

seven years old at the time of Hezekiah's birth. By the Jews in the middle ages this explanation was abandoned as untenable, and in consequence some, as Jarchi and Aben Ezra, refer the prophecy to a son of Isaiah himself, and others to a son of Ahaz by another wife, as Kimchi and Abarbanel. In this case, the 'almâh is explained as the wife or betrothed wife of the prophet, or as a later wife of Ahaz. Kelle (Ges. *Comm. über den Jesaja*) degrades her to the third rank of ladies in the harem (comp. Cant. vi. 28). Hitzig (*der Proph. Jesaja*) rejects Gesenius' application of 'almâh to a second wife of the prophet, and interprets it of the prophetess mentioned in viii. 3. Hendewerk (*des Proph. Jesaja Weissag.*) follows Gesenius. In either case the prophet is made to fulfil his own prophecy. Isenbiehl, a pupil of Michaelis, defended the historical sense with considerable learning, and suffered unworthy persecution for expressing his opinions. The 'almâh in his view was some Hebrew girl who was present at the colloquy between Isaiah and Ahaz, and to whom the prophet pointed as he spoke. This opinion was held by Bauer, Cube, and Rosenmüller (1st ed.). Michaelis, Eichhorn, Paulus, and Ammon, give her a merely ideal existence; while Umbreit allows her to be among the bystanders, but explains the pregnancy and birth as imaginary only. Interpreters of the second class, who refer the prophecy solely to the Messiah, of course understand by the 'almâh the Virgin Mary. Among these, Vitringa (*Obs. Sacr. v. c. 1*) vigorously opposes those, who, like Grotius, Pellicanus, and Tirinus, conceded to the Jews that the reference to Christ Jesus was not direct and immediate, but by way of typical allusion. For, he maintains, a young married woman of the time of Ahaz and Isaiah, could not be a type of the Virgin, nor could her issue by her husband be a figure of the child to be born of the Virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Against this hypothesis of a solely Messianic reference, it is objected that the birth of the Messiah could not be a sign of deliverance to the people of Judah in the time of Ahaz. In reply to this, Theodoret advances the opinion that the birth of the Messiah involved the conservation of the family of Jesse, and therefore by implication of the Jewish state. Cocceius argues on the same side, that the sign of the Messiah's birth would intimate that in the interval the kingdom and state of the Jews could not be alienated from God, and besides it confirms ver. 8, indicating that before the birth of Christ Judaea should not be subject to Syria, as it was when Archelaus was removed, and it was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Of all these explanations Vitringa disapproves and states his own conclusion, which is also that of Calvin and Piscator, to be the following:—In vers. 14-16, the prophet gives a sign to the pious in Israel of their deliverance from the impending danger, and in vers. 17, &c. announces the evils which the Assyrians, not the Syrians, should inflict upon Ahaz and such of his people as resembled him. As surely as Messiah would be born of the virgin, so surely would God deliver the Jews from the threatened evil. The principle of interpretation here made use of is founded by Calvin on the custom of the prophets, who confirmed special promises by the assurance that God would send a redeemer. But this explanation involves another difficulty, besides that which arises from the distance of the event predicted. Before the child shall arrive at years of discretion the prophet announces the desolation of

the land whose kings threatened Ahaz. By this Vitringa understands that no more time would elapse before the former event was accomplished than would intervene between the birth and youth of Immanuel, an argument too far-fetched to have much weight. Hengstenberg (*Christology*, ii. 44-66 Eng. trans.) supports to the full the older interpretation, and closely connects ver. 14, with ix. 6. He admits frankly that the older explanation of ver. 15, 16 has exposed itself to the charge of being arbitrary, and confidently propounds his own method of removing the stumbling-block. "In ver. 14 the prophet had seen the birth of the Messiah as present. Holding fast this idea and expanding it, the prophet makes him who has been born accompany the people through all the stages of its existence. We have here an ideal anticipation of the real incarnation. . . . What the prophet means, and intends to say here is, that, in the space of about a twelvemonth, the overthrow of the hostile kingdoms would already have taken place. As the representative of the contemporaries, he brings forward the wonderful child who, as it were, formed the soul of the popular life. . . . In the subsequent prophecy, the same wonderful child, grown up into a warlike hero, brings the deliverance from Asshur, and the world's power represented by it." The learned professor thus admits the double sense in the case of Asshur, but denies its application to Immanuel. It would be hard to say whether text or commentary be the more obscure.

In view of the difficulties which attend these explanations of the prophecy, the third class of interpreters above alluded to have recourse to a theory which combines the two preceding, viz., the hypothesis of the double sense. They suppose that the immediate reference of the prophet was to some contemporary occurrence, but that his words received their true and full accomplishment in the birth of the Messiah. Jerome (*Comm. in Esaiam*, vii. 14) mentions an interpretation of some Judaizers that Immanuel was the son of Isaiah, born of the prophetess, as a type of the Saviour, and that his name indicates the calling of the nations after the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. Something of the same kind is proposed by Luther in his opinion "the miracle, while it immediately respected the times of the prophet, was a type of the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary." Dr. Pyle Smith conjectured that it had an immediate reference to Hezekiah, "the virgin" being the queen of Ahaz; but, like some other prophetic testimonies, had another and a designed reference to some remoter circumstance, which when it occurred would be the real fulfilment, answering every feature and filling up the entire extent of the original delineation (*Scrip. Test. to the Messiah*, i. 357, 3rd ed.). A serious objection to the application of the prophecy of Hezekiah has already been mentioned. Kennicott separates ver. 16 from the three preceding, applying the latter to Christ, the former to the son of Isaiah (*Sermon on Is. vii. 13-16*).

Such in brief are some of the principal opinions which have been held on this important question. From the manner in which the quotation occurs in Matt. i. 23, there can be no doubt that the Evangelist did not use it by way of accommodation, but as having in view its actual accomplishment. Whatever may have been his opinion as to any contemporary or immediate reference it might contain, this was completely obscured by the full circumstance that burst upon him when he realised it

completion in the Messiah. What may have been the light in which the promise was regarded by the prophet's contemporaries we are not in a position to judge; the hypothesis of the double sense satisfies most of the requirements of the problem, and as it does less violence to the text than the others which have been proposed, and is at the same time supported by the analogy of the Apostle's quotations from the O. T. (Matt. ii. 15, 18, 23; iv. 15), we accept it as approximating most nearly to the true solution. [W. A. W.]

**IMMER** (יִמֶר; Ἰμμήρ; *Emmer*), apparently the founder of an important family of priests, although the name does not occur in any genealogy which allows us to discover his descent from Aaron (1 Chr. ix. 12; Neh. xi. 13). This family had charge of, and gave its name to, the sixteenth course of the service (1 Chr. xxiv. 14). From them came Pashur, chief governor of the Temple in Jeremiah's time, and his persecutor (Jer. xx. 1). They returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezr. ii. 37; Neh. vii. 40). Zadok ben-Immer repaired his own house (Neh. iii. 29), and two other priests of the family put away their foreign wives (Ezr. x. 20). But it is remarkable that the name is omitted from the list of those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah, and also of those who came up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and who are stated to have had descendants surviving in the next generation—the days of Joiakim (see Neh. xii. 1, 10, 12-21). [EMMER.] Different from the foregoing must be

2. (Ἐμῆρ, Ἰεμῆρ, *Emër*), apparently the name of a place in Babylonia from which certain persons returned to Jerusalem with the first caravan, who could not satisfactorily prove their genealogy (Ezr. ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61). In 1 Esdras the name is given as Ἀαδάρ.

**IMNA** (יִמְנָה; Ἰμνά; *Jemna*), a descendant of Asher, son of Helem, and one of the "chief princes" of the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 35; comp. 40).

**IMNAH** (יִמְנָה; Ἰεμνά; *Jemna*). 1. The first-born of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30). In the Pentateuch the name (identical with the present) is given in the A. V. as **JIMNAH**.

2. Kore ben-Imnah, the Levite, assisted in the reforms of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 14).

**IM'RAH** (יִמְרָה; Ἰμράν, Alex. Ἰεμρά; *Jamra*), a descendant of Asher, of the family of ZOPHAH (1 Chr. vii. 36), and named as one of the chiefs of the tribe.

**IMRI** (אִמְרִי; Ἰμρί; Alex. Ἰμρί; *Amrai*), but it seems to have changed places with the preceding name). A man of Judah of the great family of Pharez (1 Chr. ix. 4).

2. (Ἰμρί; *Amri*), father or progenitor of ZACOUR, who assisted Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 2).

**INCENSE**, קְטֹרֶת (*ketórah*), Deut. xxxiii. 10; קְטֹרֶת (*ketóreth*), Ex. xxv. 6, xxx. 1, &c.; לְבוֹנָה (*lebónah*), Is. xliii. 23, lx. 6, &c. The incense employed in the service of the tabernacle was distinguished as קְטֹרֶת הַסַּמִּים (*ketóreth hassamim*), Ex. xxv. 6, from being compounded of the perfumes stacte, onycha, galbanum, and pure

Frankincense. All incense which was not made of these ingredients was called קְטֹרֶת זָרָה (*ketórah zaráh*), Ex. xxx. 9, and was forbidden to be offered. According to Rashi on Ex. xxx. 34, the abovementioned perfumes were mixed in equal proportions, seventy manehs being taken of each. They were compounded by the skill of the apothecary, to whose use, according to Rabbinical tradition, was devoted a portion of the temple, called, from the name of the family whose especial duty it was to prepare the incense, "the house of Abtines." So in the large temples of India "is retained a man whose chief business it is to distil sweet waters from flowers, and to extract oil from wood, flowers, and other substances" (Roberts, *Orient. Illus.* p. 82). The priest or Levite to whose care the incense was intrusted, was one of the fifteen מְמוֹנִים (*memánim*), or prefects of the temple. Constant watch was kept in the house of Abtines that the incense might always be in readiness (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm. s. v. אַבְטִינִים*).

In addition to the four ingredients already mentioned Jarchi enumerates seven others, thus making eleven, which the Jewish doctors affirm were communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai. Josephus (*B. J. v. 5, §5*) mentions thirteen. The proportions of the additional spices are given by Maimonides (*Celé hammikdash*, ii. 2, §3) as follows. Of myrrh, cassia, spikenard, and saffron, sixteen manehs each. Of costus twelve manehs, cinnamon nine manehs, sweet bark three manehs. The weight of the whole confection was 368 manehs. To these was added the fourth part of a cab of salt of Sodom, with amber of Jordan, and a herb called "the smoke-raiser" (מַעֲלֵה עֵשֶׂן, *ma'le' áshán*), known only to the cunning in such matters, to whom the secret descended by tradition. In the ordinary daily service one maneh was used, half in the morning and half in the evening. Allowing then one maneh of incense for each day of the solar year, the three manehs which remained were again pounded, and used by the high-priest on the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 12). A store of it was constantly kept in the temple (*Jos. B. J. vi. 8, §3*).

The incense possessed the threefold characteristic of being salted (not *tempered* as in A. V.), pure and holy. Salt was the symbol of incorruptness, and nothing, says Maimonides, was offered without it, except the wine of the drink-offerings, the blood, and the wood (cf. Lev. ii. 13). The expression בֶּרֶךְ בְּבַד (*bad bebad*), Ex. xxx. 34, is interpreted by the Chaldee "weight by weight," that is, an equal weight of each (cf. Jarchi, *in loc.*); and this rendering is adopted by our version. Others however, and among them Aben Ezra and Maimonides, consider it as signifying that each of the spices was separately prepared, and that all were afterwards mixed. The incense thus compounded was specially set apart for the service of the sanctuary: its desecration was punished with death (Ex. xxx. 37, 38); as in some part of India, according to Michaelis (*Mosaisch. Recht*, art. 249), it was considered high treason for any person to make use of the best sort of *Calambak*, which was for the service of the king alone.

Aaron, as high-priest, was originally appointed to offer incense, but in the daily service of the second temple the office devolved upon the inferior priests, from among whom one was chosen by lot (*Mishna, Yoma*, ii. 4; Luke i. 9), each morning

and evening (Abarbanel on *Lev.* x. 1). A peculiar blessing was supposed to be attached to this service, and in order that all might share in it, the lot was cast among those who were "new to the incense," if any remained (*Mish. Yoma, l. c.*; Bartenora on *Tamid, v. 2*). Uzziah was punished for his presumption in attempting to infringe the prerogatives of the descendants of Aaron, who were consecrated to burn incense (2 *Chr. xxvi. 16-21*; *Jos. Ant. ix. 10, 4*). The officiating priest appointed another, whose office it was to take the fire from the brazen altar. According to Maimonides (*Tmid. Umus. ii. 8, iii. 5*) this fire was taken from the second pile, which was over against the S.E. corner of the altar of burnt-offering, and was of fig-tree wood. A silver shovel (מַחְתָּה, *machtâh*) was first filled with the live coals, and afterwards emptied into a golden one, smaller than the former, so that some of the coals were spilled (*Mishna, Tamid, v. 5, Yoma, iv. 4*; cf. *Rev. viii. 5*). Another priest cleared the golden altar from the cinders which had been left at the previous offering of incense (*Mishna, Tamid, iii. 6, 9, vi. 1*).

