word is hollowness, many explanations have been suggested (see Van Hoonacker, as above). Of these, two may be noted as probably approximating most nearly to the truth.

1. Bötcher (*De inferis*, 101), Kau. (Kiehm. *HWB*), 'Totenbesucher'), and Di. (on Lev. 19:31) hold that the spirit is called *ḥōb*, on account of the hollow tone of the voice—such a tone as might be expected to issue from any empty place. Other terms for practising magic and divination lend some support to this view.

2. The idea of hollowness has been held to apply in the first place to the cave or opening in the ground out of which the spirit speaks. Among the Greeks and the Romans, oracles depending on necromancy were situated among large deep caverns which were supposed to communicate with the spirit-world. If the Hebrew *ḥōb* is parallel to the Greek *chthonic deities* and to the Arabian *ahl al-ard* or 'earth-folk,' with whom wizards have intercourse, it is conceivable that, by a metonymy—contained for centuries, and *vice versa*—the hollow cavern may have come to be used for the spirit that spoke out of it. See WRS *Kil. Sam.* 2: 103.

iii. **יִדְדֵי אֱלֹהִים** (*yidd'oni*). The English word 'wizard,' by which this Hebrew term is rendered, means 'a very wise one,' and agrees with **שׂוֹטְרֵי** (in Dt. 18:11 *τερατοκόπος*), Syriac *yadd'ā*, Arabic *arrāf*, and with Ewald's rendering 'viel-wissersch.'

Like 'ḥōb, *yidd'oni* is used, in the first instance, for the spirit of a deceased person; then it came to mean him

1 Namely, that the 'ḥōb was originally a skull prepared by superstitious rites for magical purposes; and H. A. Redpath, on the other hand, suggests that the 'ḥōb was one who spoke out of a hollow mask or domino.

2 In Job 82:19 **מְנַחֵן** seems to mean 'bellows' (**שׂוֹטְרֵי** *φυστήριον* [-*της* *α*'] *χαλκῆος*).

(5) Another view, so far as the name goes, is more satisfactory. The Rodanim of the text of Chronicles (if we follow most MSS and 5) may be as inaccurate as the 'Diphath' which it gives for 'Riphath' (1 Ch. 16), and Dodanim itself may be incorrectly given for Dardanim (Tg. Jon., Luzzatto, Ges., Knob., Franz Del.). The name Dardan, as inscriptions of Rameses II. show, comes down from early times; it designates properly a people of Asia Minor, not far from the Lycians (see WMM, *As. u. Aeg.* 354 f.). It is not impossible that for דודנין (Ch. reads 5) the original source of P's information read דודנימ (cp TOGARMAH), and it would be natural for writers and scholars of the Greek period (6) and perhaps Ch.) to convert Dardanim into Rodanim, and to understand the Rhodians. It has been proposed elsewhere to identify another son of Javan (Tarshish, or rather Turuṣ) with another people mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions (see TIRAS). The author of the list used by P may have known Dardan as well as Turuṣ. If דודנין is the correct reading in Ezek. we should perhaps pronounce it Redan, not Rodan. Recent critics may, however, have been too hasty in rejecting MT's reading Dedan. The 'islands' are not necessarily those in which the merchants spoken of resided; they may very well be the coast-lands with which Dedan had commercial dealings. Cp DEDAN, and, on Ezek. 27 15, see EBONY. T. K. C.

DODAVAH, as AV, or rather DODAVAH as RV (דודאָוָה), perhaps for דודאָוָה, 'Yahwè is friend or patron,' § 47—whence come the abbreviated forms DODAH, DODAI [דודאָ]—דודאָ [BA], דודאָוָה [1.]; *Dodaa*; Pesh. implies the reading 'Dodo', the father of a prophet called Eliezer (2 Ch. 20 37). T. K. C.

DODO (דודו), § 52, with which cp דודאי, DODAI, and דודי, DAVID. The fuller form is probably דודאָוָה [cp DODAVAH], which means 'Yahwè is friend or patron' [so Marq. *Fund.* 16]. דוד, *genius loci*, is rightly restored by Wi. in Am. 8 14, and there appears to be an allusion to the 'divine friend' in Is. 51 (where note that דודי and דודי are parallel). The Dodah (דודא) of Atratho is mentioned in the Mesha inscription l. 12. May we also compare Duda, the name of a high Egyptian official in the Amarna tablets (*Am. Tab.* 44 45 52 15, cp Wi. *AF* 194)? T. K. C.

1. A Bethlehemite, father of the renowned hero ELHANAN (cp 2 S. 23 24 (דודאָוָה) [BA], *Am.* [A]), 1 Ch. 11 26 (דודאָוָה) [BA], *Am.* [A], *1 Ch.* [1]).

2. (AV following K¹; but see DODAI.) An AHOHITE (cp *sv.*), father of David's warrior Elieazar, 2 S. 23 4 (αἰὼς παραδεισίου αἰῶνος) [BA], see AHOHITE, דודאָוָה [1.]; 1 Ch. 11 12 (דודאָוָה) [BA], *1 Ch.* [1]).

3. An ancestor of Tola of Issachar, one of the Judges, Judg. 10 1, if we should not rather follow eight cursive MSS of 5 and read, for 'son of Dodo,' 'son of his (Abimelech's) uncle Karsath.' See Hollenberg, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 194 f. 5^{HAL} has υἱὸς παραδεισίου αἰῶνος (so Pesh. Vg.). See TOLA.

DOE (דוֹעַ), Pr. 5 19 f, RV. See GOAT.

DOEG (דוֹעַ), 1 S. 21 7 [8] 22 9, but דוֹעַ, 1 S. 22 18 22 [Kt.], דוֹעַ, Ps. 52 2; ΔΩΗΚ [BARTL], but ΔΩΗΓ, 1 S. 22 9 [A]; Jos. *Ant.* vi. 12 i, ΔΩΗΘΕΟΙ. An Edomite (for the reading דוֹעַ, 'Syrian,' presupposed [except in Ps. 52 2] by 5^{HAL} [but not L] and Jos., is certainly wrong) who filled some minor post among the servants of Saul; most probably he was 'keeper of the saddle asses' (cp Judg. 10 4 1 S. 9 3 a S. 16 2 1 Ch. 27 30), 1 S. 21 7 [8] 22 9. He had been detained (so one tradition tells us) 'before Yahwè'—i. e., in the sacred precincts at Nob (or Gibeon; see NOB)—by some obscure religious prescription (see *RS* 456), and had cunningly watched David in his intercourse with the priest Ahimelech (see DAVID, § 3). Soon after, he denounced the latter to the suspicious Saul, and when the king commanded his 'runners' to put Ahimelech and the other priests to

¹ See also under DANIEL, 4.

death, and they refused, it was this foreigner who lifted up his hand against them (1 S. 22 9-18).

The two passages in which Doeg's office is referred to are no longer in their original form in M^L. In 21 [AV 21] he is called 'the mightiest of the shepherds' (דוֹעַר רֵעִים), a strange description of a shepherd, and still stranger when we observe that דוֹעַר occurs nowhere else in Hebrew narratives. The conjecture 'the mightiest of the runners' (רָעִים), Grätz, Dr., Ki., Bu.) gives an easier but still not a natural phrase, and disregards the rendering of 5^{HAL} in 21 7 [8], דוֹעַר רֵעִים מִדֹּעַר רֵעִים מִדֹּעַר. There can be little doubt that Lagarde (*Mittheil.* § 350) is right in reading דוֹעַר רֵעִים, which he renders 'driver of the mules,'—a less natural rendering than that given above, but still possible. Words like דוֹעַר and רֵעִים are flexible. For the former see Lagarde (*Loc.*); for the latter, see ABEL. Almost as certainly we should also read דוֹעַר for דוֹעַר in 22 9 (see 5). We 5 objection to following 5 here (*TBS* 125) falls to the ground as soon as it is recognised that 21 7 [8] is a later insertion in the narrative.

The reference to Doeg in the title of Ps. 52 is due to the thirst of later Jewish readers for biblical justification of their idealising view of David. The Psalm was written for use in the temple (see v. 8). T. K. C.

DOG (דוֹג), a name, of unknown origin, common to all Semitic dialects; ΚΥΩΝ, *canis* [but Mt. 15 26 f. = Mk. 7 27 f. ΚΥΝΑΡΙΟΝ, *catellus*]. No

1. **References.** Mk. 7 27 f. ΚΥΝΑΡΙΟΝ, *catellus*. No dogs of any noble type are mentioned in the Bible. The Israelitish kings were not, like the Assyrian, great hunters, and even the Hebrew legend of Nimrod the hunter (but is 'hunter' meant literally? see NIMROD) in Gen. 10 9 says nothing of his dogs.² According to EV the greyhound is referred to in Prov. 30 31 as one of the four things which are 'stately in going'; but this is doubtful (see COCK, GREY-HOUND). The shepherd's dog is mentioned in Job 30 1, and dogs which guard the house may be intended in Is. 56 10; but neither passage vouchsafes the dog any friendly words. The OT references are in fact almost entirely to the pariah dog, such as may be seen in any of the 'Bible lands' to-day. They seem to have gone careering in packs round the city at night (Ps. 59 14 f.); it was dangerous to stop one of them (Prov. 26 17). Doubtless, however, they were useful as scavengers. They were ready to devour even human bodies (1 K. 14 11 16 4 21 23 f., 2 K. 9 10 36 and similarly Jer. 15 3 cp 1 K. 21 19 22 38 Ps. 68 23 [24]), and to them flesh that men might not eat was thrown (Ex. 22 31; contrast Mt. 7 6). From Mk. 7 28 (Mt. 15 27) some have inferred a sympathy between men and dogs in the time of Christ; but this is hazardous. Paul has no such sympathy (Phil. 3 2), and a certain Rabbi dissuades from keeping fierce dogs in the house, apparently because they would frighten away the poor (*Shabb.* 63 a). Most dogs, then, were fierce. Yet Tobit, according to the Greek text, makes a companion of his dog on his journeys (Tob. 5 16 11 4); see TOBIT.

The pariah dog referred to above is a variety of the cosmopolitan dog (*Canis familiaris*), though the breed

2. **Pariah dog.** has probably been intermixed by crossing with jackals or wolves. The dogs live in companies, each dog having its own lair (sometimes two), to which it returns for rest during the day. Those that frequent the towns act as scavengers, living on offal; but in the country they are trained by the shepherds and farmers to act as sheep-dogs (cp Job 30 1). Not much good, however, can be said of the latter: they are 'a mean, sinister, ill-conditioned generation,' whose use consists in barking at intruders and warning the shepherds of any possible danger.³ In appearance they resemble the Scotch collie, and are said to be

¹ On the breeds of hunting dogs known in Assyria, see Houghton, *TSAI* 5 50-62 [77].