The times of offering incense were specified in the instructions first given to Moses (*Ex. xxx. 7, 8*). The morning incense was offered when the lamps were trimmed in the Holy place, and before the sacrifice, when the watchman set for the purpose announced the break of day (*Mishna, Yoma, iii. 1, 5*). When the lamps were lighted "between the evenings," after the evening sacrifice and before the drink-offerings were offered, incense was again burnt on the golden altar, which "belonged to the oracle" (1 *K. vi. 22*), and stood before the veil which separated the Holy place from the Holy of Holies, the throne of God (*Rev. viii. 4*; Philo, *de Anim. idon. § 3*).

When the priest entered the Holy place with the incense, all the people were removed from the temple, and from between the porch and the altar (Maimon. *Tmid. Umus. iii. 3*; cf. *Luke i. 10*). The incense was then brought from the house of Abtines in a large vessel of gold called כַּף (*caph*), in which was a phial (בִּיץ, *bazic*, properly "a saucer") containing the incense (*Mishna, Tamid, v. 4*). The assistant priests who attended to the lamps, the clearing of the golden altar from the cinders, and the fetching fire from the altar of burnt-offering, performed their offices singly, bowed towards the ark of the covenant, and left the Holy place before the priest, whose lot it was to offer incense, entered. Profound silence was observed among the congregation who were praying without (cf. *Rev. viii. 1*), and at a signal from the prefect the priest cast the incense on the fire (*Mishna, Tamid, vi. 3*), and bowing reverently towards the Holy of Holies retired slowly backwards, not prolonging his prayer that he might not alarm the congregation, or cause them to fear that he had been struck dead for offering unworthily (*Lev. xvi. 13*; *Luke i. 21*; *Mishna, Yoma, v. 1*) When he came out he pronounced the blessing in *Num. vi. 24-26*, the "magrephah" sounded, and the Levites burst forth into song, accompanied by the full swell of the temple music, the sound of which, say the Rabbins, could be heard as far as Jericho (*Mishna, Tamid, iii. 8*). It is possible that this may be alluded to in *Rev. viii. 5*. The priest then emptied the censer in a clean place, and hung it on one of the horns of the altar of burnt-offering.

On the day of atonement the service was different.

The high-priest, after sacrificing the bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his family, took incense in his left hand and a golden shovel filled with live coals from the west side of the brazen altar (*Jarvis on Lev. xvi. 12*) in his right, and went into the ark between the two bars. In the second temple, where there was no ark, a stone was substituted. Then sprinkling the incense upon the coals, he stayed till the house was filled with the smoke, and walking slowly backwards came without the veil, where he prayed for a short time (Maimonides, *Yom hakkippur*, quoted by Ainsworth on *Lev. xvi.*; *Outram de Sacrificiis, i. 8. §11*).

The offering of incense has formed a part of the religious ceremonies of most ancient nations. The Egyptians burnt resin in honour of the sun at its rising, myrrh when in its meridian, and a mixture called Kuphi at its setting (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg. v. 315*). Plutarch (*de Is. et Os. c. 52, 80*) describes Kuphi as a mixture of sixteen ingredients. "In the temple of Siva incense is offered to the Lingam six times in twenty-four hours" (Roberts, *Oriental. Illus. p. 468*). It was an element in the idolatrous worship of the Israelites (*Jer. xi. 12, 17, xlvii. 35*; 2 *Chr. xxxiv. 25*).

With regard to the symbolical meaning of incense, opinions have been many and widely differing. While Maimonides regarded it merely as a perfume designed to counteract the effluvia arising from the beasts which were slaughtered for the daily sacrifice, other interpreters have allowed their imaginations to run riot, and vied with the wildest speculations of the Midrashim. Philo (*Quis rer. div. her. vi. §41, p. 501*) conceives the stacte and onycha to be symbolical of water and earth; galbanum and frankincense of air and fire. Josephus, following the traditions of his time, believed that the ingredients of the incense were chosen from the products of the sea, the inhabited and the uninhabited parts of the earth, to indicate that all things are of God and for God (*B. J. v. 5, §5*). As the temple or tabernacle was the palace of Jehovah, the theocratic king of Israel, and the ark of the covenant his throne, so the incense, in the opinion of some, corresponded to the perfumes in which the luxurious monarchs of the East delighted. It may mean all this, but it must mean much more. Grotius, on this, but it must mean much more. Grotius, on *Ex. xxx. 1*, says the mystical signification is "ensum habenda corda." Cornelius a Lapide, on *Ex. xxx. 34*, considers it as an apt emblem of propitiation, and finds a symbolical meaning in the seven ingredients. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture, ii. 320*), with many others, looks upon prayer as the reality of which incense is the symbol, founding his conclusion upon *Ps. cxli. 2*; *Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4*; *op. Bähr (Symb. d. Mos. Cult. vol. i., c. vi. §4)* opposes this view of the subject, on the ground that the chief thing in offering incense is not the producing of the smoke, which presses like prayer towards heaven, but the spreading of the fragrance. His own exposition may be summed up as follows. Prayer, among all Oriental nations, signifies calling upon the name of God. The oldest prayers consisted in the mere enumeration of the several titles of God. The Scripture places incense in close relationship to prayer, so that offering incense is synonymous with worship. Hence incense itself is a symbol of the name of God. The ingredients of the incense correspond severally to the perfections of God, though it is impossible to decide to which of the four names of God each belongs. Perhaps

tracte corresponds to יהנה (Jehovah), onycha to אֲנִיחַ (Elôhîni), galbanum to גַּלְבָּנוֹן (chai), and frankincense to קָרְדָּיִם (kâdôsh). Such is Bähr's exposition of the symbolism of incense, rather ingenious than logical. Looking upon incense in connexion with the other ceremonial observances of the Mosaic ritual, it would rather seem to be symbolic, not of prayer itself, but of that which makes prayer acceptable, the intercession of Christ. In Rev. viii. 3, 4, the incense is spoken of as something distinct from, though offered with, the prayers of all the saints (cf. Luke i. 10); and in Rev. v. 8 it is the golden vials, and not the odours or incense, which are said to be the prayers of saints. Ps. cxxi. 2, at first sight, appears to militate against this conclusion; but if it be argued from this passage that incense is an emblem of prayer, it must also be allowed that the evening sacrifice has the same symbolical meaning. [W. A. W.]

### INDIA (יְהוּדָה, i. e. Hoddu; ἡ Ἰνδική; India).

The name of India does not occur in the Bible before the book of Esther, where it is noticed as the limit of the territories of Ahasuerus in the east, as Ethiopia was in the west (i. 1; viii. 9); the names are similarly connected by Herodotus (vii. 9). The Hebrew form "Hoddu" is an abbreviation of *Honadu*, which is identical with the indigenous names of the river Indus, "Hindu," or "Sindhu," and again with the ancient name of the country as it appears in the *Vendidad*, "Hapta Hendu." The native form "Sindus" is noticed by Pliny (vi. 23). The India of the book of Esther is not the peninsula of Hindostan, but the country surrounding the Indus—the *Punjab*, and perhaps *Scinde*—the India which Herodotus describes (iii. 98) as forming part of the Persian empire under Darius, and the India which at a later period was conquered by Alexander the Great. The name occurs in the inscriptions of Persepolis and Nakhsh-i-Rustam, but not in those of Behistûn (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 485). In 1 Macc. viii. 8 India is reckoned among the countries which Eumenes, king of Pergamus, received out of the former possessions of Antiochus the Great. It is clear that India proper cannot be understood, inasmuch as this never belonged either to Antiochus or Eumenes. At the same time none of the explanations offered by commentators are satisfactory: the Eneî of Paphlagonia have been suggested, but these people had disappeared long before (Strab. xii. 534); the India of Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 5, §3, iii. 2, §25), which may have been above the Carian stream named Indus (Plin. v. 29, probably the Calbis), is more likely; but the emendation "Mysia and Ionia" for *Media and India*, offers the best solution of the difficulty. [IONIA.] A more authentic notice of the country occurs in 1 Macc. vi. 37, where Indians are noticed as the drivers of the war-elephants introduced into the army of the Syrian king. (See also 1 Esd. iii. 2; Esth. xiii. 1; xvi. 1).

But though the name of India occurs so seldom, the people and productions of that country must have been tolerably well known to the Jews. There is undoubted evidence that an active trade was carried on between India and Western Asia: the

Tyrrians established their depôts on the shores of the Persian gulf, and procured "horns of ivory and ebony," "brodered work and rich apparel" (Ez. xxvii. 15, 24), by a route which crossed the Arabian desert by land, and then followed the coasts of the Indian ocean by sea. The trade opened by Solomon with Ophir through the Red Sea chiefly consisted of Indian articles, and some of the names even of the articles, *algummim*, "sandal wood," *kophim*, "apes," *thuccim*, "peacocks," are of Indian origin (Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii. 133); to which we may add the Hebrew name of the "topaz," *pitdah*, derived from the Sanscrit *pita*. There is a strong probability that productions of yet greater utility were furnished by India through Syria to the shores of Europe, and that the Greeks derived both the term *κασσίτερος* (comp. the Sanscrit *kastira*), and the article it represents, "tin," from the coasts of India. The connexion thus established with India led to the opinion that the Indians were included under the ethnological title of Cush, (Gen. x. 6), and hence the Syrian, Chaldaean, and Arabic versions frequently render that term by India or Indians, as in 2 Chr. xxi. 16; Is. xi. 11, xviii. 1; Jer. xiii. 23; Zeph. iii. 10. For the connexion which some have sought to establish between India and Paradise, see EDEN. [W. L. B.]

### INHERITANCE. [HEIR.]

### INK, INKHORN. [WRITING.]

### INN (יָלֵן, *mâlôn*: κατάλυμα, πανδοκείον).

The Hebrew word thus rendered literally signifies "a lodging-place for the night." Inns, in our sense of the term, were, as they still are, unknown in the East where hospitality is religiously practised. The khans, or caravanerais, are the representatives of European inns, and these were established but gradually. It is doubtful whether there is any allusion to them in the Old Testament. The halting-place of a caravan was selected originally on account of its proximity to water or pasture, by which the travellers pitched their tents and passed the night. Such was undoubtedly the "inn" at which occurred the incident in the life of Moses, narrated in Ex. iv. 24. It was probably one of the halting-places of the Ishmaelish merchants who traded to Egypt with their camel-loads of spices. Moses was on his journey from the land of Midian, and the merchants in Gen. xxxvii. are called indiscriminately Ishmaelites and Midianites. At one of these stations, too, the first which they reached after leaving the city, and no doubt within a short distance from it, Joseph's brethren discovered that their money had been replaced in their wallets (Gen. xlii. 27).

Increased commercial intercourse, and in later times religious enthusiasm for pilgrimages<sup>b</sup> gave rise to the establishment of more permanent accommodation for travellers. On the more frequented routes, remote from towns (Jer. ix. 2), caravanerais were in course of time erected, often at the expense of the wealthy. The following description of one of those on the road from Baghdad to Babylon will suffice for all:—"It is a large and substantial square building, in the distance resembling

<sup>a</sup> In the language of the A. V. "to lodge" has the force of remaining for the night. The word יָלֵן is rendered in 1 K. xix. 9 "lodge;" in Gen. xix. 2 "tarry all night;" comp. also Jer. xiv. 8, &c.

<sup>b</sup> The erection of hospitals in the middle ages was

due to the same cause. Paula, the friend of Jerome, built several on the road to Bethlehem, and the Scotch and Irish residents in France erected hospitals for the use of pilgrims of their own nation, on their way to Rome (Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 457). Hence *hospital*, *hostel*, and finally *hotel*.

a fortress, being surrounded with a lofty wall, and flanked by round towers to defend the inmates in case of attack. Passing through a strong gateway, the guest enters a large court, the sides of which are divided into numerous arched compartments, open in front, for the accommodation of separate parties and for the reception of goods. In the centre is a spacious raised platform, used for sleeping upon at night, or for the devotions of the faithful during the day. Between the outer wall and the compartments are wide vaulted arcades, extending round the entire building, where the beasts of burden are placed. Upon the roof of the arcades is an excellent terrace, and over the gateway an elevated tower containing two rooms—one of which is open at the sides, permitting the occupants to enjoy every breath of air that passes across the heated plain. The terrace is tolerably clean; but the court and stabling below are ankle-deep in chopped straw and filth" (Loftus, *Chaldea*, p. 13). The great khans established by the Persian kings and great men, at intervals of about six miles on the roads from Baghdad to the sacred places, are provided with stables for the horses of the pilgrims. "Within these stables, on both sides, are other cells for travellers" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 478 note). The "stall" or "manger," mentioned in Luke ii. 7, was probably in a stable of this kind. Such khans are sometimes situated near running streams, or have a supply of water of some kind, but the traveller must carry all his provisions with him (Ouseley, *Trav. in Persia*, i. 261 note). At Damascus the khans are, many of them, substantial buildings; the small rooms which surround the court, as well as those above them which are entered from a gallery, are used by the merchants of the city for depositing their goods (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 33). The *wakāleh*s of modern Egypt are of a similar description (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 10).

"The house of paths" (Prov. viii. 2, *ἐν οἴκῳ διόδων*, *Vers. Ven.*), where Wisdom took her stand, is understood by some to refer appropriately to a khan built where many ways met and frequented by many travellers. A similar meaning has been attached to *בְּתוֹמֵי*, *gērūth Cimhām*, "the hostel of Chimham" (Jer. xli. 17) beside Bethlehem, built by the liberality of the son of Barzillai for the benefit of those who were going down to Egypt (Stanley, *S. & P.*, 163; App. §90). The Targum says, "which David gave to Chimham, son of Barzillai the Gileadite" (comp. 2 Sam. xix. 37, 38). With regard to this passage, the ancient versions are strangely at variance. The LXX. had evidently another reading with ב and ג transposed, which they left untranslated *γαβρηραχάμα*, Alex. *γηβρωθαμάμα*. The Vulgate, if intended to be literal, must have read *בְּנֵי בְּנֵי*, *peregrinantes in Chanaam*. The Arabic, following the Alexandrian MS., read it *ἐν γῆ Βηρωθαμάμα*, "in the land of Berothchamaam." The Syriac has

*ܠܘܒܝܢܝܘܬܝܢ*, *v'adré*, "in the threshing-floors," as if *בְּגֵרֹת*, *begornōth*. Josephus had a reading different from all, *בְּגֵרֹת*, *begidrōth*, "in the folds of" Chimham; for he says the fugitives went "to a certain place called Mandra" (*Μάνδρα λεγόμενον*, *Ant.* x. 9, §5), and in this he was followed by Aquila and the Hexaplar Syriac.

The *πανδοκεῖον* (Luke x. 34) probably differed from the *κατάλυμα* (Luke ii. 7) in having a "host"

or "innkeeper" *πανδοκεύς*, Luke x. 35), who supplied some few of the necessary provisions, and attended to the wants of travellers left to his charge. The word has been adopted in the *na* Hebrew, and appears in the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) under the form *פונדק*, *pūndak*, and the host is *פונדקי*, *pūndaki*. The Jews were forbidden to put up their beasts at establishments of this kind that houses of entertainment were sometimes, as in Egypt (Her. ii. 35), kept by women, whose character was such that their evidence was regarded with suspicion. In the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) a tale is told of a company of Levites who were travelling to Zoar, the City of Palms, when one of them fell ill on the road and was left by his comrades at an inn, under the charge of the hostess (*פונדקית*, *pūndekith* = *πανδοκευρία*). On their return to enquire for their friend, the hostess told them he was dead and buried, but they refused to believe her till she produced his staff, wallet, and roll of the law. In Josh. ii. 1, *זונה*, *zōnah*, the term applied to Rahab, is rendered in the Targum of Jonathan *פונדקיתא*, *pūndekithā*, "a woman who keeps an inn." So in Judg. xi. 1, of the mother of Jephthah; of Dalilah (Judg. xvi. 1) and the two women who appealed to Solomon (1 K. iii. 16). The words, in the opinion of Kimchi on Josh. ii. 1, appear to have been synonymous.

In some parts of modern Syria a nearer approach has been made to the European system. The people of *es-Salt*, according to Burckhardt, support four taverns (*Menzel* or *Medhafa*) at the public expense. At these the traveller is furnished with everything he may require, so long as he chooses to remain, provided his stay is not unreasonably protracted. The expenses are paid by a tax on the heads of families, and a kind of landlord superintends the establishment (*Trav. in Syria*, p. 36). [W. A. W.]

INSTANT, INSTANTLY. A word employed by our translators in the N. T. with the force of urgency or earnestness, to render five distinct Greek words. We still say "at the instance of," but as that sense is no longer attached to "instant"—though it is still to the verb "insist," and to other compounds of the same root, such as "persist," "constant"—it has been thought advisable to notice its occurrences. They afford an interesting example, if an additional one be needed, of the close connexion which there is between the Authorised Version and the Vulgate; the Vulgate having, as will be seen, suggested the word in three out of its five occurrences.

1. *σπουδαίως*—"they besought Him instantly" (Luke vii. 4). This word is elsewhere commonly rendered "earnestly," which is very suitable here.
2. *ἐπέκειντο*, from *ἐπίκειμαι*, to lie upon—"they were instant with loud voices" (Vulg. *instabant*), Luke xxiii. 23. This might be rendered "they were pressing" (as in ver. 1).
3. *ἐν ἔκτενῃ*, "instantly serving God" (Acts xxvi. 7). The metaphor at the root of this word is that of stretching—on the stretch. Elsewhere in the A. V. it is represented by "fervently."
4. *προσκαρτεροῦντες*, "continuing instant" (Rom. xii. 12), Vulg. *instantes*. Here the adjective is hardly necessary, "continuing"—or to preserve where rendered by "continuing"—or to preserve the rhythm of so familiar a sentence—"continuing steadfast" (as Acts ii. 42).

ἐ. ἐπισηθῆ, from ἐπιστάται, to stand by or upon—"be instant in season out of season" (2 Tim. iv. 2), Vulg. *instā*. Four verses further it is rendered, "is at hand." The sense is "stand ready"—"be alert" for whatever may happen. Of the five words this is the only one which contains the same metaphor as "instant."

In Luke ii. 38, "that instant" is literally "that same hour,"—*αὐτῆ τῆ ὥρᾳ*. [G.]

IONIA (Ἰωνία). The substitution of this word for ἡ Ἰνδική in 1 Macc. viii. 8 (A. V. "India") is a conjecture of Grotius without any authority of MSS. It must be acknowledged, however, that the change removes a great difficulty, especially if, as the same commentator suggests, Μυσία [MYSIA] be substituted for Μηδεία or Μηδία in the same context. The passage refers to the cession of territory which the Romans forced Antiochus the Great to make; and it is evident that India and Media are nothing to the purpose, whereas Ionia and Mysia were among the districts *cis Taurum*, which were given up to Eumenes.

As to the term Ionia, the name was given in early times to that part of the western coast of Asia Minor which lay between Aeolis on the north and Doris on the south. These were properly ethnological terms, and had reference to the tribes of Greek settlers along this shore. Ionia, with its islands, was celebrated for its twelve, afterwards thirteen cities; five of which, Ephesus, Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, and Samos, are conspicuous in the N. T. In Roman times Ionia ceased to have any political significance, being absorbed in the province of Asia. The term, however, was still occasionally used, as in Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2, §2, from which passage we learn that the Jews were numerous in this district. This whole chapter in Josephus is very interesting, as a geographical illustration of that part of the coast. [JAVAN.] [J. S. H.]

IPHEDEI'AH (יִפְדֵיָאֵה; Ἰεφδαΐας, Alex. Ἰεφδαΐα; *Jephdaia*), a descendant of Benjamin, one of the Bene-Shashak (1 Chr. viii. 25); specially named as a chief of the tribe, and as residing in Jerusalem (comp. 28).

IR (עִיר; אִר, as if עִיר; Alex. Ἰρά; *Hir*), 1 Chr. vii. 12. [IRL.]

IRA (עִירָא; *Ira*). 1. (Ἰράς, Alex. Εἰράς.) "The Jairite," named in the catalogue of David's great officers (2 Sam. xx. 26) as "priest to David" (בִּקְיָהוּ; A. V. "a chief ruler"). The Peshito version for "Jairite" has "from Jathir," i. e., probably JATTIR, where David had found friends during his troubles with Saul. [JAIRITE.] If this can be maintained, and it certainly has an air of probability then this Ira is identical with

2. (Ἰράς, Ἰρά, Alex. Εἰράς) "Ira the Ithrite" (יִתְרִיתָא; A. V. omits the article), that is, the Jathirite, one of the heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xliii. 35; 1 Chr. xi. 40). [ITHRITE; JATTIR; JETHER.]

3. (Ἰράς, Ἰρά, Alex. Ἰρά; *Hira*). Another member of David's guard, a Tekoite, son of Iklesh (2 Sam. xxii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 28). Ira was leader of the sixth monthly course of 24,000, as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxvii. 9).

IRAD (עִירָד; Γαιράδ in both MSS.; Joseph. Ἰραδης; Syr. Idar; *Irād*), son of Enoch; grandson of Cain, and father of Mehujael (Gen. iv. 18).

IRAM (עִירָם; Ζαφωίν; Hiram; "belonging to a city," Ges.), a leader (עִירָם; LXX. ἡγεμῶν; "phylarch," A. V. "duke") of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 43; 1 Chr. i. 54), i. e., the chief of a family or tribe. He occurs in the list of "the names of the dukes [that came] of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names" (Gen. xxxvi. 40-43); but none of these names is found in the genealogy of Esau's immediate descendants; the latter being separated from them by the enumeration of the sons of Seir and the kings of Edom, both in Gen. and Chr. They were certainly descendants of Esau, but in what generation is not known; evidently not in a remote one. The sacred records are generally confined to the history of the chosen race, and the reason of the exclusion of the Edomite genealogy beyond the second generation is thus explicable. In remarking on this gap in the genealogy, we must add that there appears to be no safe ground for supposing a chronological sequence of sons and grandsons of Esau, sons of Seir, kings of Edom, and lastly descendants of Esau again, ruling over the Edomites. These were probably in part, or wholly, contemporaneous; and עִירָם we think should be regarded as signifying a chief of a tribe, &c. (as rendered above), rather than a king. The Jewish assertion that these terms signified the same rank, except that the former was uncrowned and the latter crowned, may be safely neglected.

The names of which Iram is one are "according to their families, after their places (or "towns," מְקֹמֵתָם), by their names" (ver. 40); and again (ver. 43), "These [be] the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession." These words imply that tribes and places were called after their leaders and founders, and tend to confirm the preceding remarks on the descendants of Esau being chiefs of tribes, and probably more or less contemporaneous with each other, and with the kings and Horites named together with them in the same records. It has been suggested that the names we are considering are those of the tribes and places founded by Esau's immediate descendants, mentioned earlier in the record; but no proof has been adduced in support of this theory.

The time of the final destruction of the Horites is uncertain: by analogy with the conquest of Canaan (cf. Deut. ii. 12, 22) we may perhaps infer that it was not immediate on Esau's settlement. No identification of Iram has been found. [E. S. P.]

IR-HA-HERES, in A. V. THE CITY OF DESTRUCTION (עִיר הַהָרָס, var. עִיר הַהָרֵם; Ἀχερῆς; *Civitas Solis*), the name or an appellation of a city in Egypt, mentioned only in Is. xix. 18. The reading הָרֵם is that of most MSS. the Syr. Aq. and Theod., the other reading, הָרֵם, is supported by the LXX., but only in form, by Symm. who has πόλις ἡγλου, and the Vulg. Gesenius (*Theo.* 391, a. 522) prefers the latter reading. There are various explanations: we shall first take those that treat it as a proper name, then those that suppose it to be an appellation used by the prophet to denote the future of the city.

1. עִיר הַהָרֵם, "the city of the sun," a translation of the Egyptian sacred name of Heliopolis, generally called in the Bible On, the Hebrew form of its civil name AN [ON], and once *Beth-Shemesh*, "the house of the sun" (Jer. xliii. 13), a more

literal translation than this supposed one of the sacred name [BETH SHEMESH].

2. עיר החרם, or החרם, "the city Heres," a transcription in the second word of the Egyptian sacred name of Heliopolis, HA-RA, "the abode (lit. "house"), of the sun." This explanation would necessitate the omission of the article. The LXX. favours it.

3. עיר ההרס, "a city destroyed," lit. "a city of destruction;" in A. V. "the city of destruction," meaning that one of the five cities mentioned should be destroyed, according to Isaiah's idiom.