² On the four 'dogs' of Marдук (Merodach) see below. So in some legends the Tyrian Heracles (or Melkart) is accompanied by a dog (*Rel. Rom.* 8 292).

³ Thomson, *LB* (ed. '94) 202; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 309 337 f. 24.

intelligent, and sagacious when trained. Rabies is almost, or entirely, unknown among them.

The stress laid in Judg. 7:7 on the way in which Gideon's three hundred drank, lapping with their

3. Exegetical details. tongues, like dogs, probably indicates that they were fierce uncivilised men (Moore, *ibid.*, 202). The mention of

'dogs' in company with 'lions' in Ps. 22 as typical of the fierce enemies of pious Israel, is surprising. There is no OT parallel for the use of the pariah dogs of Eastern cities as symbolic of the enemies of Israel. In later times the Gentiles were called 'dogs' (*Avidah*, 77 a; *Isaac Kama*, 49 a, etc.); but the Talmudic use has no biblical authority; Mk. 7:27 surely does not express what may be called biblical doctrine. Moreover in Ps. 22:1 only lions and wild oxen are referred to. Aq., Theod., and Jer. evidently read קְלָבִים 'hunters'; this is a clever attempt to get over a real difficulty. In Ps. 17 (LXX 107) we should certainly read קְלָבִים וְאֵיִם וְרִמָּיִם, קְרָה רִמָּיִם וְרִמָּיִם. The sense then becomes, 'Gently lions in their strength surround me. A troop of wild-oxen encircles me.'

Similarly in 17. 21 (EV 20) we should read לִבְנֵי אֱתָר, and render (reading פְּסָרִי for פְּרָרִי).

Search my soul from the young lion,
My life from the clutch of the greedy lion.

We now pass on to a group of five passages which have been much misunderstood.

1. 2 K. 8:17 'What is thy servant, the dog [כֶּלֶב] has 'the dead dog' i. e. that he should do this great thing? RV, paraphrasing, 'which is but a dog.' AV incorrectly, 'Is thy servant a dog, etc.'

2. 2 S. 10:9 'Why should this dead dog [כֶּלֶב] 'this cursed dog' curse my lord the king?'

3. 2 S. 9:8 'What is thy servant that thou shouldst look upon a dead dog like me?'

4. 1 S. 24:14 [15] 'After whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog?'

5. 2 S. 3:8 'Am I a dog's head that belongeth to Judah?' (EV).

As to (1) AV is quite wrong. Hazael does not revolt in horror from the description of Elisha, but only affects to think it too great an achievement for him. 'Dog' is here an expression of servile humility towards Elisha, as in Assyrian ('we are the king's dogs, i. e. his humble servants'). In (2) 'dead dog' (כֶּלֶב מֵת) cannot be right, as כֶּלֶב indicates by the substituted epithet (see above). The text must be incorrect. We want some word which will be equally suitable in (2) (3) and (4); and if possible some word which will make better sense than 'dead' (כֶּלֶב) even in (3) and (4), where it has hitherto been plausibly taken as an Oriental exaggeration. The word which we seek is כֶּלֶב 'unclean'; 'dead dog' should be 'unclean, despised, pariah dog.' To explain his see Doughty's striking description of the treatment of their hounds by the Bedouin, who 'with blows cast out these profane creatures from the beyt.'² As to (5) the text is evidently not quite correct (see Klo.); there seems to be a play on the name of Caleb the dog-tribe (see 10:5, n. 1; NABAL). To read 'Am I a dog's head' (omitting the next words), with Prof. H. P. Smith, can hardly be called satisfactory.

This idiom may cast light upon Dt. 23:18[19] where 'dog' appears to be applied to the class of persons elsewhere called *hēdēsim*. It was natural to explain the word as a term of contempt (see *ETHIOPIAN*, § 6). It, however, 'unclean dog' or some similar phrase was a common circumlocution indicative of humble deference used in addressing superiors, as *Kalbu* is in Assyrian (especially in the Amarna letters), *kele* need not, as applied to these temple servants, have been a term of contempt; it may have been their ordinary name (so *RSP* 292). The word appears in fact in Phœnician, applied to a class of servants (כֶּלֶבִּים) attached to a temple of Ashureth in Cyprus (*CS* 1 no. 86 B, l. 10).

There are not wanting indications that the dog was held in religious veneration. A river running into the

4. The dog sea a few miles N. of Beirut is called the Dog river (*Naher-el-Kelb, Lycus flumen*), and al-Nadim informs us that the dog was sacred among the Harranians. 'They offered sacrificial gifts to it, and in certain mysteries dogs were solemnly declared to be the brothers of the mystae.'³ This seems to be connected with primitive Babylonian mythology; 'my lord with the dogs' (a divine title at

Harran) points to Marbil and his four dogs. It is possible that the dog may have been among the animals worshipped by the Sarrim: Sarrim *an a' uman* 144, n. 2, among some N. American Indians and in Java). Robertson Smith refers to *Isaac* (181) 34, who states that Darius forbade the Carthaginians to sacrifice human victims and to eat the flesh of dogs (in a religious meal, it is implied). There seems also to be an allusion to something of this kind in post-exilic Palestine—a custom, chiefly prevalent perhaps among the mixed Samaritan population,² of sacrificing the dog? on certain occasions (1 K. 16:11).

T. K. C. § 3.

DOLEFUL CREATURES (דוֹלֵפִים), Is. 13:21, see JACKAL.

DOMINIONS (ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ), or rather 'lordships,' Col. 1:16, cp 1 Pt. 1:11 Jude 1:2 1 Pt. 2:11. See *ANAT.* § 1.

DOOR (דֶּלֶת, θυρα, θυρωμα, etc. [BAFL], perhaps from דָּלַת, 'to swing,' or cp Ass. *edlu*, 'to bolt, bar').

The Hebrew *deleth* is used of the doors of a chamber (Judg. 3:23, 24, of a gate), Is. 64:11, and even of the door itself (Dt. 3:4, EV 'gates'). The difference between *peleth*, which may be any opening or entrance (e.g., of the ark, Gen. 6:16; LATTICE, § 1 [17], and *deleth*, is clearly illustrated by Gen. 19:30, where Lot stands in the *peleth* to keep back the men of Sodom from approaching the *deleth* 1 p. 280; 1 K. 6:11. For דֶּלֶת 'door' Ex. 35:17 Job 38:17 AV see *ETH.*

However necessary for ventilation d-doors were in the East (see LATTICE, § 1), the doors themselves were not employed so much as in less tropical regions. 'The lock was doubtless like those now in use in the East, so constructed that the bolt (מַנְעִיל, Cant. 5:5 Neh. 3:3 etc., RV; 'lock,' AV) was shot by the hand or by a thong; the key (מַפְתֵּחַ, 'opener') was only used for unlocking the door' (Moore, *SFO* [Eng.], *Judges*, 60). For descriptions of keys and locks, see *Wilk. Ann. Eg. 1850, Monist. Zeits. 09 | Che. D. SBOT*, ET, 159 f.

The Hebrew terms for the component parts of the doorway are (1) מַנְעִיל, the threshold (מַנְעִילִים, *man'ailim*, etc., *man'ail* [HRA], Jer. 35:4, *man'ail* 8¹¹ Q. *man'ailim* Aq. Sym. Theod. 1 also מַנְעִיל 1 S. 6:4 f.; see THESAUROUS, and cp מַנְעִיל, מַנְעִילִים, *man'ailah*, door post, Dt. 6:9 11:20; on derivation cp Schwally, *ZDMG* 52:136 f.; see FRONTLETS, (2) מַנְעִילִים, *man'ailim*, lintel, Is. 12:7, 22 f. (פֶּלֶא [BAFL], cp MH מַנְעִיל, 1 K. 7:12, 13; *man'ailim*, Prov. 26:13 *man'ailim*; cp also pl. מַנְעִיל 1 K. 7:12 cf. variant, *man'ailim* [BAFL]. See *CS* 11.

DOPHKAH (דּוֹפְקָה) דּוֹפְקָה [BAFL] דּוֹפְקָה [A after *el* in 7: 17]. 12 of the stages in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33:12 f.). See WANDERINGS, § 12.

DOR (דּוֹר, ΔΩΡ [BAFL], Josh. 12:25 ΔΩΡΩΜ [H], *adōp* [A]; Judg. 1:27 and 1 Ch. 7:29 Δωρη [I]; also written דּוֹר, cp Ph. דּוֹר below, Josh. 11:11, *dur* [Boswell]).

1. Name. more fully *Naphath-dor* (1 K. 4:11 RV *נַפְתָּח דּוֹר*; *dur*; *naphath-dor* [A], represented by *ana dathel durp* [H], and *Bathana* or *naphath-dor* [I]; Josh. 12:25 RV *durp* see *dur* *dur* *dur* [H], for variants see *CS*, 12. *naphath-dor* [A], 7. *naphath-dor* [I], and *Naphoth Dor* (Josh. 11:2 RV *נַפְתָּח דּוֹר*, *dur* *dur* [H], *naphath-dor* [A], 46. [AFL]), the modern *Tanfūrah*,³ lay on the Mediterranean coast about mid-

¹ There is still, however, some obscurity. Compare also such proper names as *דּוֹרֵי* (Phoen.), *דּוֹרֵי* (Phoen.), *דּוֹרֵי* (Phoen.), *דּוֹרֵי* (Nab. and Sin. inser.), *דּוֹרֵי* (Cur. *Arce. Sp.* *Doc.* 156), *Kalbu*, plur. *Kilab Aklab*, and dim. *Kulain* among Ar. tribal names, and the Heb. דּוֹרֵי (cp *Kin.* 200, *Journ. Phil.* 98); though Nöld. *ZDMG*, 1886, 164, n. 1, throws doubt on the identification of Caleb and דּוֹר; see NAMES, § 88.

² See *Chc. Inter. L.* 369, and cp *RSP* 357, and (on breaking the neck) *Aq.* 309 f.

³ Note that both the Sam. text and the Sam. Targum of Ex. 22:31 omit the contemptuous reference to the dog, and speak simply of casting away.

⁴ *dur* is the usual word in NT; cp Acts 5:10:23 etc.

⁵ On the origin of the name cp Ges. 1 *loc.* 331.

¹ The explanation of RV, therefore, is not quite correct.

² *Ar. Dec.* 1:37.

³ *RSP* 291, referring to *Fihrist*, 326, and other passages.

the great caravan road from Damascus and Gilead to Egypt, which is still in use, as it was when the story of Joseph and the company of Ishmaelite traders passing Dathan with spices from Gilead for Egypt was written (GASm. *HG* 151 f. 356). Van de Velde found the remains of a Jewish road crossing from Esdraelon to Sharon. At the S. foot of the Tell is a fountain called El-Hafreh; there is a second fountain and two large cisterns (cp the cistern into which Joseph's brethren are said to have lowered him). There is very fine pasturage on the surrounding plain, which the present writer found covered with flocks, some of them belonging to a camp of nomad Arabs. From its site on so ancient a road through the country, and near the mouth of the main pass from the N. into the hills of Samaria, the Tell must always have been a military position of importance; note the description in 2 K. 6:13 ff., and the frequent mention of it in the Book of Judith (advance of Holofernes). Cp *PEFMem.* 2169 215; Thomson, *LB.*, ed. 1877, p. 466 f.; Buhl, *Pal.* 24 f., 102, 107. G. A. S.

DOUGH. For Nu. 15:20 f. Neh. 10:37 [עֲרִיסָה] *YR*: 'course meal', see FOWLS, § 1, and for 2 S. 13:17 (722), cp BARNAY, § 1.

DOVE. The word dove is somewhat loosely applied to certain members of the suborder *Columbae* or pigeons; and, as no sharp distinction can be drawn, it is proposed to treat the doves and pigeons together in this article.

Three Heb. words come under consideration: (i) *עֹמֶה*, probably derived from its mournful note (*עֹמֶה עֹמֶה*). (ii) *תּוֹר*, *תּוֹר* (probably onomatopoeic, cp Lat. *turtur*; תּוֹרָה). EV 'turtle-dove'; and (3) *עֹמֶה יָנֵב*, EV 'young pigeon' (Gen. 15:9, || *תּוֹר*, *תּוֹר* *תּוֹר* [ADL]), properly any young bird; cp Dt. 32:11 (with reference to the *עֹמֶה*).

Apart from its occurrence in P and Gen. 15:9 (see below), *תּוֹר* is found only in Cant. 2:12 (where allusion is made to its 'voice'), in Jer. 8:7 (a migratory bird; cp § 4 [v.] below); EV in both 'turtle', and in Ps. 74:10 (*תּוֹר*). In the last-quoted passage *תּוֹר*, as the harmless, timid dove (cp Hos. 7:11 11:11 Mt. 10:16), is usually thought to be symbolical of Israel. The text-reading, however, is doubtful.¹ Elsewhere it is the *עֹמֶה* ('dove') that Israel is compared (see JONAH, ii. § 3). This is the most common term, which appears notably in the Deluge-story, Gen. 8:8-12 (DELUGE, § 17). Allusion is made in Ps. 55:6 [7] to its plumage, in Is. 38:14 59:11 to its mournful note.² Its gentle nature makes the dove a favourite simile or term of endearment in love poems (Cant. 1:15 4:1 5:2 12:6). That doves were domesticated among the Hebrews may be inferred from Is. 60:8 (see FOWLS, § 5), and it is of interest to recall that carrier-pigeons were well known in Egypt, and that at the coronation ceremony four were let fly to carry the tidings of the newly-made king to the four corners of the earth (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 330).

Are there reasons for supposing that among the Hebrews the dove ever enjoyed a reputation for sanctity? **3. Sacred character.** Conclusive evidence in support of this view is absent; but it is remarkable that a 'clean' bird, is never mentioned in the OT as an article of diet. It was a favourite food of the Egyptians, and is commonly eaten in Palestine at the present day. Moreover, we have to note that the *תּוֹר* and *עֹמֶה* are mentioned in an old covenant ceremony by E (Gen. 15:9), and that in P's legislation 'turtle-doves' (*תּוֹרִים*) and 'young pigeons' (*עֹמֶה*) are frequent sacrificial victims in ceremonies which,

1 In NT times doves for such purposes were sold in the temple itself (Mt. 21:12 Mk. 11:15 Jn. 2:14 19).
2 On the whole subject see Borchart, *Hieros.* ii. 1 and WRS *Kin.* 196 f.; R3[2] 219 n. 2, 294, etc. Cp also, for 'dove/oracles', Frazer, *Paus.* 4:149 f. The white dove was especially venerated; Tibullus, 1:7: 'alba Palæstino sancta columna Syro'.
3 This is a euphemistic substitute. Some authorities recognise 'doves', as an element in the phrase (so Köh. *Lehrgeb.* 2:102); others take *עֹמֶה* to be simply a termination (Ussish. *Avens.* 346, 'decayed leaves').
4 Such 'unclean' food was not likely to be exposed for sale even during a siege. And why specially the head?

however, do *not* involve a sacrificial meal (Lev. 5:7 12:8 etc.; in NT Lk. 2:24).¹ This exceptional treatment of the dove suggests that originally the Hebrews were wont to ascribe to the bird a sacrosanct character, similar to that which it has obtained among other branches of the Semites. In Palestine 'the dove was sacred with the Phœnicians and Philistines, and on this superstition is based the common Jewish accusations against the Samaritans that they were worshippers of the dove.' There were holy doves at Mecca (the custom is hardly indigenous), and according to Lucian (*Deu Syria*, 54, cp 14) doves were taboo to the Syrians, he who touched them remaining unclean a whole day.² On the symbolism of the dove in NT (Mt. 3:16 etc.) and in early Christian times, see Smith's *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, s.v.

The following species occur in Palestine:—

(i.) *Columba palumbus*, the ring-dove or wood-pigeon, common in England and throughout most of Europe. Large flocks of these assemble in the winter months and do much mischief by feeding on the young leaves of cultivated plants; some migrate in the autumn, but many pass the winter in Palestine. (ii.) *C. oenas*, the stock-dove, smaller and darker than the above and rarer in Palestine; unlike *C. palumbus* it does not build on branches of trees, but lays its eggs in holes or in burrows. (iii.) *C. livia*, the rock-dove, is abundant on the coast and uplands; it is the parent stock from which the domesticated varieties have been derived. (iv.) *C. schimperii*, closely allied to the preceding, which it takes the place of, in the interior and along the Jordan valley. It is elsewhere found in Egypt and in Abyssinia. It nests in crevices and fissures of the rock (cp Jer. 48:28). (v.) *Turtur communis* or *auritus*, the turtle-dove, which probably represents *תּוֹר* (cp § 2), is a migratory species whose return is very constant (Jer. 8:7, Cant. 2:12) about the beginning of April, when they become very plentiful and are to be found in every tree and bush. This species is the most abundant of all the *Columbae* in Palestine. (vi.) *T. risorius*, the Barbary or collared dove, which extends from Constantinople to India. Around the Dead Sea this species is a permanent resident, being found as a rule in small flocks of eight or ten. (vii.) *T. senegalensis*, the palm turtle-dove, is being regarded by Tristram as the turtle-dove of the Bible. It lives amongst the courtyards of houses in Jerusalem and seems to be half tame; it especially frequents palm groves.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

DOVE'S DUNG *תּוֹרִים* or *תּוֹרֵי יָנֵב*, Kt. [תּוֹרֵי יָנֵב], *דְּבִינִים*, *דְּבִינִים*; *ΚΟΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΕΡΩΣΑΝ* [BAL]. In a graphic account of the siege of Samaria, side by side with 'an ass's head' appears 'the fourth part of a kab of dove's dung' (*רִבְעִית מִכַּב־דְּבִינִים*) as a food only to be bought at a very high price (2 K. 6:25). Much has been written to account for this strange-sounding detail; Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4:4) even suggested that the dung was a substitute for salt! The reference to it, however, is doubtless due to an error of an ancient scribe, which is precisely analogous to one in Ps. 123:4 (MT).

In that passage a questionable word (rendered in EV 'the proud') is represented in the mg. as being really two words, one of which is *תּוֹרֵי*. It is more than probable that 'an ass's head' (*רִבְעִית מִכַּב־דְּבִינִים*) should be *רִבְעִית מִכַּב־תּוֹרֵי יָנֵב*, 'fourth of a kab of dove's dung' (*רִבְעִית מִכַּב־דְּבִינִים*), 'pods of the carob tree' (see HUSKS). That the ancients agreed with MT and that the correctness of the reading can be defended (see Post in Hastings' *BD*, s.v.) by observation of the habits of pigeons is no reason why we should acquiesce in it; similarly we might defend the painful figure of the 'small' in Ps. 58:5[6] (see SHAL, 2). For the attempts of modern writers to mitigate the unpleasantness of the expression 'dove's dung' by finding some plant which might have been so called, see articles in Smith's and Hastings' dictionaries. Two illustrative passages (2 K. 18:27 Is. 1:20) have, we may believe, been recovered by similar corrections of the text, one certain, the other highly probable. See HUSKS.

T. K. C.

DOWRY. For Gen. 34:12 Ex. 22:17 [16] 1 S. 18:25† (דָּוָר, *nahar*; φερση; *dos* [in S. *spontanea*]), see MARRIAGE, § 1. For Gen. 30:20† (דָּוָר, *zohel*), see ZERUJEL.

DRACHM, RV *Drachma* (ΔΡΑΧΜΗ), Tob. 5:4 2 Macc. 4:19 10:30 12:43. See MONEY.

DRAG (דָּרַג, *ḏarag*), Hab. 1:15 f. See FISH, § 3.

DRAGON (דָּוָר: ΔΡΑΚΟΝ).

For Dr. 22:13 EV Ps. 91:13 (RV 'serpent') see SERPENT, § 1 11; and for Ps. 148:7 (RV 'sea-monsters' or 'waterspouts'), SERPENT, § 3 (f) n. For the 'dragons' (דָּוָרִים, *ḏarim* [sing. *ḏar*]; in Lam. 4:3 AV 'sea-monsters', AVmg. 'sea-calves') of Mal. 1:3 etc. see JACKALS (so RV).

In addition to the passages in which the term *tannin* is used of a natural species of animals (such as Gen. 1:21

1. **Mythological allusions in OT and NT.** RV 'sea-monsters,' AV WHALE [*q.v.*]; Ex. 7:9 f. EV SERPENT [*q.v.*]; there are various longer or shorter passages in which a mythological or semi-mythological explanation of the term may be reasonably supposed. Some of these have been, with more or less fulness, treated elsewhere, and may therefore be here considered more briefly.