4. עיר החרם, "a city preserved," meaning that one of the five cities mentioned should be preserved. Gesenius, who proposes this construction, if the second word be not part of the name of the

place, compares the Arabic حرس, "he guarded, kept, preserved," &c. It may be remarked that the word HERES or HRES in ancient Egyptian, probably signifies "a guardian." This rendering of Gesenius is however merely conjectural, and seems to have been favoured by him on account of its directly contradicting the rendering last noticed.

The first of these explanations is highly improbable, for we find elsewhere both the sacred and the civil names of Heliopolis, so that a third name merely a variety of the Hebrew rendering of the sacred name is very unlikely. The name *Beth-Shemesh* is, moreover, a more literal translation in its first word of the Egyptian name than this supposed one. It may be remarked, however, as to the second word, that one of the towns in Palestine called *Beth-shemesh*, a town of the Levites on the borders of Judah and Dan, was not far from a Mount Heres, הַר הַחֶרֶם (Judg. i. 35), so that the two names as applied to the sun as an object of worship might probably be interchangeable. The second explanation, which we believe has not been hitherto put forth, is liable to the same objection as the preceding one, besides that it necessitates the exclusion of the article. The fourth explanation would not have been noticed had it not been supported by the name of Gesenius. The common reading and old rendering remains, which certainly present no critical difficulties. A very careful examination of the *xix*th chap. of Isaiah, and of the *xviii*th and *xx*th, which are connected with it, has inclined us to prefer it. Egypt and Ethiopia were then either under a joint rule or under an Ethiopian sovereign. We can, therefore, understand the connexion of the three subjects comprised in the three chapters. Chap. *xviii*. is a prophecy against the Ethiopians, *xix*. is the Burden of Egypt, and *xx*., delivered in the year of the capture of Ashdod by Tartan, the general of Sargon, predicts the leading captive of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, probably the garrison of that great stronghold, as a warning to the Israelites who trusted in them for aid. Chap. *xviii*. ends with an indication of the time to which it refers, speaking of the Ethiopians—as we understand the passage—as sending "a present" "to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the mount Zion." (ver. 7). If this is to be taken in a proper and not a tropical sense, it would refer to the conversion of Ethiopians by the preaching of the Law while the Temple yet stood. That such had been the case before the gospel was preached is evident from the instance of the eunuch of Queen Candace, whom Philip met on his return homeward from

worshipping at Jerusalem, and converted to Christianity (Acts viii. 26-39). The Burden of Egypt seems to point to the times of the Persian and Greek dominions over that country. The civil war agreed with the troubles of the Dodecarchy, then we read of a time of bitter oppression by "a cruel lord and a fierce king," probably pointing to the Persian conquests and rule, and especially to Cambyses, or Cambyses and Ochus, and then of the drying of the sea (the Red Sea, comp. xl. 15) and the river and canals, of the destruction of the water-plants, and of the misery of the fishers and workers in linen. The princes and counsellors are to lose their wisdom and the people to be filled with fear, all which calamities seem to have begun in the desolation of the Persian rule. It is not easy to understand what follows as to the dread of the land of Judah which the Egyptians should feel, immediately preceding the mention of the subject of the article:—"In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called Ir-ha-heres. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them" (ix. 18-20). The partial or entire conversion of Egypt is prophesied in the next two versés (21, 22). The time of the Greek dominion, following the Persian rule, may be here pointed to. There was then a great influx of Jewish settlers, and as we know of a Jewish town, Onion, and a great Jewish population at Alexandria, we may suppose that there were other large settlements. These would "speak the language of Canaan," at first literally, afterwards in their retaining the religion and customs of their fathers. The altar would well correspond to the temple built by Onias; the pillar, to the synagogues of Alexandria, the latter on the northern and western borders of Egypt. In this case Alexander would be the deliverer. We do not know, however, that at this period there was any recognition of the true God on the part of the Egyptians. If the prophecy is to be understood in a proper sense, we can however see no other time to which it applies, and must suppose that Ir-ha-heres was one of the cities partly or wholly inhabited by the Jews in Egypt; of these Onion was the most important, and to it the rendering, "One shall be called a city of destruction," would apply, since it was destroyed by Titus, while Alexandria, and perhaps the other cities yet stand. If the prophecy is to be taken tropically, the best reading and rendering can only be determined by verbal criticism. [R. S. P.]

IRI (Ὀύρια; Alex. Οὐρί; Joris) 1 Esdr. viii. 62. This name answers to URIAH in Ezra (viii. 33.) But whence did our translators get their form?

IRI or IR (עירי; Oupri and 'Ap; Iru and Hir), a Benjamite son of Bela, according to 1 Chr. vii. 7, 12. The name does not occur in any of the other genealogies of the tribe. [H. C. H.]

IRIJAH (ירייה; Japovia; Joris), see of Shelemiah, a "captain of the ward" (פקרת) who met Jeremiah in the gate of Jerusalem (Jer. i. 13).

the "gate of Benjamin," accused him of being about to desert to the Chaldeans, and led him back to the princes (Jer. xxxvii. 13, 14).

**IR-NAHASH** (עִיר־נָחָשׁ = "serpent-city;" *Ἰρναῖς Naās*; *Urbs Naās*), a name which, like many other names of places, occurs in the genealogical lists of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 12). Tehinnah Abi Ir-nahash—"father of Ir-nahash"—was one of the sons of Eshton, all of them being descendants of Chelub (ver. 11). But it seems impossible to connect this special genealogy with the general genealogies of Judah, and it has the air of being a fragment of the records of some other family, related, of course, or it would not be here, but not the same. May not "Shuah, the brother of Chelub" (ver. 11), be Shuah the Canaanite, by whose daughter Judah had his three eldest sons (Gen. xxxviii. 2, &c.), and these verses be a fragment of a Canaanite record preserved amongst those of the great Israelite family, who then became so closely related to the Canaanites? True, the two Shuahs are written differently in Hebrew—שׁוּחָה and שׁוּחָה, but considering the early date of the one passage and the corrupt and incomplete state of the other; this is perhaps not irreconcilable.

No trace of the name of Ir-nahash attached to any site has been discovered. Jerome's interpretation (*Qu. Hebr. ad loc.*)—whether his own or a tradition he does not say—is that Ir-nahash is Bethlehem, Nahash being another name for Jesse. [NAHASH.] [G.]

**IRON** (יְרֵזִין; *Kepwé*, Alex. *Ἰαπίδν*; *Jeron*), one of the cities of Naphtali, named between En-hazor and Migdal-el (Josh. xix. 38); hitherto unknown, though possibly *Yarín*. [G.]

**IRON** (בַּרְזֶל, *barzel*; Ch. פְּרוּלָה, *parz'la*; *σίδηρος*), mentioned with brass as the earliest of known metals (Gen. iv. 22). As it is rarely found in its native state, but generally in combination with oxygen, the knowledge of the art of forging iron, which is attributed to Tubal Cain, argues an acquaintance with the difficulties which attend the smelting of this metal. Iron melts at a temperature of about 3000° Fahrenheit, and to produce this heat large furnaces supplied by a strong blast of air are necessary. But, however difficult it may be to imagine a knowledge of such appliances at so early a period, it is perfectly certain that the use of iron is of extreme antiquity, and that therefore some means of overcoming the obstacles in question must have been discovered. What the process may have been is left entirely to conjecture, a method is employed by the natives of India, extremely simple and of great antiquity, which though rude is very effective, and suggests the possibility of similar knowledge in an early stage of civilization (Ure, *Dict. Arts and Sciences*, art. *Steel*). The smelting furnaces of Aethalia, described by Diodorus (v. 13), correspond roughly with the modern bloomeries, remains of which still exist in this country (Napier, *Metalurgy of the Bible*, 140). Malleable iron was in common use, but it is doubtful whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The allusions in the Bible supply the following facts.

The natural wealth of the soil of Canaan is indicated by describing it as "a land whose stones are iron" (Deut. viii. 9). By this Winer (*Realw. art. Eisen*) understands the basalt which predominates in the Haurnn, is the material of which Og's bedstead (Deut. iii. 11) was made, and contains a

large per-centage of iron. It is more probable that the expression is a poetical figure. Pliny (xxxvi. 11), who is quoted as an authority, says indeed that basalt is "ferrei coloris atque duritie," but does not hint that iron was ever extracted from it. The book of Job contains passages which indicate that iron was a metal well known. Of the manner of procuring it, we learn that "iron is taken from dust" (xxviii. 2). It does not follow from Job xix. 24, that it was used for a writing implement, though such may have been the case, any more than that adamant was employed for the same purpose (Jer. xvii. 1), or that shoes were shod with iron and brass (Deut. xxxiii. 25). Indeed iron so frequently occurs in poetic figures, that it is difficult to discriminate between its literal and metaphorical sense. In such passages as the following, in which a "yoke of iron" (Deut. xxviii. 48), denotes hard service; "a rod of iron" (Ps. ii. 9), a stern government; "a pillar of iron" (Jer. i. 18), a strong support "and threshing instruments of iron" (Am. i. 3), the means of cruel oppression; the hardness and heaviness (Eccles. xxii. 15) of iron are so clearly the prominent ideas, that though it may have been used for the instruments in question, such usage is not of necessity indicated. The "furnace of iron" (Deut. iv. 28; 1 K. viii. 51) is a figure which vividly expresses hard bondage, as represented by the severe labour which attended the operation of smelting. Iron was used for chisels (Deut. xxvii. 5), or something of the kind; for axes (Deut. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 5, 6; Is. x. 34; Hom. *Il.* iv. 485); for harrows and saws (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chr. xx. 3); for nails (1 Chr. xxii. 3), and the fastenings of the temple; for weapons of war (1 Sam. xvii. 7; Job xx. 24), and for war chariots (Josh. xvii. 16, 18; Judg. i. 19, iv. 3, 13). The latter were plated or studded with it. Its usage in defensive armour is implied in 2 Sam. xxiii. 7 (cf. Rev. ix. 9), and as a safeguard in peace it appears in fetters (Ps. cv. 18), prison-gates (Acts xii. 10), and bars of gates or doors (Ps. cvii. 16; Is. lv. 2), as well as for surgical purposes (1 Tim. v. 2). Sheet-iron was used for cooking utensils (Ez. iv. 3; cf. Lev. vii. 9), and bars of hammered iron are mentioned in Job xl. 18, though here the LXX. perversely render *σίδηρος χυτός*, "cast-iron." That it was plentiful in the time of David appears from 1 Chr. xxii. 3. It was used by Solomon, according to Josephus, to clamp the large rocks with which he built up the Temple mount (*Ant.* xv. 11, §3); and by Hezekiah's workmen to hew out the conduits of Gihon (Eccles. xlviii. 17). Images were fastened in their niches in later times by iron brackets or clamps (Wisd. xiii. 15). Agricultural implements were early made of the same material. In the treaty made by Porseus was inserted a condition like that imposed on the Hebrews by the Philistines, that no iron should be used except for agricultural purposes (Plin. xxxiv. 39).

The market of Tyre was supplied with bright or polished iron by the merchants of Dan and Javan (Ez. xxvii. 19). Some, as the LXX. and Vulg., render this "wrought iron;" so De Wette "geschmiedetes Eisen." The Targum has "bars of iron," which would correspond with the *stricturæ* of Pliny (xxxiv. 41). But Kimchi (*Lex. s. v.*) expounds עִשׂוֹת, 'ashôth, as "pure and polished"

\* The passage of Ezekiel is illustrated by the screens behind which the archers stand in the representations of a siege on the Nimrod sculptures.



(= Span. *acero*, steel), in which he is supported by R. Sol. Parchon, and by Ben Zeb, who gives "glänz- end" as the equivalent (comp. the Homeric *αἶθων σίδηρος*, *Il.* vii. 473). If the Javan alluded to were Greece, and not, as Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 21) seems to think, some place in Arabia, there might be reference to the iron mines of Macedonia, spoken of in the decree of Aemilius Paulus (*Liv.* xlv. 29); but Bochart urges as a very strong argument in support of his theory that, at the time of Ezekiel's prophecy, the Tyrians did not depend upon Greece for a supply of cassia and cinnamon, which are associated with iron in the merchandise of Dan and Javan, but that rather the contrary was the case. Pliny (*xxxiv.* 41) awards the palm to the iron of Serica, that of Parthia being next in excellence. The Chalybes of the Pontus were celebrated as workers in iron in very ancient times (*Aesch. Prom.* 733). They were identified by Strabo with the Chaldaei of his day (*xii.* 549), and the mines which they worked were in the mountains skirting the sea-coast. The produce of their labour is supposed to be alluded to in *Jer.* xv. 12, as being of superior quality. Iron mines are still in existence on the same coast, and the ore is found "in small nodular masses in a dark yellow clay which overlies a limestone rock" (*Smith's Geog. Dict.* art. *Chalybes*).

It was for a long time supposed that the Egyptians were ignorant of the use of iron, and that the allusions in the Pentateuch were anachronisms, as no traces of it have been found in their monuments; but in the sepulchres at Thebes butchers are represented as sharpening their knives on a round bar of metal attached to their aprons, which from its blue colour is presumed to be steel. The steel weapons on the tomb of Rameses III. are also painted blue; those of bronze being red (*Wilkinson, Anc. Eg.* III. 247). One iron mine only has been discovered in Egypt, which was worked by the ancients. It is at Hammami between the Nile and the Red Sea; the iron found by Mr. Burton was in the form of specular and red ore (*Id.* iii. 246). That no articles of iron should have been found is easily accounted for by the fact that it is easily destroyed by exposure to the air and moisture. According to Pliny (*xxxiv.* 43) it was preserved by a coating of white lead, gypsum, and liquid pitch. Bitumen was probably employed for the same purpose (*xxxv.* 52). The Egyptians obtained their iron almost exclusively from Assyria Proper in the form of bricks or pigs (*Layard, Nin.* ii. 415). Specimens of Assyrian iron-work overlaid with bronze were discovered by Mr. Layard, and are now in the British Museum (*Nin. and Bab.* 191). Iron weapons of various kinds were found at Nimroud, but fell to pieces on exposure to the air. Some portions of shields and arrow-heads (*Id.* 194, 596) were rescued, and are now in England. A pick of the same metal (*Id.* 194) was also found, as well as part of a saw (195), and the head of an axe (357), and remains of scale-armour and helmets inlaid with copper (*Nin.* i. 340). It was used by the Etruscans for offensive weapons, as bronze for defensive armour. The Assyrians had daggers and arrow-heads of copper mixed with iron, and hardened with an alloy of tin (*Layard, Nin.* ii. 418). So in the days of Homer war-clubs were shod with iron (*Il.* vii. 141); arrows were tipped with it (*Il.* iv. 123); it was used for the axles of chariots (*Il.* v. 723), for fetters (*Od.* i. 204), for axes and bills (*Il.* iv. 485; *Od.* xi. 3, 81). Adrastus (*Il.* vi. 48) and Ulysses (*Od.* xxi. 10) reckoned it

among their treasures, the iron weapons being kept in a chest in the treasury with the gold and brass (*Od.* xxi. 61). In *Od.* i. 184, Menes tells Telemachus that he is travelling from Taphos to Tamesius to procure brass in exchange for iron, which Eustathius says was not obtained from the mines of the island, but was the produce of piratical excursions (*Millin, Mineral. Hom.* p. 115, 2nd ed.). Pliny (*xxxiv.* 40) mentions iron as used symbolically for a statue of Hercules at Thebes (*cf. Dan.* ii. 33, v. 4), and goblets of iron as among the offerings in the temple of Mars the Avenger, at Rome. Alyattes the Lydian dedicated to the oracle at Delphi a small goblet of iron, the workmanship of Glaucus of Chios, to whom the discovery of the art of soldering this metal is attributed (*Her.* i. 25). The goblet is described by Pausanias (*x.* 16). From the fact that such offerings were made to the temples, and that Achilles gave as a prize of contest a rudely-shaped mass of the same metal (*Il.* xxiii. 826), it has been argued that in early times iron was so little known as to be greatly esteemed for its rarity. That this was not the case in the time of Lycurgus is evident, and Homer attaches to it no epithet which would denote its preciousness (*Millin*, p. 106). There is reason to suppose that the discovery of brass preceded that of iron (*Luce, v.* 1292), though little weight can be attached to the line of Hesiod often quoted as decisive on this point (*Op. et Dies*, 150). The Dactyli Idaei of Crete were supposed by the ancients to have the merit of being the first to discover the properties of iron (*Plin.* vii. 57; *Diod. Sic.* v. 64), as the Cyclopes were said to have invented the iron-smith's forge (*Plin.* vii. 57). According to the Arundian marbles, iron was known B.C. 1370, while Larcher (*Chronol. d'Herod.* 570) assigns a still earlier date, B.C. 1537. Enough has been said to prove that the allusions to iron in the Pentateuch and other parts of the O. T. are not anachronisms.

There is considerable doubt whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The rendering given by the LXX. of *Job* xl. 18, as quoted above, seems to imply that some method nearly like that of casting was known, and is supported by a passage in Diodorus (*v.* 13). The inhabitants of Aethalia traded with pig-iron in masses like large sponges to Dicaearchia and other parts, where it was bought by the smiths and fashioned into various moulded forms (*πλάσματα ταιτοβάτα*).

In *Eccles.* xxxviii. 28, we have a picture of the interior of an iron-smith's (*Is.* xlv. 12) workshop: the smith, parched with the smoke and heat of the furnace, sitting beside his anvil and contemplating the unwrought iron, his ears deafened with the din of the heavy hammer, his eyes fixed on his model, and never sleeping till he has accomplished his task. [W. A. W.]

[STEEL.]  
IR'PEEL (אִרְפֵּל; קָפָר, Alex. 'Ipphā; *Jarephel*), one of the cities of Benjamin (*Josh.* xviii. 27), occurring in the list between Rekem and Taralah. No trace has yet been discovered of its situation. It will be observed that in the same name is radically different from that in the name Ir-nahash, Ir-shemesh, &c. Taken as a Hebrew name it is Irpe-El = "restored by God." [G.]

IR-SHE'MESH (אִרְשֵׁמֶשׁ; Ἰρσῆμῆς, Alex. πόλις Σαμῆς; *Hersemes*, *id est*, *Civitas Solis*), a city of the Danites (*Josh.* xix. 41), probably identical with BETH-SHEMESH and, if not identical, at least con-

connected with MOUNT HERES (Judg. i. 35., the "mount of the sun." Beth-shemesh is probably the latter form of the name. In other cases Beth appears to have been substituted for other older terms [see BAAL-MEON, &c.], such as Ir or Ar, which is unquestionably a very ancient word. [G.]

IRU (יְרֻ; 'Hr. Alex. 'Hpa; 'Hiv'), the eldest son of the great Caleb son of Jephunneh (1 Chr. iv. 15). It is by some supposed that this name should be Ir, the vowel at the end being merely the conjunction "and," properly belonging to the following name.

ISAAC (יִצְחָק, or יִשְׂחָק, laughter; 'Isaák), the son whom Sarah, in accordance with the Divine promise, bore to Abraham in the hundredth year of his age, at Gerar. In his infancy he became the object of Ishmael's jealousy; and in his youth (when twenty-five years old, according to Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13, §2) the victim, in intention, of Abraham's great sacrificial act of faith. When forty years old he married Rebekah his cousin, by whom, when he was sixty, he had two sons, Esau and Jacob. In his seventy-fifth year he and his brother Ishmael buried their father Abraham in the cave of Machpelah. From his abode by the well Lahai-roi, in the South Country—a barren tract, comprising a few pastures and wells, between the hills of Judaea and the Arabian desert, touching at its western end Philistia, and on the north Hebron—Isaac was driven by a famine to Gerar. Here Jehovah appeared to him and bade him dwell there and not go over into Egypt, and renewed to him the promises made to Abraham. Here he subjected himself, like Abraham in the same place and under like circumstances (Gen. xx. 2), to a rebuke from Abimelech the Philistine king for an equivocation. Here he acquired great wealth by his flocks; but was repeatedly dispossessed by the Philistines of the wells which he sunk at convenient stations. At Beersheba Jehovah appeared to him by night and blessed him, and he built an altar there: there, too, like Abraham, he received a visit from the Philistine king Abimelech, with whom he made a covenant of peace. After the deceit by which Jacob acquired his father's blessing, Isaac sent his son to seek a wife in Padan-aram; and all that we know of him during the last forty-three years of his life is that he saw that son, with a large and prosperous family, return to him at Hebron (xxxv. 27) before he died there at the age of 180 years. He was buried by his two sons in the cave of Machpelah.

In the N.T. reference is made to the offering of Isaac (Heb. xi. 17; and James ii. 21) and to his blessing his sons (Heb. xi. 20). As the child of the promise, and as the progenitor of the children of the promise, he is contrasted with Ishmael (Rom. ix. 7, 10; Gal. iv. 28; Heb. xi. 18). In our Lord's remarkable argument with the Sadducees, his history is carried beyond the point at which it is left in the O. T., into and beyond the grave. Isaac, of whom it was said (Gen. xxv. 26) that he was gathered to his people, is represented as still living to God (Luke xx. 38, &c.); and by the same Divine authority he is proclaimed as an acknowledged heir of future glory (Matt. viii. 11, &c.).

II. Such are the facts which the Bible supplies of the longest-lived of the three Patriarchs, the least migratory, the least prolific and the least fa-

voured with extraordinary divine revelations. A few events in this quiet life have occasioned discussion.

(a.) The signification of Isaac's name is thrice alluded to (Gen. xvii. 17, xviii. 12, xxi. 6). Josephus (*Ant.* i. 12, §2) refers to the second of those passages for the origin of the name; Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.*) vehemently confines it to the first; Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 425), without assigning reasons, gives it as his opinion that all three passages have been added by different writers to the original record.

(b.) It has been asked what are the persecutions sustained by Isaac from Ishmael to which St. Paul refers (Gal. iv. 29)? If, as is generally supposed, he refers to Gen. xxi. 9, then the word יִצְחָק, παίζοντα, may be translated *mocking*, as in the A. V., or *insulting*, as in xxxix. 14, and in that case the trial of Isaac was by means of "cruel mockings" (ἐμπαιγμῶν), in the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 36). Or the word may include the signification *paying idolatrous worship*, as in Ex. xxxii. 6, or *fighting*, as in 2 Sam. ii. 14. These three significations are given by Jarchi, who relates a Jewish tradition (quoted more briefly by Wetstein on Gal. iv. 29) of Isaac suffering personal violence from Ishmael, a tradition which, as Mr. Ellicott thinks, was adopted by St. Paul. The English reader who is content with our own version, or the scholar who may prefer either of the other renderings of Jarchi, will be at no loss to connect Gal. iv. 29 with Gen. xxi. 9. But Origen (*in Gen. Hom.* vii. §3), and Augustine (*Sermo* iii.), and apparently Professor Jowett (on Gal. iv. 29), not observing that the gloss of the LXX. and the Latin versions "playing with her son Isaac" forms no part of the simple statement in Genesis, and that the words יִצְחָק, παίζοντα, are not to be confined to the meaning "playing," seem to doubt (as Mr. Ellicott does on other grounds), whether the passage in Genesis bears the construction apparently put upon it by St. Paul. On the other hand, Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Gen.* xxi. 9) even goes so far as to characterise ἐδίωκε—"persecuted"—as a very excellent interpretation of יִצְחָק. (See Drusius on Gen. xxi. 9 in *Crit. Sacr.*, and Estius on Gal. iv. 29.)

(c.) The offering up of Isaac by Abraham has been viewed in various lights. It is the subject of five dissertations by Frischmuth in the *Theol. Philol.* p. 197 (attached to *Crit. Sacri*). By Bishop Warburton (*Div. Leg.* b. vi. §5) the whole transaction was regarded as "merely an information by action (compare Jer. xxvii. 2; Ez. xii. 3; Hos. i. 2), instead of words, of the great sacrifice of Christ for the redemption of mankind, given at the earnest request of Abraham, who longed impatiently to see Christ's day." This view is adopted by Dean Graves (*On the Pentateuch*, pt. iii. §4) and has become popular. But it is pronounced to be unsatisfactory by Davison (*Primitive Sacrifice*, pt. iv. §2), who, pleading for the progressive communication of the knowledge of the Christian atonement, protests against the assumption of a contemporary disclosure of the import of the sacrifice to Abraham, and points out that no expiation or atonement was joined with this emblematic oblation, which consequently symbolised only the act, not the power or virtue of the Christian sacrifice. Mr. Maurice (*Patriarchs and Lauegivers*, 3 L.



showed the early history of his descendants: if Jacob was a type of the careful, commercial, unwarlike character of their later days, Isaac may represent the middle period, in which they lived apart from nations, and enjoyed possession of the fertile land of promise.