The passages are as follows (for discussion, see § 3 f.)—(a) Is. 27:1 (see **LEVIATHAN** AND **LEVIATHAN**, § 1 f.); (b) Is. 51:9 (see **RAHAB**); (c) Jer. 51:34 (see **JONAH**, § 4); (d) Ezek. 29:3-6, 'I will attack thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, thou great dragon, which liest in the midst of thy streams, which hast said, Mine are the streams, I have made them. I will put hooks in thy jaws, and cause the fish of thy streams to stick to thy scales. I will bring thee up out of thy streams. . . I will hurl thee into the desert, thee and all the fish of thy streams; upon the open country shalt thou fall; thou shalt not be taken up nor gathered. . . (e) Ezek. 32:2-8, ' . . . as for thee, thou wast like the dragon in the sea, thou didst break forth with thy streams, didst trouble the water with thy feet, and didst foul its streams. Thus saith Yahweh, I will spread my net over thee, and bring thee up into my snare. I will lay thy flesh upon the mountains, and fill the valley with thy corruption. . . I will cover the heaven at setting, and clothe its stars in mourning. . . (f) Job 7:12, 'Am I the sea or the dragon, that thou settest watchers against me?' (g) Neh. 2:13, 'before the dragon-well.' These are probably all the passages in the Hebrew OT; for Ps. 44 19[20], referred to by Gunkel in this connection, is certainly corrupt; but (h) Esth. 10:7 [116 5], (i) Bel and the Dragon, and (k) Ps. Sol. 2:28-34 have to be grouped with them (see § 2).

The NT references are all in Revelation, viz., in (m) 12:3-17, (n) 13:2-11, (o) 16:13, (p) 20:2; cp 12:2.

These last require to be treated separately, but with due cognisance of that old Babylonian dragon-myth, which sought to devour the child of the woman is the very same development of Babylonian mythology which lies at the base of Jer. 51:34. From a Jewish point of view the woman (cp Mic. 4:10) is either the earthly or the heavenly Zion, and the dragon (originally *Tiamat*) with its seven heads⁵ is Amilos, or אֲמִילֹס ('the wicked one'; cp 2 Thess. 2:3 8), i.e., Rome, the new Babylon, which is identified with 'the ancient serpent,' שֵׁרֶשׁ הַקְּדֵמוֹנִית (cp Rev. 12:9, and see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 218).

The storming of heaven by the dragon is also Babylonian; it is the primeval rebellion of *Tiamat* (see **CREATION**, § 2) transferred to the latter days⁶ (cp Eph. 6:12, the spiritual hosts of wickedness *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*). The additions of the apocalyptic writer do not concern us here.⁷ On the affinities of Rev. 12:4 to a Greek myth see **HELLENISM**, § 8.

1 Reading דָּוָר for דָּוָר of MT.

2 Reading דָּוָר (Gunkel).

3 דָּוָר (AV 'whale,' RV 'sea-monster').

4 Reading דָּוָר (Symm., Pesh., Rödiger, Gunkel).

5 Cp the 'great serpent of seven heads' in a primitive Sumerian poem (Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 282).

6 Cp *Chares, Secrets of Enoch*, 9 (note on chap. 1); Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, 137 ff. (the latter cited by Bousset).

7 Cp Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, 173, and the same writer's commentary on the Apocalypse; see also **APOCALYPSE**, § 41.

We pass on to (h) Esth. 10:7 [4] 11 6. Two dragons come forth to fight against the 'righteous people,' i.e., the Jews (cp Jer. 51:34). These are interpreted in the story as Mardocheus and Aman, and the justification of this is that they fight together as Mardochai contended with Haman. This is evidently a late modification of an uncomprehended traditional story. The connection of the dragons with water is evidently an echo of the *Tiamat* myth. The writer, however, did not understand it, and explained the 'much water' of Esther. (i) Bel and the Dragon strikes us at once by its Babylonian colouring. That it is Daniel, not a god, who kills the Dragon, is an alteration natural to Haggadic stories, to which, as Ball has shown, this story belongs. No trace remains of the old myth beyond what is found in Jer. 51:34. (k) Ps. Sol. 2:28-34 is a picture of the fate of Pompey, the profaner of the temple, which would be hyperbolic if it were not obviously coloured by a semi-mythical tradition.

3. **In OT Apocryph.** These are interpreted in the story as Mardocheus and Aman, and the justification of this is that they fight together as Mardochai contended with Haman. This is evidently a late modification of an uncomprehended traditional story.

Returning the consideration of (a)—i.e., Is. 27:1—we notice that the two Leviathans and the Dragon in the Sea are distinctly mythical forms (the two former, differentiations of *Tiamat*; the latter, Kingu, *Tiamat's* husband); they are identified by the apocalyptic (see *Intr. Is.* 155) with the three great powers hostile to the Jews,—Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt. The reference to the sea confirms the mythological origin of the expression, for *Tiamat* is the personification of the primeval ocean.¹ On Yahweh's sword see Gen. 3:24, and cp Marduk's weapon, called in Creation tablet iv. l. 49, *abubu*, 'storm' (cp *ll.* 30 39). As to (b), note again the two conquered monsters (Rahab and the Dragon), and the connection with the sea in v. 12. The old myth is applied to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea; but the application would have been impossible had not the destruction of Rahab and the Dragon been equivalent to the subjugation of the sea. The poet does not say, but obviously supposes, that Rahab and Pharaoh are in some sense identical, just as in Rev. 12 the impious power of Rome is identified with the Dragon. The 'shattering' of Rahab is repeated from the Babylonian myth.

Of (c) nothing more need now be said (see **JONAH**); but (d) and (e) require to be clearly interpreted. It is not to an ordinary crocodile that Pharaoh is compared. The 'hyperbolic' language would, in this case, be intolerable. It is the despotic and blasphemous dragon *Tiamat*. The blasphemy is at once explained when we remember that *Tiamat* was originally a divine being—older in fact than the gods. The denial of burial to Pharaoh is of course explicable out of mere vindictiveness; but it is a worthier supposition that we have here a somewhat pale reflection of the outrages inflicted on the body of *Tiamat* by the young sun-god Marduk. The 'hook' reminds us of Job 41:1 [40 25] (*Leviathan*); the net, of a striking detail in Creation tablet iv., *ll.* 95, 112.² The 'setting' of the dragon implies that there was a constellation identified with the dragon (cp Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, 137, 146). In (f) the combination of 'sea' and 'dragon,' and the occurrence of references elsewhere in Job to Rahab and Leviathan, sufficiently prove the mythological affinities of the passage. The Dragon was, according to one current version of the old myth, not destroyed, but placed in confinement (cp Job 3:8 41). Cp the stress laid in Job 38:11 Ps. 104:5 336 [7] 65 f. on the long-past subjugation of the sea by Yahweh.

One passage only remains (g). The term 'dragon-well' suggests a different class of myths—those in which the supernatural serpent is a friendly being. Primitive sanctuaries were often at wells (**EN-ROGEL**), and serpents love moist places.³ Serpents, too, are the

1 Rashi, on Is. 27:1, remarks that the 'coiled' Leviathan encompasses the earth (לְמַעַן אֵת אֶרֶץ הַקְּדֵמוֹנִית). Cp Grünbaum, *ZDMG* 81 275. The 'coils' of the Egyptian Leviathan (*Apōpi*) were in heaven (Book of Hades, *RP* 12 13). *Apōpi* seems ultimately identical with *Tiamat*; but the details of the myth are Egyptian.

2 Cp Lyons, *JBL* 14 132.

3 Schick and Haldensperger (*PEFQ* [188], p. 23; [189], p. 57) state that long worms and serpents abound in and near the

emblems of healing (cp Nu. 21 5-9), and sacred wells are often also healing wells. The intermittent character of St. Mary's Well (connected with the lower Pool of Siloah) is accounted for in folklore by the story that a great dragon who lies there makes the water gush forth in his sleep. Cp also the dragon-myth connected with the Orontes, the serpent's pool, Jos. *B./v. 3*, and the serpent myths of the ancient Arabs (WRS *Rel. Sem.*⁽²⁾ 131, 171), and see ZOHRETT.

Thus we have two views of the dragon represented,—as a friendly and as a hostile being. Into the wider subject suggested by this result we cannot enter now (cp SERPENT). It is more important to consider the question, How came these¹ half-understood myths, represented by Behemoth, Leviathan, Rahab, and the inclusive appellation Dragon, to be so prominent? We have already seen that they are not of native Palestinian growth, but (apart from the myth of the Dragon's Well) of Babylonian origin. Not that every important Dragon-myth in Asiatic countries must necessarily be derived ultimately from Babylon—this would be an unscientific theory—but that for the myths now under consideration the evidence points unmistakably to a Babylonian origin. If we ask how these myths came to be so prominent, the answer is that a great revival of mythology took place among the Jews, under Babylonian influences, in exilic and post-exilic times. Jewish folklore became more assimilated to that of the other nations, and the leaders of religion permitted what they could not prevent, with the object of impressing an orthodox stamp on popular beliefs. This has long since been noticed, especially by the present writer in a series of works (see also CREATION, § 23), where it is pointed out that the Dragon-myth comes from pre-Semitic (Babylonian) times, and where several explanations are indicated as perhaps equally historical.¹ Like other interpreters who used the mythological clue, however, he was not clear enough as to the nature of the conflict between the God of light and the serpent, referred to in Job 9₁₃ Is. 51₉ etc.² Continued study of the new cuneiform material has done much to clear up his difficulties, one of which may be expressed thus. The Babylonian epic spoke of Tiamat as having been destroyed by the God of light, whereas certain biblical passages appeared to describe the dragon as still existing 'in the sea,' as capable of being 'aroused' by magicians, and as destined to be slain by Yahwè's sword. Hence it seemed as if there was a Hebrew myth (of non-Hebraic origin) which represented the war between the God of light and the serpent of darkness as still going on, and Egyptian parallels seemed to teach us how to conceive of this.³ The defeat and destruction of the gigantic serpent Apôpi and his helpers, when chaos gave way to order and darkness to light, was not absolute and final. They still seemed to the Egyptians to menace the order of nature, and in his daily voyage the sun is threatened by the serpent, and has a time of anguish. When they see this, human folk seek to frighten the monster by a loud clamour, and so to help the sun. The sun's boatmen, too, have recourse to prayers and spear-thrusts. At last, paralysed and wounded, Apôpi sinks back into the abyss. Gunkel, however, has shown⁴ for the first time that Babylonian

5. Babylonian origin of myth.

Birket es-Sulhân; the latter writer suggests that this may have helped to fix the name to the locality.

¹ For a Phœnician dragon-myth, see Damasc. *De prim. princ.* 122, and 130; *Phœn. Rev.* 130 (sp. Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 1538-55, 557).

² *Phœn. Is.* 1150 2-4; *Job and Solomon*, 76-78; cp *Crit. Rev.*, July 1895, p. 262.

³ *Job and Solomon*, 76; cp Maspero, *op. cit.* 90 f. 159. *Book of the Dead*, 15 30; *Book of Hades*, transl. by Lefébure, P. 13 15.

⁴ *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 41-60. This is not the place to discuss the points in which the present writer differs from Gunkel (see *Crit. Rev.*, 1895, p. 256 ff.), whose general view of the earlier period of Israelitish belief is perhaps too much in advance of the evidence.

mythology will account for all the details of the biblical descriptions which an accurate exegesis will admit. We need not suppose a reference to the myth of the daily struggle between the Light-god and the serpent. The Tiamat story, as known to the Jews, was briefly this. At the commencement of creation, Tiamat was, according to some, destroyed, according to others, completely subdued and confined in the ocean which encompasses the earth. Without God's permission he can henceforth do nothing. Only the angelic powers, commissioned by God to keep watch over Leviathan, can 'arouse' him and even they 'shudder' as they do so (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN). This form of the story became popular in later biblical times, because it met the requirements of apocalyptic writing. It was a necessity of biblical idealism to anticipate a return of the 'first things,' of Paradise and its felicity. Evil seemed to have been intensified; the reign of Tiamat was renewed, as it were, upon the earth. A deliverance as great as that wrought by Yahwè (a greater Marduk) of old must therefore be anticipated, and the struggle which would precede it would be as severe as that which took place at the creation. Then would 'the old things pass away, and all things become new.' It is not improbable, as Budge long ago pointed out (*PSBA*, [83], 6), that Tiamat in course of time acquired a symbolic meaning; certainly the serpent of Egyptian, and not less of Jewish, belief acquired one. The moralisation of the old dragon-myth is recorded in the mysterious but fascinating story of ANTICHRIST (q.v.). On the twofold representation of Tiamat (dragon and serpent), see SERPENT, § 3 f.

Into the dragon-myths of non-Semitic peoples frequently adduced to illustrate Job 38, it is not necessary to enter. The Semitic material has been growing to such a considerable mass that it is wise to restrict ourselves at present to this. Otherwise we might discuss a striking passage in *The Ramayana*, 10002, 10003, on the cry for alms in Hindu quarters for the recovery of the sun from the jaws of the dragon Kahu. Jan. 22, 1895, was the day of a solar eclipse. Cp F. 1904, 8.

The fullest English investigation of the different forms taken by the mythic dragon is to be found in W. H. Ward's article 'Bel and the Dragon' (*Am. Journal of Theol.* 1888, p. 34 ff.).

7. Literature.

In early Babylonian art the dragon does not represent Tiamat the chaos-dragon, but a destructive demon of pestilence or tornado. The sex of the dragon is not as a rule indicated in the primitive representations, even when the dragon is given together with a god (or goddess); an exception however is figured by Ward, in which the dragon appears to be male. In the Assyrian period, to which the representations of the conflict between Marduk and the Dragon belong, the dragon is of the male sex, which reminds us that the evil serpent Ahriman in Persian mythology is male. It is very possible that in the oldest Babylonian representations the dragon was female (cp DEEP, THE). With regard to the view (implied in parts of the OT) that the chaos-dragon was not slain, but only subdued by the Light-god, we may compare some Babylonian cylinders, older than Hammurabi, which represent the dragon as harnessed in a chariot and driven by Bel while a goddess stands on his back and wields the thunder-bolt; or else the god stands on the back of the dragon. The Assyrian representations do not, it is true, show that the dragon was slain; but the natural supposition is that the conflict ended in his destruction.

See also Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*; Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 162, 195, 200 (n.), 375; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*; Brugsch, *Religion u. Mythologie der alten Ägypter*; Wiedemann, *Egyptian Religion*; Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (96), pp. 94, 97; and, for a popular summary of facts on the Dragon-myth, A. Smythe Palmer, *Babylonian Influence on the Bible* (97). T. K. C.

DRAGON WELL תְּיָמַתַּי עַיִן תְּיָמַתַּי תּוֹן כְּרוֹן [DRA]. Π. ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ [L.]: *fons draconis* (حَمَّ الحَمَّ). Neh. 2 17. For topography see GIHON, JERUSALEM, and for folklore see DRAGON, § 4 (g).

DRAM RV DARIC. The rendering of two late Hebrew words: (a) דַּרְכֵינִים [Ch. 297] Ezra 2 37, apparently ΔΡΑΪΚΕΙΟΝ (SYR. ܕܪܝܚܢܐ, MIH דרתיכותן pl. דרתיכות [Dalman]), or cp Ass. *dariku* (pl. *darikanu*) 'piece of money' Muss-Arnolt; and (b) דַּרְכֵימֵנוֹנִים,

darik'mōnim, Ezra 2:69 Neh. 7:70 ff. † apparently ΔΡΑΚΜΗ.¹ Possibly a loan-word (Asiatic) in both Heb. and Gr., see Ew. *GGA*, 1855, 1392 ff.; 1856, 798; and cp *BDB*, s.v.

The Vss. give *δραχμαί* [L], *derikhōna* [Pesh. except 1 Ch.], *solitius* [Vg., in Neh. *drachma*]. But in 1 Ch. χρυσοὺς [BA], *δραχμαί* [HP '93], דרין. Targ. (see Lag. *Haag*, 23), Pesh. apparently connected '8 with קנה 'lead'. In Ezra 8:27 εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν γαλαραῖα [B] . . . δραχμαῖς [AL] agree in presupposing *δραχμαί* [L], *drachm*, *dr*, *δ*; 1 Esd. 8:57 [56] BAL om. Ezra 2:69 μνάς [BA] † 1 Esd. 5:45 [44] μνάς [BAL]. Neh. 7:70-72 BA om., but *ρουμισματός* [Sixt.] vs. 71, and *ρουμισματός* [N²]-72. 72.

According to the commonly accepted view *a* and *b* are identical and mean 'darics'. Against this two objections may be urged: (1) the *o* in *b* is left unexplained, and (2) the form *a*, which alone supports this meaning, is untrustworthy. In 1 Ch. it is doubtful if *ουμισματός* may be a gloss; the amount of gold has been already mentioned, and in Ezra 8:27 the better reading is *דרבין* (see above). The form *דרבין* (*drachm*) is preferable, not for this reason alone, but also on account of its identity with the Phoen. *drachm* (ד¹),² which, as the analogy from Gr. inscriptions shows, must represent *δραχμαί*. The occurrence of this Gk. (or Asiatic?) word in Ezra-Neh. is due perhaps to repeated glosses: cp Ezra 8:27 with 1 Esd. 8:57 and observe that in some of the passages (above) BA omit. See further MONEY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.³ S. A. C.

DREAMS (הַלְלוֹת), Zech. 10:2, etc.; see DIVINATIONS, § 2 (vi.).

DRESS. A complete discussion of the subject of ancient Israelitish dress (including toilet and ornaments) is impossible with our present limited knowledge. It is true, the Assyrian and Egyptian artists had keen eyes for costume; and trustworthy representations of Israelites are unfortunately few. It might be tempting to fill up this lacuna by noting the usages of dress in the modern East. This, however, would be an uncritical procedure. We might presume on obtaining more than analogies from the customs of the present; but common sense shows that to look for a Hebrew equivalent to every modern garment would be unnatural. Consequently, in spite of the scantiness of detail in the OT, we must base our conceptions upon OT evidence (viewed in the light of criticism) treated by the comparative method.

There are several general terms in Hebrew for 'dress,' 'garments,' 'attire.' It is needful to give details, as there are distinctions of some importance which could not be brought out otherwise.

1. General terms.

1. *beged* (cp perh. Ar. *biḡid*; we cannot assume a root meaning 'to cover'; the verb *בג* known to us means 'to deal treacherously'; it is perhaps a verb denom.),⁴ may be used for a garment of any kind 'from the filthy clothing of the leper to the holy robes of the priest,' for 'the simplest covering of the poor as well as the costly raiment of the rich and noble' [*BDB*]; for women's dress (Dt. 24:17; cp Gen. 38:14), for royal robes (1 K. 22:30), and apparently once for the outer robe or MANTLE (2 K. 9:13); also for the coverlet of a bed (1 S. 19:13 1 K. 11), and for the covering of the tabernacle furniture (Nu. 46:13 P.).

2. *g'ōlīm*, Ezek. 27:24, AV 'clothes,' RV 'wrappings,' mg. 'bales.' Prof. Cheyne writes: 'The existence of an old Hebrew root *גל* "to roll together" is not proved by 2 K. 28 Ps. 139:16; both passages are very doubtful, and can be amended with much advantage.

¹ Cp, e.g., Torrey, *Comp. Ess. Noh.* 18: 'the one obviously corresponding to *δραχμαί*, the other to *δραχμή*.'
² A Phœnician inscription of the first century B.C. from the Piræus: see Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. Nordsem. Epigr.* 160.

³ See also Meyer, *Entst. 196 f.*, Prince, *Daniel*, 265 (59). From Ezra 2:69 (Neh. 7:70-72) (see *ΘL*) compared with 1 Esd. 5:45 it would seem that *61* דרבנין = *μνά* (cp the royal maneh of 60 shekels). In *Θ*, however, the Heb. *בגד* is represented by *ḥōmōdōs*, and *ḥōmōdōs* represents the *בגד* or half-shekel; cp Gen. 24:22 Ex. 38:26.

⁴ So Gerber, *Hebr. Verb. Denom. 2 f.* The verb *בג* is found only in E, and later. See, e.g., Ex. 21:7 Judg. 9:23; 1 S. 14:33 is probably no exception.

plainly = *גל* in Is. 8:23, which Peiser identifies with Bab. *gulinu*, a kind of garment' (*ZATW* [97], 17348). Cp CHEST.

3. *ḥit*, *חית*, a word of the widest signification, is (like the German *Zug*) used of garments in Dt. 22:5 (גָּרָךְ) Lev. 13:49 (עָרָךְ).

4. *k'suth*, *כְּסוּת*, 'covering,' Ex. 21:10 22:26 etc., restored by Grätz, Ball, and Cheyne in Gen. 49:11 (MT *לבוש* לְבוֹשׁ, *περικελευθῆ, gallium*), and by Cheyne in Ps. 73:6 Prov. 7:10 (MT *שִׁת*,⁵ EV 'garment,' 'attire'). Cp *כְּסוּת* Is. 23:18 (EV 'clothing'); see AWNING.

5. *lebūš*, *לְבוֹשׁ* (the root *לבש* 'to wear, put on' is found in all the Semitic languages), a general term (not so frequent as 1.); used of the dress of women (2 S. 1:24 Prov. 31:22), etc. Cognates *לְבוֹשׁוֹת*, 2 K. 10:22 (EV 'vestment') etc., and *תְּלִישָׁה* Is. 59:9 'clothing.'