IV. The typical view of Isaac is barely referred to in the N. T.; but it is drawn out with minute particularity by Philo and those interpreters of Scripture who were influenced by Alexandrian philosophy. Thus in Philo, Isaac = laughter = the most exquisite enjoyment = the soother and cheerer of peace-loving souls, is foreshadowed in the facts that his father had attained 100 years (the perfect number) when he was born, and that he is specially designated as given to his parents by God. His birth from the mistress of Abraham's household symbolizes happiness proceeding from predominant wisdom. His attachment to one wife (Rebekah = perseverance) is contrasted with Abraham's multiplied connexions and with Jacob's toil-won wives, as showing the superiority of Isaac's heaven-born, self-sufficing wisdom, to the accumulated knowledge of Abraham and the painful experience of Jacob. In the intended sacrifice of Isaac Philo sees only a sign that laughter = rejoicing is the prerogative of God, and is a fit offering to Him, and that He gives back to obedient man as much happiness as is good for him. Clement of Rome (ch. 31), with characteristic soberness, merely refers to Isaac as an example of faith in God. In Tertullian he is a pattern of monogamy and a type of Christ bearing the cross. But Clement of Alexandria finds an allegorical meaning in the incidents which connect Abimelech with Isaac and Rebekah (Gen. xxvi. 8) as well as in the offering of Isaac. In this latter view he is followed by Origen, and by Augustine, and by Christian expositors generally. The most minute particulars of that transaction are invested with a spiritual meaning by such writers as Rabanus Maurus, in Gen. 3ii. Abraham is made a type of the First Person in the blessed Trinity, Isaac of the Second; the two servants dismissed are the Jewish sects who did not attain to a perception of Christ in His humiliation; the ass bearing the wood is the Jewish nation, to whom were committed the oracles of God which they failed to understand; the three days are the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations; the ram is Christ on the Cross; the thicket they who placed Him there. Modern English writers hold firmly the typical significance of the transaction, without extending it into such detail (see Pearson on the Creed, i. 243, 251, ed. 1843; Fairbairn's *Typology*, i. 332). A recent writer (A. Jukes, *Types of Genesis*), who has shown much ingenuity in attaching a spiritual meaning to the characters and incidents in the book of Genesis, regards Isaac as representing the spirit of sonship, in a series in which Adam represents human nature, Cain the carnal mind, Abel the spiritual, Noah regeneration, Abraham the spirit of faith, Jacob the spirit of service, Joseph suffering or glory. With this series may be compared the view of Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 387-400), in which the whole patriarchal family is a figurative group, comprising twelve members with seven distinct modes of relation: 1. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are three fathers, respectively personifying active power, quiet enjoyment, success after struggles, distinguished from the rest as Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ulysses among the

heroes of the Iliad, or as the Trojan Anchises, Aeneas, and Ascanius, and mutually related as Romulus, Remus, and Numa; 2. Sarah, with Hagar, as mother and mistress of the household; 3. Isaac as child; 4. Isaac with Rebekah as the type of wedlock (comp. *Alterthümer*, p. 233); 5. Leah and Rachel the plurality of coequal wives; 6. Deborah as nurse (compare Anna and Caieta, *Aen.* iv. 654, and vii. 1); 7. Eliezer as steward, whose office is compared to that of the messenger of the Olympic deities.

V. Jewish legends represent Isaac as an angel made before the world, and descending to earth in human form (Origen, in *Joann.* ii. §25); as one of the three men in whom human sinfulness has no place, as one of the six over whom the angel of death has no power (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 343, 864). He is said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Shem (Jarchi, on *Gen.* xxv.). The ordinance of evening prayer is ascribed to him (*Gen.* xxiv. 63), as that of morning prayer to Abraham (xix. 27), and night prayer to Jacob (xxviii. 11), (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 483).

The Arabian traditions included in the Koran represent Isaac as a model of religion, a righteous person inspired with grace to do good works, observe prayer, and give alms (ch. 21), endowed with the divine gifts of prophecy, children, and wealth (ch. 19). The promise of Isaac and the offering of Isaac are also mentioned (ch. 11, 38). Faith in a future resurrection is ascribed to Abraham; but it is connected, not as in Heb. xi. 19 with the offering of Isaac, but with a fictitious miracle (ch. 2). [W. T. B.]

ISAI'AH (יֵשַׁעְיָהוּ), i. e. Yeshayahu, always in Hebr. Text; but in Rabbinical superscriptions of the Hebr. Bible יֵשַׁעְיָה; *Ἰσαΐας*; *Isaias*). The Hebrew name, our shortened form of which occurs of other persons [see JESALAH, JESHALAH], signifies *Salvation of Jahu* (a shortened form of *Jehovah*). Reference is plainly made by the prophet himself, Is. viii. 18, to the significance of his own name as well as of those of his two sons. His father Amoz (אֲמוֹז, *Amós*) must not be confounded, as was done by Clemens Alexandrinus and some other of the Fathers through their ignorance of Hebrew, with the prophet Amos (אֲמוֹס, in LXX. also *Amós*), who flourished in the reign of Jeroboam II. Nothing whatever is known of Amoz. He is said by some of the Rabbins to have been also a prophet, and brother of king Amaziah,—the latter apparently a mere guess founded on the affinity of the two names. Kimchi (A. D. 1230) says in his commentary on Is. i. 1, "We know not his race, nor of what tribe he was."

I. The first verse of the book runs thus: "The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." A few remarks on this verse will open the way to the solution of several enquiries relative to the prophet and his writings.

1. This verse is not the preface to the first ch only, nor to any small portion of the book, as is clear from the enumeration of the four kings. It plainly prefaces at least the first part of the book (chs. i.-xxxix.), which leaves off in Hezekiah's reign; and as there appears no reason for limiting its reference even to the first part, the obvious construction would take it as applying to the whole

book (comp. Hos. i. 1; Mic. i. 1). The word *vision* is a collective noun, as in 2 Chr. xxxii. 32; and the Heb. *חִזְיוֹן* is never found in the plural. As this is the natural and obvious bearing of the verse,

2. We are authorised to infer, that no part of the *vision*, the fruits of which are recorded in this book, belongs to the reign of Manasseh. Hypotheses therefore, which lengthen Isaiah's prophetic ministration into the reign of Manasseh, appear to lack historical foundation. A rabbinical tradition it is true, apparently confirmed by the *διεπλοθῆσαν* of Heb. xi. 37, which can be referred to no other known fact, reports the prophet to have been sawn asunder<sup>a</sup> in the trunk of a tree by order of Manasseh; but the hostility of the party opposed to the service of Jehovah, which gained the ascendancy at the accession of that prince, had been sufficiently excited by the prophet during the reign of his predecessor to prompt them to the murder, without our lengthening the period of his prophesying beyond the limits which this verse assigns. For indeed,

3. Isaiah must have been an old man at the close of Hezekiah's reign. The ordinary chronology gives 758 B.C. for the date of Jotham's accession, and 698 for that of Hezekiah's death. This gives us a period of 60 years. And since his ministry commenced before Uzziah's death (how long we know not), supposing him to have been no more than 20 years old when he began to prophesy, he would have been 80 or 90 at Manasseh's accession.

4. The circle of hearers upon whom his ministry was immediately designed to operate is determined to be "Judah and Jerusalem." True, we have in the book prophecies relating to the kingdom of Israel,—as also to Moab, Babylon, and other heathen states; but neither in the one case nor the other was the prophesying designed for the benefit of these foreign states, or meant to be communicated to them, but only for Judah, now becoming the sole home of Hebrew blessings and hopes. Every other interest in the prophet's inspired view moves round Judah, and is connected with her.

5. It is the most natural and obvious supposition that the "visions" are in the main placed in the collection according to their chronological order; and this supposition it would be arbitrary to set aside without more solid reasons than the mere impulses of subjective fancy. We grant that this presumption might be overruled, if good cause were shown; but till it is shown, we have no warrant for rejecting the principle that the present arrangement is in the main founded upon chronological propriety, only departed from in cases where (as is very natural to suppose) similarity of character occasioned the grouping together of visions which were not uttered at the same time.

6. If then we compare the contents of the book with the description here given of it, we recognise prophesyings which are certainly to be assigned to the reigns of Uzziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; but we cannot so certainly find any belonging to the reign of Jotham. The form of the expression in vi. 1, "the year that king Uzziah died," fixes the time of that vision to the close of Uzziah's reign, and not to the commencement of Jotham's. What precedes ch. vi. may be referred to some preceding part of Uzziah's reign:—except perhaps the first chapter; this may be regarded as a general summary of advice founded upon the whole of what follows,—a kind

<sup>a</sup> The traditional spot of the martyrdom is a very old mulberry-tree which stands near the Pool of

of general preface; corresponding at the commencement of the book to the parenthesis of the same chapters at its close. Ch. vii. brings us at once from "the year that king Uzziah died" to "the days of Ahaz." We have then nothing left for Jotham's reign, unless we suppose that some of the group of "burdens" in xiii.—xxiii. belong to it, or xxviii.—xxxv. It may be that prophesyings thus spoken were not recorded, because, applying to a state of things similar to what obtained in the latter part of Uzziah, they were themselves of a similar strain with chs. ii.—v.

7. We naturally ask, Who was the compiler of the book? The obvious answer is, that it was Isaiah himself aided by a scribe; comp. the very interesting glimpse afforded us by Jer. xxxvi. 1-5, of the relation between the utterance of prophecies and their writing. Isaiah we know was otherwise an author; for in 2 Chr. xxvi. 22 we read: "Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah first and last did Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet write"; and though that historical work has perished, the fact remains to show that Isaiah's mind was not alien from the cares of written composition (comp. also 2 Chr. xxxii. 32; and observe the first person used in viii. 1-5). The organic structure of the whole book also, which we hope to make apparent, favours the same belief. On the whole, that Isaiah was himself the compiler, claims to be accepted as the true view. The principal objection deserving notice is that founded upon xxxvii. 38. It has been alleged (Hitzig, *in loc.*) that Sennacherib's ravage took place B.C. 696, two years after Manasseh's accession; others, however, question this (comp.avernick's *Einleitung*): at all events the passage is quite reconcilable with the belief of Isaiah's being the compiler, if we suppose him to have lived two or three years after Manasseh's accession, even without our having recourse to the expedient of attributing the verse in question and the one before it to a later hand. The name given in xxxvi. 11, 13 to the Hebrew spoken in Jerusalem, "the Jews' language," *הִלְבִּיט*, is no evidence of a later age; it is perfectly conceivable that while the *written* language remained the same in both kingdoms, as is evidenced by the prophetic books, the *spoken* dialect (comp. Judg. xii. 6) of the kingdom of Judah may have diverged so far from that of the (now perished) kingdom of Israel as to have received a distinct designation; and its name would naturally, like that of the kingdom itself, be drawn from the tribe which formed the chief constituent of the population. As we are seeking for objective evidence, we may neglect those wild hypotheses which seem to have indulged in, respecting an original work and its subsequent modifications; for since they originate in the denial of divine inspiration combined with reliance on a merely subjective appreciation of the several writings, such hypotheses must be assigned to the region of fancy rather than of historical investigation.

8. In this introductory verse we have yet to notice the description which it gives of Isaiah's prophesyings: they are "the vision which he saw." When we hear of *visions* we are apt to think of a mental condition in which the mind is withdrawn present, and contemplates, instead of these, another

Siloam on the slopes of Ophel, below the S.E. wall of Jerusalem.

set of objects which appear at the moment sensibly present;—a sort of dream without sleep. Such a vision was that of St. Peter at Joppa. Such again we recognise in Is. vi.—the only instance of this kind of pure vision in the book; in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, they abound. But Isaiah's mental state in his prophesying appears ordinarily to have been different from this. Outward objects really present were not withdrawn from his perception, but appear to have blended to his view, at times, with the spiritual which was really present though not recognisable except to the eye of faith (e.g., the presence of Jehovah), at times with the future whether sensible or spiritual which seemed to the prophet as if actually present. In this view, his prophesyings are not to be regarded as utterances, in the delivery of which the Holy Ghost employed the intellectual and physical organs of the prophet as mere instruments wielded by Itself, but as *visions*, i. e., the description by the prophet himself under divine direction (2 Tim. iii. 16) of that which at the time he seemed to himself to see. If this view be just, it follows that in the descriptions which the prophet gives of that which appeared to be before him, we cannot be at once sure, whether he is describing what was actually objectively present, or whether the objects delineated as present belonged to the future. For example; at first sight the description given of the condition of Judah in i. 5-9, portraying an invasion, might be understood of what was actually present, and so might lead us either to supplement the history of 2 K. with a hypothetical invasion, or put forward the time of the prophesying to Ahaz or Hezekiah. But recollecting that it is *vision*, we see that it may be taken as simply predictive and threatening, and therefore as still spoken in Uzziah's reign. Similarly iii. 8, v. 13, x. 28-32, are all predictive. So in the second part is liv. 11. Further, it would be only in accordance with this method of prophetic sight if we found the prophet describing some future time as if present, and from that standing-point announcing some more distant future, sometimes as future, and sometimes, again, as present. And in fact it is thus that Isaiah represents the coming fortunes of God's people in the second part of his prophesy. Comp. xlii. 13-17, xlix. 18, xlv. 1-4, liii. 3-10, 11, 12, lxiii. 1-6, as illustrations of the manner in which the relations of past, present, and future time, are in vision blended together.