We turn now to the Hebrew terms denoting particular articles of dress. It is one of the defects of the EV that the same English word is often used to represent several distinct Hebrew terms, and that, *vice versa*, the same Hebrew term is rendered by different English words (promiscuously). This is due partly to the difficulty of finding an exact equivalent for many of the Hebrew terms, partly to our ignorance of their precise meaning, and the uncertainty of tradition as represented by the versions, Rabbinical exegesis,⁶ etc.

Of the numerous Hebrew terms denoting articles of dress, those referring to the feet are discussed under SHOE. For the various head-dresses (פָּאָר, *עֵצִי*, etc.) see TURBAN. One of the special terms for garments worn about the body is *gōl*, 'עֹדֵם,' 'kilt' or 'loin-cloth' (see GIRDLE).⁴ Out of this an evolutionary process has brought breeches (cp Ar. *mī'zār*), which, however, among the Hebrews appear first as a late priestly garment (*viz.* בְּנֹטִים); see BREECHES. For the ordinary under-garment worn next the skin (בְּגָדִי), see TUNIC. The over-garment (corresponding roughly to the Gr. *ḡnathōn* and Roman *toga*) varied in size, in shape, and in richness, and had several distinct names (*simlah*, etc.), for which see MANTLE.

Certain classes and certain occasions required special dresses. The clothing of ambassadors is called כְּרוֹמִים (*medivaim*?), 2 S. 10:4 = 1 Ch. 19:4, EV 'garments.'

3. **Special garments.** 'garments.' A kindred word '*mad*' (*מַד*) *middah*, if the text of Ps. 133:2 is correct⁵ is used of the priestly garb in Lev. 6:10 [3], Ps. 136 (*ḡdūmā*); of the outer garment of the warrior (plur. only)⁶ in Judg. 3:16 (EV 'raiment'), 1 S. 4:12 (EV 'clothes'), 17:38 (AV 'armour,' RV 'apparel'), 18:4 (AV 'garments,' RV 'apparel'), and 2 S. 20:8 (AV 'garment,' RV 'apparel of war')⁷; *ḡbāl* in all passages *ḡbālōs*, except 1 S. 4:12, where *ḡbālā*. The *mad* of the warrior was perhaps some stiff garment which was a (poor) substitute for a coat of mail. In Ps. 109:18 *mad* is used of the dress of the wicked tyrant

¹ Others cp Ph. טוּחַ and Heb. טָטוּחַ (Ex. 34:33 where Che. reads כְּסוּת).

² Others vocalise עֵיט (*ZDMG* 37 535; properly 'that which is set' upon one).

³ So for the obscure Aram. פָּתִישׁ (Dan. 3:21 Krē) we find such remarkable variant renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'tunics' (RV), and 'turbans' (RVmg.).

⁴ We may compare the *saḥ* of camels or goat's hair which, like other primitive garments, long continued to form a garb of mourning. The *saḥ* was perhaps identical with the kilt of the ancient Egyptians, for which see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* (2) 232.

⁵ Che. (Ps. (2)) reads עֵלִישׁוֹן תְּלִישׁוֹן, 'on the surface of the desert.'

⁶ On 2 S. 20:8 see next note.

⁷ In 2 S. 20:8 מַדּוֹר probably should be cancelled; and the Pasek, so often placed in doubtful passages. Read לְבוֹשׁוֹתָי. See Lohr and cp Ew. *ad loc.* For other views see Klo., H. P. Sm.

who is cursed (but the whole passage is in disorder; see CHE. *l.c.*). In the Talm. *קמץ* is a robe distinctive of the *Nāsī'* or prince. On the priestly head-dress, see MITRE; the priests in later times indulged in sumptuous apparel.¹ In Talmudic times Rabbis wore a duster, and were crowned until the death of Eliezer b. Azarya (*Tosifla*, *Sotah*, 15). In Babylonia a golden ordination robe was used at the conferring of the Rabbinical dignity. A festive garb was worn at the creation of an Elder (*sāḥēn*); the *Nāsī'* had a special mantle, the Exilarch a girdle.² For the king's regalia see CORONATION, CROWN, § 2. On the warrior's dress we can add very little. RV^{MS} finds the military boot (*קמץ*) in Is. 9:4 [3]; and a reference to the distinctive outer garment (*maddim*) of the warrior, and to his shoes, has been conjectured in Nah. 2:4a [3a].³ See also HELMET. For bridal attire (cp Is. 49:18 61:10, *עֲרֹמֶת גְּלוּת* Mt. 22:11) see MARRIAGE, § 3, and for the garb of mourning (*מִלְּבָשׁ אֲבֵל* Ec. 6:13, *בְּגָדֵי אֲבֵל* 2 S. 12a) see MOURNING CUSTOMS.

With the exception of the swaddling-clothes of the newborn babe (*hāthullah*, Job 38:9; cp verb in Ezek. 16:4; *σπαργανον*, Wisd. 7:4; cp Lk. 27:12), children seem to have had no distinctive dress. The boy Samuel wore a small *mē'il* (see MANTLE), and if the lad Joseph possessed a special *kuttōneth* (see TUNIC), it was regarded by the narrator in Genesis as exceptional. In Talmudic times boys wore a peculiar shirt (*חלוק דרעא*) *Sabb.* 134a.⁴

In ancient times, dress depended to a large extent on climatic considerations. The simplest and most primitive covering was the loin-cloth (see GIRDLER), a valuable safeguard in tropical climates, adopted perhaps for this reason rather than from the feeling of shame to which its origin was afterwards traced (Gen. 3:7). The use of sandals in early times was not looked upon as an absolute necessity (see SHOES), and although the TURBAN in some form or other may be old, the custom of wearing the hair long was for very many a sufficient protection for the head.

4. History. The tunic, a valuable safeguard in tropical climates, adopted perhaps for this reason rather than from the feeling of shame to which its origin was afterwards traced (Gen. 3:7). The use of sandals in early times was not looked upon as an absolute necessity (see SHOES), and although the TURBAN in some form or other may be old, the custom of wearing the hair long was for very many a sufficient protection for the head.

It is impossible to say how early the ordinary Israelite assumed the two garments (tunic and mantle) which became the common attire of both sexes. The garments of the women probably differed in length and in colour from those of the men—Dt. 22:5 leaves no doubt as to the fact that there was some distinction. Several terms are common to the dress of both sexes (*beged*, *kuttōneth*, *simlāh*, etc.); for some distinctive terms see VAIL, and cp TUNIC, MANTLE. The Jewish prisoners pictured on the marble-reliefs of Sennacherib are bareheaded and wear short-sleeved tunics reaching to the ankles. This costume differs so markedly from the Assyrian, that the artist seems to have been drawing from life. Jehu's tribute-bearers on Shalmaneser's obelisk wear Assyrian dress and headgear, due probably to the conventionality of the artist. The Syrian envoy in a wall painting in the tomb of Hui at el-Kāb wears a dress so unlike the Egyptian that we seem once more in presence of an authentic record. The overgarment of this envoy, which is long and narrow, and is folded close to the body, is of blue and dark-red material richly ornamented; he has yellow underclothes with narrow sleeves and wears tight breeches. In the OT, however, there is no indication that such a costume

¹ The exact meaning of *קמץ* (*קמץ* Ec. 3:10 39:19 39:41) (AV 'cloths of service', RV 'finely wrought garments') is very uncertain; see Di-Ry. *ad loc.*, Ges. (13). It is possible that the words are a gloss to *בגדי קמץ* (*l.c.*), for which cp Ex. 28:24 Lev. 16:32, and the enumeration in Lev. 16:4.

² Cp Brill, *Frachten der Juden* (Einleitung).

³ See *JBL* 17:106 (98), where *קמץ* is detected in the obscure *במאדם* and *במקמץ*, 'put on their shoes,' in *מקמץ*.

⁴ Possibly the Israelite boys shaved their hair and only left curls hanging over the ear. This was done in ancient Egypt, and the custom prevails at the present time among the Jewish boys of Yemen.

was ever prevalent among the Israelites. For simplicity of attire it would not be easy to suppose the dress of the Sinitic Bedawin (see WMM *Ab. u. Bed.* 140), and this simplicity once doubtless marked the garb of the Hebrew.¹ Later, life in cities and contact with foreign influences paved the way to luxury. The more elaborate dress of the Canaanite would soon be imitated. Several signs of increasing sumptuousness in dress are met with in the later writings. The dress at the court of Solomon is aptly represented as an object of admiration to an Arabian queen (*קמץ* 1 K. 10:5). One notes that it is in the later writings that several of the names for articles of dress appear for the first time. Extra garments and ornaments were added and finer materials used. The traditional materials of garments were wool and flax woven by the women; but now trade brought purple from Phœnicia, byssus from Egypt, and figured embroideries from Babylon (see EMBROIDERY). That silk was known in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 16:10 13) is doubtful (see COTTON, LINEN, SILK, WOOL). New luxurious costumes (cp *קמץ* *קמץ*, Ezek. 23:12 38:4; *קמץ*, *ib.* 27:24 f.) are a frequent subject of denunciation in the later prophets, partly because of the oppression of the poor involved in the effort to extort the means of providing them, and partly because of the introduction of alien rites and customs encouraged by contact with foreign merchants.

In later times intercourse with other peoples led to the introduction of fresh articles of apparel and new terms. Such for example is the essentially Grecian *περασος* (if correct) of 2 Macc. 4:12 (see CAP). Three obscure words denoting articles of dress, most probably of foreign origin, are mentioned in the description of the three who were cast into the fiery furnace (Dan. 3:21).² For Talmudic times Schürer (*GH* 2:39 f.) notes the mention of *סגמ* (*sagum*) worn by labourers and soldiers, *אֲבֵלִית* (*stola*), *סַוּוֹדָאָרִיּוּם* (see NAPKIN), *פִּיָּין* (*παλαμῆς*), *אֲבֵלִית* (*ἐπιθῆλια*). Among under-garments are the *דַּמְסִיתָא* (*damsitica*), according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* 1:1) worn by scribes; and the *פַּגְאֹדִין* (*paragaudion*), of which the equivalent *paregôt* is used in the Armen. Vers. for *χρῶν*. To these may be added *מַקְטֹרֶן* (*mactoreon*) an outer garment, *קוֹלִבִּין* (*κολοβισον*), *פִּלִּית*, a fringed garment of fine linen (see FRINGES). Gloves are mentioned (*כַּף* *Chelin*, 16:6, etc.); but they were worn by workmen to protect their hands (cp also *נֶרְתָּךְ* Targ. on Ruth 4:7).³

Increased luxury of dress among the Israelites was accompanied by an excess of ornaments. Ornaments of many kinds were worn by both sexes

5. Ornaments, —primarily for protective purposes (as TOILET, AMULETS), at a later time (when their original purpose was forgotten) to beautify and adorn the person. The elaborate enumeration of the fine lady's attire in Is. 3, though not from the hand of Isaiah (see ISAIAS, ii. § 5), is archaeologically important. Here the Hebrew women (of the post-exilic period?), following foreign customs, wear arm-chains, nose-rings, step-chains, etc., in great profusion. For these cp ORNAMENTS, and see the separate articles.

On the manner of treating the hair, see BEARD, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3; HAIR, MOURNING CUSTOMS. Women crisped their hair, bound it with veils (see VAIL) and GARLANDS (*q.v.*), etc. Later, the Roman habit of curling was introduced (Jos. *BJ* iv. 9:10).

Washing the body with water was usual on festival occasions, at bridal (Ezek. 16:9), at meals (Gen. 25:2 19:10 Lk. 7:44), before formal visits (Ru. 3), before

¹ In the Roman period simplicity of attire (almost amounting to nakedness; Talm. *Sabb.* 131a) was continued in the case of criminals, whilst persons on trial were expected to dress very sumptuously (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3:4).

² For a discussion of the terms see Cook, *J. Phil.* 26:306 ff. (90).

³ On these points see Brill, *op. cit.*, and Levy, *NHW*, under the various terms. For later Jewish dress see Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, chap. xv. f., and compare in Index, 440.

officiating in the temple, in ritual purifications, and so forth. Rubbing the body with sand or sherds was also practised. Unguents prepared by female slaves (I S. 8:13) or by male professionals (מְרִיחֵי) were used after washing (Ru. 3:3 Amos 6:6 etc.);¹ see ANOINTING, § 2, CONFECTIONARIES. After the Hellenistic period such festal customs became more and more elaborate.

The eye-lids of women were painted to make the eyes larger, *kohl* being used for the purpose (see PAINT). It is doubtful whether *henna* dye was placed on nails and toes.

The references in the EV to dress are so frequent and the symbolical usages so familiar that a passing glance at them may suffice. Food and clothing are naturally regarded as the two great allusions.

6. OT necessities of life (e.g., Gen. 28:20 I Tim. 6:8). An outfit is called עֵצֶר בְּגָדִים (Judg. 17:10). In Talmudic times it consisted of eighteen pieces (Jer. *Shabb.* 15). Clothes were made by the women (Prov. 31:22 Acts 9:39), but references to sewing are few (דָּבַר, Gen. 3:7 Job 16:15 Eccl. 3:7 Ezek. 13:18, ἐπιπράπτω Mk. 2:21).

Clothes were presented in token of friendship (I S. 18:4; see WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 335), as a proof of affection (Gen. 45:22), and as a gift of honour (I K. 10:25; cp Am. Tab. 2:70). Garments were rent (קָרַע) as a sign of grief, of despair, of indignation, etc. (see MOURNING CUSTOMS). Shaking the clothes was a sign of renunciation and abhorrence (Acts 18:6; cp Neh. 5:13). Promotion was often accompanied by the assumption of robes of dignity (cp Is. 22:21). So Eleazar takes the robes of Aaron (Nu. 20:28), and Elisha the mantle of Elijah (2 K. 2); see also CORONATION. Conversely, disrobing might be equivalent to dismissal (2 Macc. 4:38). Rich people doubtless had large wardrobes; the royal wardrobe (or was it the wardrobe of the temple?) had a special 'keeper' (I K. 22:14). The danger to such collections from moths (see MOTH) and from the so-called 'plague of leprosy' (see LEPROSY) was no doubt an urgent one. The simile of a worn-out garment (לָבַד, cp Dt. 8:4) is often employed (cp Is. 50:9 51:6 Ps. 102:26 [27]). Rags are called קִרְיָוִת (Prov. 23:21 EV); cp also כְּלִימָה בְּגָדִים 'old cast clouts and old rotten rags' (Jer. 38:11 f. RV), all apparently containing the idea of something rent (cp *pasos* Mt. 9:16 Mk. 2:21).

To cast a garment over a woman was in Arabia equivalent to claiming her.² Robertson Smith (*Kin.* 87)

7. Legal usages. cites a case from Tabari where the heir by throwing his dress over the widow claimed the right to marry her under the dowry paid by her husband, or to give her in marriage and take the dowry. This explains Ruth's words (Ruth 3:9) and the use of 'garment' to designate a woman or wife in Mal. 2:16 (*Kin.* 87, 269). A benevolent law, found already in the Book of the Covenant, enacts that every garment retained by a creditor in pledge shall be returned before sunset (Ex. 22:26); the necessity of this law appears from Am. 28 Ezek. 18:7 but, see PLEDGE.

D's injunction 'a man shall not put on the *simlah* of a woman,' 'a woman shall not wear the appurtenances (לְבָשׁ) of a man' (Dt. 22:5) may have been designed as a safeguard against impropriety; but more probably it was directed against the simulated changes of sex which were so prevalent and demoralising in Syrian heathenism.³ Quite obscure, on the other hand, is the law prohibiting the layman from wearing garments made of a mixture of linen and wool (שְׂמֵרָה, Dt. 22:11

¹ Amos 6:6, see Dr. *ad loc.* speaks of 'the chief ointments' (EV), or rather 'the best of oils.'

² Hence some explain כִּי בְּבָרָהּ in Ex. 21:8 to mean that the master could not sell his female slave 'seeing that (he had placed) his garment (*hegeva*) over her.' See SLAVERY.

³ See Dr. *ad loc.*, Frazer, *Paus.* § 197, ASHURBONETH, § 2. It may be doubted whether in ancient times dressing boys as girls was due, as among later Orientals, to a desire to avert the evil eye.

Lev. 19:19; see LINEN, 7, n. 1). Such garments were worn by the priests;¹ and the law, which may, like the term itself, be of foreign origin, is at all events later than Ezek. 44:18. Another law, which ordered laymen to wear tassels or twisted threads upon the skirt of their *simlah*, seems to go back to a former sacred custom (see FRINGES). See, further, SHOE, § 4.

Garments had to be changed or purified upon the occasion of a religious observance (cp Gen. 35:2 Ex.

19:10) or before a feast (cp חֲלִיטוֹת, חֲלִיטוֹת, 'changes,' חֲלִיטוֹת, 'festal robes,' and

Religion. see MANTLE). Primarily, however,

all festive occasions are sacred occasions, and there is therefore no real difference between best clothes and holy clothes. When a garment comes in contact with anything partaking of a sacred nature it becomes 'holy,' and, once 'holy,' it must never be worn save on 'holy' occasions.² This is why in early Arabia certain rites were performed naked or in garments borrowed from the sanctuary (We. *Heid.* (2) 56, 110). The same principle illustrates the command of Jehu to 'bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of Baal'; the vestments were in the custody of the keeper of the *metāhah* (2 K. 10:22; text perhaps corrupt: see VESTRY). That certain rites among the Hebrews were performed in a seminaked condition seems not improbable. The Ephod itself was once perhaps nothing more than a loin-cloth (cp 2 S. 6:14 16:20, and see EPHOD, § 1).³

Elijah's kilt (*'šōr*) of skin and the prophet's customary 'hairy mantle' (see MANTLE)—in later times often falsely assumed (Zech. 13:4)—remind us of the priests of the Palmētum who were dressed in skins (Strabo xvi. 4:18; for other analogies see *RS* (2) 437 f.);⁴ but there is always a tendency in cults to return to ancient custom in the performance of sacred rites, and, as Robertson Smith has shown, later priestly ritual is only a development of what was originally observed by all worshippers when every man was his own priest. The dressing of worshippers in skins of the sacred kind (cp ESAU) implies that they have come to worship as kinsmen of the victim and of the god, and in this connection it is suggestive to remember that the eponyms of the Levites and Joseph tribes are the 'wild-cow' (Leah) and the 'ewe' (Rachel) respectively. See LEAH, RACHEL.

Again, we note that clothing may be looked upon as forming so far part of a man as to serve as a vehicle of personal connection. The clothes thus tend to become identified with the owner, as in the custom alluded to in Ruth 3:9 above. The Arab seizes hold of the garments of the man whose protection he seeks, and 'pluck away my garments from thine' in the older literature means 'put an end to our attachment.' So a man will deposit with a god a garment or merely a shred of it, and even to the present day rag-offerings are to be seen upon the sacred trees of Syria and on the tombs of Mohammedan saints. They are not gifts in the ordinary sense, but pledges of the connection between worshipper and object or person worshipped (*RS* (2) 335 f.). Thus garments are offered to sacred objects, to wells (*ib.* 177), but more particularly to trees and idols (see NATURE WORSHIP).⁵ So 2 K. 23:3 speaks of the women who wove tunics (so Klo.) for the asherāh. The custom is not confined to the Semitic world, and instances of

¹ This is distinctly asserted by Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8:11. 'To pray for a blessing on the flax and sheep,' says Maimonides. This prohibition in the case of laymen was re-enacted under the Frankish emperors (*Capitalarium*, 646). It is just possible that the law aimed at marking more distinctly the priest from the layman.

² Cp Lev. 6:27 Hag. 2:12, and, on the contagion of holiness, cp Ezek. 44:19 and see CLEAN, § 2. On Is. 66:5 (where point the PV) see *RS* (2) 451, n. 1.

³ Verse 14, however, may be an addition. For Ex. 20:26 cp BRECHES, 3.

⁴ In Zeph. 1:8 the wearing of 'strange garments' (כְּלִיבוֹשׁ בְּגָדִים) is associated with foreign worship (cp v. 9).