It has been remarked above as characteristic of Isaiah's ordinary prophetic vision, that the actually present is not lost to view. In fact this was essential to his proper function. His first and immediate concern was with his contemporaries, as the reprover of sin, and to build up the piety of believers. Even when his vision the most contemplates the future, he yet does not lose his reference to the present, but (as we shall see even in the second part) he makes his prophesyings tell by exhortation and reproof upon the state of things actually around him. From all this it results, that we often find it difficult to discriminate his predictions from his rebukes of present disorders. His contemporaries, however, would be under no such difficulty. The blatant and ungodly Hebrew would promptly recognise his own description; the pious would be confirmed and cheered.

II. In order to realise the relation of Isaiah's prophetic ministry to his own contemporaries, we need to take account both of the foreign relations of Judah at the time, and internally of its social and

religious aspects. Our materials are scanty, and are to be collected partly out of 2 K. and 2 Chr., and partly out of the remaining writings of contemporary prophets, Joel (probably), Obadiah, and Micah, in Judah; and Hosea, Amos, and Jonah, in Israel. Of these the most assistance is obtained from Micah.

1. Under Uzziah the political position of Judah had greatly recovered from the blows suffered under Amaziah; the fortifications of Jerusalem itself were restored; castles were built in the country; new arrangements in the army and equipments of defensive artillery were established; and considerable successes in war gained against the Philistines, the Arabians, and the Ammonites. [UZZIAH.] This prosperity continued during the reign of Jotham, except that towards the close of this latter reign, troubles threatened from the alliance of Israel and Syria. [JOTHAM.] The consequence of this prosperity was an influx of wealth, and this with the increased means of military strength withdrew men's confidence from Jehovah, and led them to trust in worldly resources. Moreover great disorders existed in the internal administration, all of which, whether moral or religious, were, by the very nature of the commonwealth, as theocratic, alike amenable to prophetic rebuke. It was the very business of Isaiah and other prophets to raise their voices as public reformers, as well as to fulfil the work which belongs to religious teachers in edifying God's true servants and calling the irreligious to repentance. Accordingly our prophet steps forward into public view with the divine message, dressed after the manner of prophets in general—girded in coarse and black, or at least dark coloured, hair-cloth (comp. Is. xx. 2, l. 3; 2 K. i. 8; Zech. xiii. 4),—emblematically indicating by this attire of mourning that Jehovah spoke to His people in grief and resentment. [SACK-CLOTH.] From his house, which appears to have been in Jerusalem (comp. vii. 3, xxxvii. 5), he goes forth to places of general concourse, chiefly no doubt, as Christ and His Apostles afterwards did, to the colonnades and courts of the Temple, and proclaims in the audience of the people "the word of Jehovah."

2. And what is the tenor of his message in the time of Uzziah and Jotham? This we read in chs. i.-v. Chap. i. is very general in its contents. In perusing it we may fancy that we hear the very voice of the Seer as he stands (perhaps in the Court of the Israelites denouncing to nobles and people, then assembling for divine worship, the whole estimate of their character formed by Jehovah, and His approaching chastisements. "They are a sinful nation; they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger. Flourishing as their worldly condition now appears, the man whose eyes are opened sees another scene before him (1-9),—the land laid waste, and Zion left as a cottage in a vineyard,—(a picture realised in the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and more especially in the Assyrian invasion—the great event round which the whole of the first part of the book revolves). Men of Sodom and Gomorrah that they are, let them hearken! they may go on if they will with their ritual worship, 'trampling' Jehovah's courts; nevertheless, He loathes them: the stain of innocent blood is on their hands; the weak are oppressed; there is bribery and corruption in the administration of justice. Let them reform; if they will not, Jehovah will burn out their sins in the smelting fire of His judgment. Zion shall be purified, and thus

saved, whilst the sinners and recreants from Jehovah in her shall perish in their much-loved dolatries." This discourse suitably heads the book; it sounds the keynote of the whole; fires of judgment destroying, but purifying a remnant,—such was the burden all along of Isaiah's prophesying.

Of the other public utterances belonging to this period, chs. ii.-iv. are by almost all critics considered to be one prophesying,—the leading thought of which is that the present prosperity of Judah should be destroyed for her sins, to make room for the real glory of piety and virtue; while ch. v. forms a distinct discourse, whose main purport is that Israel, God's vineyard, shall be brought to desolation. The idolatry denounced in these chapters is to be taken as that of private individuals, for both Uzziah and Jotham served Jehovah. They are prefaced by the vision of the exaltation of the mountain on which Jehovah dwells above all other mountains, to become the source of light and moral transformation to all mankind (ii. 2-4).

Here we are met by the fact that this same vision is found in very nearly the same words in Micah iv. 1-3. The two prophets were contemporary, and one may very well have heard the other, and adopted his words. Compare a nearly similar phenomenon in 1 Pet. v. 5-9, compared with Jam. iv. 6-10; for Peter and James had no doubt often heard each other's public teaching at Jerusalem. Which was the prior speaker of the words we cannot in either case determine. In many cases writers of Scripture adopt the words of former inspired writers; why not speakers also? In this instance, Isaiah or Micah may without improbability be imagined as standing by whilst the other announced Jehovah's word, and himself, still under divine inspiration, afterwards repeating the same word. As among the prophets in the Christian Church some were directed to remain in silence, and "judge" whilst others spoke; so we may believe that occasions frequently occurred in which the prophesying of one sable-dressed prophet was listened to, and ratified by other prophets, one or more, standing by, who might add their testimony: "This is the word of Jehovah" (comp. 1 K. xxii. 11, 12).

After thus refreshing pious souls with delineating future (Messianic) glories, Isaiah is recalled by the sad present. Far distant is God's people as yet from the high calling of being the teacher of the world. "All is now wrong. Heathenism is flooding the land with charmers and diviners, with silver and gold, with horses and chariots, and with idols! Jehovah, forgive them not!—Jehovah's day of judgment is coming, when all human glory shall disappear before His glory, and in consternation Hebrew idolaters shall hurl their images into any corner. Lo, Jehovah-Zebaoth will take away every stay of order and well-being in the state, leaving only the refuse of society to rule (if indeed they will) the desolated city. Look at them only! They are as shameless as Sodom! O my people, thy leaders lead thee astray, thy princes oppress: what mean ye that ye grind the faces of My poor? saith Jehovah. Look again at their ladies, with their jewels and their head-gear, and their fine dresses, and their trinkets! Jehovah will take all of it away, leaving to them only shame and sack-cloth. Yes, Zion shall lose both sons and daughters (so many are they who offend!), and be reaved of all shall sit on the bare ground. Yet

out of these judgments shall issue purity and peace. He, the Branch of Jehovah's appointing (iv. 2), shall appear in glory, and the redeemed springing out of the earth shall shine with accendant splendour in what is left of Israel. All in Zion shall then be holy, and the pillar of fire by night, and the overshadowing cloud by day, shall as of yore cheer and protect;—what is precious must need be protected! Sweet shall be the security and refreshment of those days."

Again the prophet is seen in the public course. At first he invites attention by reciting a parable (of the vineyard) in calm and composed accents (ch. v.). But as he interprets the parable his note changes, and a sixfold "woe" is poured forth with terrible invective. It is levelled against the covetous amassers of land, breaking down those landmarks which fenced the small hereditary freeholders whose perpetuity formed an essential element in the original constitution of the Hebrew commonwealth (comp. 1 K. xxi. 3); against luxurious revellers; against bold sinners who defied God's works of judgment, with which the prophet threatened them (comp. the similar association of revelling with hardened unbelief in Israel, Am. v. 18, vi. 3-6); against those who confounded moral distinctions; against self-concoited sceptics; and against profligate perverters of judicial justice. The fury of wrath Jehovah stretches forth His hand. Here there is an awful vagueness in the images of terror which the prophet accumulates, till at length out of the cloud and mist of wrath we hear Jehovah hiss for the stern and irresistible warriors (the Assyrians), who from the end of the earth should crowd forward to spoil,—after which all distinctness of description again fades away in vague images of sorrow and despair.

What effect (we may ask) would such denunciations produce upon the mass of Hebrew hearers? It was not from Isaiah only that the same persons heard them. Oppression, denounced by him (iii. 14, 15, v. 7-10), was denounced also by Micah (ii. 1, 2); maladministration of justice (Is. i. 23, v. 23) is noted also by Micah (iii. 1-9, 11, vii. 3); the combination of idolatry, diviners, and horses found in Is. ii. 6-8, 15, is paralleled in Mic. v. 10-15. This concurrence of prophetic testimony would not be without weight with those who had still some faith in Jehovah. But the worldly-minded, however silent when flagrant immorality was censured, might find what they would count plausible ground for demurring, when the prophet put the multiplication of gold, silver, horses, and chariots, in the same category with idols, or when with unsparing satire he particularised articles of female adornment as objects of Jehovah's wrath. But God's law through Moses had given similar injunctions (Dent. xvii. 16, 17); and indeed in general there is not a single page of the prophetic books in which the Pentateuch is not again and again referred to. The Hebrew commonwealth was not designed to be a commercial state, but a system of small hereditary landowners under a theocracy. Matricial progress and ever heightening embellishment, whether in the court or in society in general, with the men or with the women, removed it further and further from its original simplicity, and from Jehovah its God. Something resembling Spartan plainness belonged essentially to the idea of the Hebrew state.

3. In the year of Uzziah's death an ecstatic vision fell upon Isaiah, which, in compiling his prophecies

long after, he was careful to record, both for other reasons and also because he had then become aware of the failure of his ministry in reference to the bulk of his contemporaries, and of the desolation, yet not without hope, which awaited his people. We see in the case of St. Peter at Joppa (Acts x. 9-16) that such a state of *ecstasis*, though unquestionably of divine origin, yet in its form adapts itself to the previous condition, whether corporeal or psychological, of the patient. Isaiah at this period (as we must infer from the placing of the narrative) had been already for some time engaged in his ministry; and we may venture to surmise he lamented his little success. Seeing what he saw around him, and foreseeing what he foresaw, could he do otherwise than feel deeply how little he was able to effect for the welfare of his beloved country? In this vision he saw Jehovah, in the Second Person of the Godhead (John xii. 41; comp. Mal. iii. 1), enthroned aloft in His own earthly tabernacle, attended by seraphim, whose praise filled the sanctuary as it were with the smoke of incense. As John at Patmos, so Isaiah was overwhelmed with awe: he felt his own sinfulness and that of all with whom he was connected, and cried "woe" upon himself as if brought before Jehovah to receive the reward of his deeds. But, as at Patmos the Son of Man laid His hand upon John saying "Fear not!" so, in obedience evidently to the will of Jehovah, a seraph with a hot stone taken from the altar touched his lips, the principal organ of good and evil in man, and thereby removing his sinfulness, qualified him to join the seraphim in whatever service he might be called to. And now the descending invitation of the Great King is heard: "Whom shall I send? Who will go for us?" "Here am I! send me." Had he not borne Jehovah's commission before? No doubt he had; yet now, with the intenser sense of the reality of divine things which that hour brought him, he felt as if he had not. What heaven-taught minister does not understand this? And what was to be the nature of his work? "Make the understanding of *this* people (not "my people") torpid; dull their ears; close up their eyes; the more they hear thy word, the more hardened they shall become; they must not, they shall not, receive the message so as to repent." A heart-crushing commission for one who loved his people as Isaiah did! The moan of grief at length finds utterance: "Lord, how long?" "Till the land be desolate—saving a small remnant utterly desolate—a remnant of a holy seed, which will be a stock to sprout forth, but again and again to be cut back and burnt, and yet still to survive."

This vision in the main was another mode of representing what, both in previous and in subsequent prophesings, is so continually denounced—the almost utter destruction of the Hebrew people, with yet a purified remnant. But while this prediction was its principal purport, we are sure that the inspired Editor of his prophesings so many years after, beheld in it also the sketch of the fruits of his ministry, which at the time when the revelation was made to him must have had no small effect upon his own private feelings. He goes afresh about his work, despairingly as to the main result for the present, yet with seraph-like zeal, ardent and heaven-purged, and not without

hope too, for the time to come. The "holy seed" was to be the "stock." It was to be his business to form that holy seed.