⁵ Cp Bertholet, *Israel. Vorstellungen v. Zustand nach d. Tode* (99).

draped images in Greece are collected by Frazer (*Paus.* 2. 24. 1). 'The Greek Images,' he observes, 'which are historically known to have worn real clothes seem generally to have been remarkable for their great antiquity.' The custom does not seem to be indigenous; it was probably borrowed from the East.¹ The counterpart of the custom of offering a garment to the sanctified object is the wearing of something which has been in contact with it. At the present day in Palestine the man who hangs a rag upon a sacred tree takes away, as a preservative against evil, one of the rags that have been sanctified by hanging there for some time (see *PEFQ.* 1893, p. 204). The custom of wearing sacred relics as charms is clearly parallel. Now, just as the priests had their special garments, so particular vestments were used for purposes of divination. Thus a magician wears the clothes of Er-ri—i.e., Eridu, a town mentioned often in Babylonian incantations (Del. *Ass. HWB* 371b). Another instance of the wearing of special dress is cited by Friedrich Delitzsch in Baer's *Ezek.* p. xiii. An important parallel to this custom appears in Ezekiel's denunciation of the false prophetesses² and the divination to which they resorted (*Ezek.* 13. 17-23). Two special articles are mentioned: (a) *קִטְפוֹת*, *ksāthōth*, 'bands' or 'fetters'³ worn upon the arms (cp the use of *FRONTLETS* [g.v.]), and (b) *מִטְפֵּי*, 'long mantles' (*ἐπιβάλας* [BAG]), *περιβ.* [A.v. 21]. Pesh. *taksithā, mā'nā*, EV incorrectly *KERCHIEFS*, which were placed over the head of the diviner.⁴ It becomes very tempting to conjecture that these garments were not merely special garments, but the garments actually worn by the deity or sacred object itself, since it is plausible to infer that they would be held to be permeated with the sanctity of the deified object and that supernatural power might be thus imparted to the wearer.⁵ It is true, the link is still missing to connect the diviner's garb with that of the clothed image; but such a conjecture as this would seem to explain how the use of 'Ephod,' as an article of divination, in its twofold sense of image and garment (in which it has been clothed), might have arisen (cp Bertholet on *Ezek.* 13. 18); see *EPHOD*.

See Weiss, *Kostensteine*, i. vii. 5; Nowack, *H.A.* § 20; Benzinger, *H.A.* § 16; and the special articles referred to in the course of this summary I. A.—S. A. C.

DRINK OFFERING (נֶסֶךְ), *Gen.* 35. 14; see *SACRIFICE*; cp *RITUAL*, § 1.

DROMEDARY. The word *כִּירְכִירוֹת*, *kirkīrōth*, is rendered 'dromedaries' in *Is.* 66. 20, RV^{mg.} (so Boch., Ges., Che., Di., Duhm.; cp *כִּרְכֵר* 'to whirl about' and EV 'swift beasts'). The rendering 'panniers' (cp *μετὰ σκιδάριον* [BAG]); Sym. *ἐν φορτίου*) has little in its favour.

For *Jer.* 29. 22 (כִּירְכִירוֹת) and *Is.* 66. 20 (*id. plur.*)—EV 'dromedary,' RV^{mg.} correctly 'young camel'—see *CAMEL*, § 1, n. For 1 K. 4. 43 (כִּירְכִירוֹת) and *Ezra.* 7. 10 (כִּירְכִירוֹת) see *HORSE*, § 1. 14.

DRUSILLA (ΔΡΟΥΣΙΛΛΑ [Ti. WH]), *Acts* 24. 24. See *HERODIAN FAMILY*, 10.

DUKE had not yet become a title when the AV was made, but was still employed in its literal sense of any *dux* or chief; cp *Hen. V.* iii. 2. 23: 'Be merciful, great duke' (*viz.*, Fluellen), to men of mould.' With but two

¹ The brazen statue in Elis bears the title of Satrap and seems to be of Eastern origin (Frazer, 2. 575).

² The importance of women in divination will not be overlooked. One notes how frequently the Grecian images, above referred to, represent goddesses.

³ See *CUTTINGS*, § 7, n.; but *כִּי* might also mean garments, cp *Ass. kashitā*.

⁴ It is surely wrong to suppose that the mantles were worn by the *sepires*. We have to read the fem. suffix in *מִטְפֵּי* (n. 214; cp the fem. suffix in *מִטְפֵּי* n. 204); there is a similar error in *עֲנִיבָה* n. 196. *בְּלִיָּטוֹת* (n. 18) should probably be emended to *בְּלִיָּטֵי*, 'every diviner.'

⁵ Cp *RSB* 438 and see *SACRIFICE*. This may have given rise to the figure 'robe of righteousness' and other well-known usages, cp also *Job* 29. 14, 'I put on truth and it clothed me (*לִבְשָׁנִי*)—i.e., became, as it were, incarnate in me.

exceptions (see 1, below) this now misleading term has given place in RV to a more modern equivalent.

1. *אֲדָמָה* (*Admāmah* [BAG]), a title applied to the Edomite 'chiefs' (so RV^{mg.} only) in *Gen.* 36. 15 ff. 1 Ch. 1. 51 ff. cp *Ex.* 15. 15 EV, and see *EDOM*, § 2b; but also (*implying*) the 'chieftains' (so RV) of Judah (*Zech.* 37. 12, 2. 2. *ἡγεμόνας*, AV 'governors'). The tribal subdivision of which the *אלֹפֶה* is the head is called *עֵלְפָה*.

2. *דְּמוּם*, in pl., of the 'dukes' (RV 'princes') of Sihon (*Josh.* 13. 21). Elsewhere the word is always translated 'princes' or 'principal men' (*Ps.* 80. 1 [2] *Evans.* 22 22 *Mss.* 24 [1]).

DULCIMER (דֹּלְמִימָה), *Dan.* 3. 5 to 15; see *MUSIC*, § 4 (c).

DUMAH (דְּמוּמָה). 1. In *Gen.* 25. 14 (*דְּמוּמָה* [ADP], *דְּמוּמָה* [L.]) and 1 Ch. 1. 36 (*דְּמוּמָה* [BAG]) *Dumah* appears as a son of Ishmael. The form *דְּמוּמָה* = *דְּמוּמָה* suggests comparison with *Adumu*, the 'fortress of the land of Aribi' (*KB* 2. 131), which, as Esar-haddon tells us, Sennacherib had conquered.

2. If the *Dumah* of *Gen.* is the same as *Adumu*, it may be tempting to suppose with Winckler (*AT Unt.* 37) that the heading 'oracle of *Dumah*' (*Is.* 21. 11) also refers to this 'fortress.' The prophecy itself, however, seems to forbid this; it begins 'One calleth to me out of Seir.' More probably not *Adumu* but *Udumu*,³ i.e. Edom, is meant (*Che. Proph.* *Is.* 1. 130); in other words, 'Dumah' is a corruption of 'Edom' (*תְּדוּמָה* [BAG]; see Sw.), facilitated perhaps by the neighbourhood of *Massa* (*massū*, v. 11, being misunderstood) and *Tema* (v. 14); see *Gen.* 25. 14 f. It is a less probable view that 'Dumah' ('silence'—i.e., desolation) is a mystical name for Edom (*ἡ ἄφωνος*). See also *ISHMAEL*, § 4 (4), *EDOM* (footnote on name of Edom).

3. There is another (apparently enigmatical) heading in *Is.* 21. 1 ('Oracle of the wilderness of the sea'), which should probably be emended into 'Oracle of Chaldea' (*בְּשֵׁיטִים*; שֵׁטִי שְׁבוֹת). Both headings are undoubtedly late.

4. In *Josh.* 15. 52 f. the reading followed by EV is found in some MSS and edd. (see Ginsb.), and being supported by the *OS* (*דְּמוּמָה*; see below) is very probably more correct than the *Rumah* of MT (*רומה*) [*Ba.* p. 86, Gi.]; so Pesh. and *ἡ ἄφωνος* [BAG] [*id.*]. In favour of this is the fact that the name is assigned to a town in the hill country of Judah, mentioned in the same group with Hebron and Beth-tappuah. For there is still a place called *ed-Dūmah*, 2190 ft. above the sea-level, 10 m. SW. from Hebron and 12 SE. from Beit-Jibrin, a position which coincides nearly with the definition of *Jer.* and *Eus.* (*OS* 116.4 25068), 'a very large village now in the Daroma,' 17 m. southward from Eleutheropolis. T. K. C.

DUNGEON (הַבֵּיֶר), *Gen.* 40. 15 41. 14; **Dungeon House** (בֵּית הַבֵּיֶר), *Jer.* 37. 16; see *PRISON*.

DUNG-GATE (שַׁעַר הַאֲשֵׁפוֹת [Ba. Gi.]; *Neh.* 3. 13 *הַשַּׁעַר הַהַשְׁפֹּת* [*Ba.*]), *Neh.* 2. 13 3. 13 f. 12 21. See *JERUSALEM*.

DURA (דִּירָא, τῶν περιβολῶν [Syr.], περιβολῶν [Syr. mg.], *Δεῖρα* [Theod.] = *דִּירָא*), the name of a plain 'in the province of Babylon' where Nebuchad-rezzar's golden image was set up (*Dan.* 3. 1). If the word is *Aram.*, it should mean 'dwelling-place' or 'village'; but *S.*'s rendering, even if a guess, may suggest that the name had come down from old Babylonian times and means 'wall.' In fact, three localities are mentioned in the tablets as bearing the name *Dūru*,

¹ In all the passages quoted there may have been a confusion between *דְּמוּמָה* and *עֵלְפָה*.

² In *Zech.* written defectively *דְּמוּמָה*. The St. Petersburg MS, however, points *דְּמוּמָה*.

³ *Udumu*, as *Wi.* now reads (but cp *GT* 1. 189), was the name of a city in the land of *Gar*, which may be identical with the *Adumu* of Esar-haddon, and from this city the land of *Udumu* may have derived its name. Still the remark in the text appears to be sound.

DUST

'wall' or 'walled town' (Del. *Par.* 216), and several Babylonian cities had names compounded with Dur.¹ That the writer of the narrative knew any of these places, appears improbable. Possibly the old name Dūru had attached itself in his time to the plain adjacent to the remains of the walls of Babylon. At any rate, the scene of the dedication of the image must in the writer's mind have been close to Babylon.

T. K. G.

DUST (עָפָר), Gen. 27 18²⁷ etc. See ASHES.

DWARF, mentioned among those who were forbidden access to the temple (Lev. 21²⁰), is the EV

¹ Oppert finds an echo of Dura in the *Nahr Dur* and the *Tâlet Dura* (*Égypte en Mesop.* [62] 123).

DYSENTERY

for דָּרָר, which has been variously rendered 'freckled' (εφθαλός [ἑβραϊστί], *lippus*, 'blear-eyed' [Vg.]), 'short-sighted,' 'weak-eyed,' 'affected with a cataract' (Rabb., cp Targ. Jer.). The literal meaning of the word, viz. 'shrunk,' 'withered' (Ges., Kn., Ke.), seems most natural.

DYED ATTIRE (טַבְּרָלִים), Ezek. 23¹⁵ EV; RVmg. 'dyed turbans'; see TURBAN.

DYED GARMENTS. For Judg. 5³⁰ RVmg. (צַבְנִים) see COLOURS, col. 869, n. 2; and for Is. 68¹ AV (קִטְוִיץ) see *ib.*, § 10.

DYES. See COLOURS, § 13 ff.

DYSENTERY (ΔΥΣΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ), Acts 28⁸ RV; AV 'bloody flux.' See DISEASES, 9, and cp EMERODS.