It is a touching trait, illustrating the prophet's own feelings, that when he next appears before us, some years later, he has a son named Shearjashub, "Remnant-shall-return." The name was evidently given with significance; and the fact discovers alike the sorrow which ate his heart, and the hope in which he found solace.

4. Some years elapse between chs. vi. and vii., and the political scenery has greatly altered. The Assyrian power of Nineveh now threatens the Hebrew nation; Tiglath-pileser has already spoiled Pekah of some of the fairest parts of his dominions—of the country east of Jordan and the vale of the Sea of Galilee, removing the inhabitants probably to people the wide and as yet uninhabited space inclosed by the walls of Nineveh (B.C. 746). After the Assyrian army was withdrawn, the Syrian kingdom of Damascus rises into notice; its monarch, Rezin, combines with the now weakened king of Israel, and probably with other small states around, to consolidate (it has been conjectured) a power which shall confront Asshur. Ahaz keeps aloof, and becomes the object of attack to the allies; he has been already twice defeated (2 Chr. xxviii. 5, 6); and now the allies are threatening him with a combined invasion (741). The news that "Aram is encamped in Ephraim" (Is. vii. 2) fills both king and people with consternation, and the king is gone forth from the city to take measures, as it would seem, to prevent the upper reservoir of water from falling into the hands of the enemy. Under Jehovah's direction Isaiah goes forth to meet the king, surrounded no doubt by a considerable company of his officers and of spectators.<sup>b</sup> The prophet is directed to take with him the child whose name, Shearjashub, was so full of mystical promise, to add greater emphasis to his message. "Fear not," he tells the king, "Damascus is the head of Syria, and of Syria only; and Rezin head of Damascus, and not of Jerusalem; and within 65 years Ephraim shall be broken to be no more a kingdom: so far shall Ephraim be from annexing Judah! Samaria again is head only of Ephraim, and Remaliah's son only of Samaria. If ye will be established, believe this!"

"Dost thou hesitate? Ask what sign thou wilt to assure thee that thus it shall be." The young king is already resolved not to let himself into the line of policy which Isaiah is urging upon him; he is bent upon an alliance with Assyria. To ask a sign might prove embarrassing; for, if it should be given—? Ahaz therefore, with a half-mocking show of reverence, declines to "tempt Jehovah."

"O house of David, are ye not satisfied with trying the patience of an honest and wisely advising prophet, that you will put this contempt also upon the God who speaks through me? Jehovah Himself, irrespective of your deservings, gives you a guarantee that the commonwealth of Israel is not yet to perish. Behold, the *Virgin* is with child, and is bearing a son, and thou, O mother (comp. Gen. xvi. 11), shalt call his name Immanuel. I seem to see that Child already born! Behold Him there! Cream and honey, abundance of the best food, shall he eat, when, ten or twenty years hence, he comes to the age of discretion; the devastating inroad of

<sup>b</sup> The reader will observe the particular specification of the place, indicating the authenticity of the

narrative. (Comp. Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, pt. iii. no. --)





now prevailed, Isaiah was in God's mercy to His people inspired to declare, that though heavy judgments would consume the bulk of the nation, yet Shearjashub! the remnant should return (x. 20-22; comp. vii. 3), and that the Assyrian should be overthrown in the very hour of apparently certain success by agency whose precise nature is left in awful mystery (x. 33, 34). From the destruction of Judah's enemies thus representatively foreshadowed, he then takes wing to predict the happy and peaceful reign of the "Twig which was to come forth from the stump of Jesse," when the united commonwealth of Judah and Ephraim should be restored in glory, and JAH JEHOVAH should be celebrated as the proved strength of His people. Here again is set forth a great deliverance, possibly the foreshadowing of xxxvii.

8. The next eleven chapters, xiii.-xxiii., contain chiefly a collection of utterances, each of which is styled a "burden."<sup>s</sup> As they are detached pieces it is possible they have been grouped together without strict observance of their chronological order.

(a.) The first (xiii. 1-xiv. 27) is against Babylon; placed first, either because it was first in point of utterance, or because Babylon in prophetic vision, particularly when Isaiah compiled his book, headed in importance all the earthly powers opposed to God's people, and therefore was to be first struck down by the shaft of prophecy. As yet, not Babylon but Nineveh was the imperial city; but Isaiah possessed not a mere foreboding drawn from political sagacity, but an assured knowledge, that Babylon would be the seat of dominion and a leading antagonist to the theocratic people. Not only did he tell Hezekiah a few years later, when Nineveh was still the seat of empire, that his sons should be carried captive "to Babylon," but in this "burden" he also foretells both the towering ambition and glory of that city, and its final overthrow.<sup>b</sup> The ode of triumph (xiv. 3-23) in this burden is among the most poetical passages in all literature. It is remarkable that the overthrow of Babylon is in ver. 24, 25 associated with the blow inflicted upon the Ninevite empire in the destruc-

tion of Sennacherib's army (for here again this great miracle of divine judgment looms out into the prophet's view), which very disaster, however, probably helped on the rise of Babylon at the cost of its northern rival. The explanation seems to be that Babylon was regarded as merely another phase of Asshur's sovereignty (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 29), so that the overthrow of Sennacherib's army was a harbinger of that more complete destruction of the power of Asshur which this burden announces. This prophecy is a note of preparation for the second part of the book; for the picture which it draws of Babylon, as having Jacob in captivity, and being compelled to relinquish her prey (xiv. 1-3), is in brief the same as is more fully delineated in xlvii.; while the concluding verses about Sennacherib's army (24-27) stand in somewhat the same relation to the rest of the "burden," as the full history in xxxvi. xxxvii. stands to xl.-xlviii.

(b.) The short and pregnant "burden" against Philistia (xiv. 29-32) in the year that Ahaz died, was occasioned by the revolt of the Philistines from Judah, and their successful inroad recorded 2 Chr. xxviii. 18. "If Judah's rule was a serpent, that of Assyria would prove a basilisk,—a flying dragon; let their gates howl at the smoke which announced the invading army! Meanwhile Zion would repose safe under the protection of her king!"—language plainly predictive, as the compiler <sup>r</sup> giving the date evidently felt; comp. xxxvii.

(c.) The "burden of Moab" (xv. xvi.) is remarkable for the elegiac strain in which the prophet bewails the disasters of Moab, and for the dramatic character of xvi. 1-6, in which 3-5 is the petition of the Moabites to Judah, and ver. 6 Judah's answer.<sup>1</sup> For Moab's relation to Israel see MOAB.

(d.) Chapters xvii. xviii. This prophecy is headed "the burden of Damascus;" and yet after ver. 3 the attention is withdrawn from Damascus and turned to Israel, and then to Ethiopia. Israel appears as closely associated with Damascus, and indeed dependent upon her, and as having adopted her religious rites, "strange slips," ver. 10 (comp. 2 K. xvi. 10, of Ahaz), which shall not profit her.

less. Critics, who do not take sufficient account of the manner in which future events are represented in the predictions of inspiration as already taking place, have been led to unsettle the chronology by observing that Samaria is described by the boasting Assyrian as being already as Damascus, and that the invading army is already near Jerusalem. But the conquest of Samaria was already announced at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz (viii. 4) as equally certain with that of Damascus; and the imagery of x. 28-32 is probably that in which the imagination of one familiar with the passes of the country would obviously portray an invader's approach. The destruction of Sennacherib's army is the centre object of the first part of the book; and the action of predictive prophecy, and of miracle in relation to it, cannot be gainsaid without setting aside the authenticity of the narrative altogether.

<sup>s</sup> This remarkable word, מִשָּׁנָה, "lifting up," is variously understood, some taking it to refer to evils to be borne by the parties threatened, others as a lifting up of the voice in a solemn utterance. A hundred years later the term had been so misused by false prophets, that Jeremiah (xxiii. 33-40) seems to forbid its use. See 1 Chr. xv. 22, where in text and margin of A. V. it is rendered "song," "carriage," and "lifting up."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare our remarks in p. 888. Even if this were conceded to be the production of a later prophet than

Isaiah (which there is no just cause whatever for believing), the problem which it presents to scepticism would remain as hard as ever; for whence should its author learn that the ultimate condition of Babylon would be such as is here delineated? (xiii. 19-22). In no time of Hebrew literature was there reason to anticipate this of Babylon in particular more than of other cities. In vain does scepticism quote xvii. 1; nothing is said there of the ultimate condition of Damascus; and it is obvious enough that any such blow as that (*e. g.*) inflicted by Tiglathpileser would make Damascus for a while appear to be "no city" compared with what it had been, and would convert many of its streets into desolation. How different the language used of Babylon! And how wonderfully verified by time! We have the parallel language and verification in reference to Idumea (xxxiv.).

<sup>1</sup> A good deal of this burden is an enlargement of Num. xxi. 27-30, from the imitation of which the colouring of its style in part arises. It in turn reappears in an enlarged edition in Jer. xlviii. The two concluding verses (Is. xvi. 13, 14), which furnish no real ground for doubting whether Isaiah wrote the whole of it, recount that of old time the purport of this denunciation has been decreed (viz. in Num. xxi. and xxiv. 17), but that within three years it should begin to be fulfilled. It was not completely fulfilled even in Jeremiah's time.

This brings us to the time of the Syro-Ephraimite alliance; at all events Ephraim has not yet ceased to exist. Chap. xvii. 12-14, as well as xviii. 1-7, point again to the event of xxxvii. But why this here? The solution seems to be that, though Assyria would be the ruin both of Aram and of Israel, and though it would even threaten Judah ("us," ver. 14), it should not then conquer Judah (comp. turn of xiv. 31, 32). And with this last thought ch. xviii. is inseparably connected; for it is a call of congratulation to Ethiopia ("woe" in ver. 1 of A. V. should be "ho!" as lv. 1; also in ver. 2 omit "saying"), whose deputies, predictively imagined as having come to Palestine to learn the progress of the Assyrian invasion (comp. xxxvii. 9), are sent back by the prophet charged with the glad news of Asshur's overthrow described in ver. 4-6. In ver. 7 we have the conversion of Ethiopia; for "the people tall, and shorn" is itself "the present" to be brought unto Jehovah. (Comp. Acts vii. 26-40, and the present condition of Ethiopia.)

These repeated predictions of Zion's deliverance from Asshur in conjunction with Asshur's triumph over Zion's enemies, entered deeply into the essence of the prophet's public ministry; the great aim of which was to fix the dependence of his countrymen entirely upon Jehovah.

(e.) In the "burden of Egypt" (xix.) the prophet seems to be pursuing the same object. Both Israel (2 K. xvii. 4) and Judah (Is. xxxi.) were naturally disposed to look towards Egypt for succour against Assyria. Probably it was to counteract this tendency that the prophet is here directed to prophesy the utter helplessness of Egypt under God's judgments: she should be given over to Asshur (the "cruel lord" and "fierce king" of ver. 4, not Psammetichus), and should also suffer the most dreadful calamities through civil dissensions and through drought,—unless this drought is a figure founded upon the peculiar usefulness of the Nile, and the veneration with which it was regarded (1-15). But the result should be that numerous cities of Egypt should own Jehovah for their God, and be joined in brotherhood with His worshippers in Israel and in Asshur;—a reference to Messianic times.<sup>k</sup>

(f.) In the midst of these "burdens" stands a passage which presents Isaiah in a new aspect, an aspect in which he appears in this instance only. It was not uncommon both in the O. T. and in the New (comp. Acts xxi. 11) for a prophet to add to his spoken word an action symbolising its import. Sargon, known here only, was king of Assyria, probably between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. His armies were now in the south of Palestine besieging Ashdod. It has been plausibly conjectured that Tirhakah, king of Meroë, and Sethos, the king of Egypt, were now in alliance. The more emphatically to enforce the warning already conveyed in the "burden of Egypt"—not to look thitherward for help—Isaiah was commanded to appear in the streets and temple of Jerusalem stripped of his

sackcloth nante, and wearing his vest only, with his feet also bare. "Thus shall Egyptians and Ethiopians walk, captives before the king of Assyria." For three years was he directed (from time to time, we may suppose) thus to show himself in public view,—to make the lesson the more impressive by constant repetition.

(g.) In "the burden of the desert of the sea," a poetical designation of Babylonia (xxi. 1-10), the images in which the fall of Babylon is indicated are not less than Aeschylean awfulness and grandeur. As before (xiii. 17), the Medes are the captors. It is to comfort Judah sighing under the "treacherous spoiling" (v. 2) and continual "threshing" (v. 10) of Asshur—Ninevite and Babylonian—that the Spirit of God moves the prophet to this utterance.

(h.) "The burden of Dumah,"—in which the watchman can see nothing but night, let them ask him as often as they will—and "of Arabia" (xii. 11-17), relate apparently to some Assyrian invasion.

(i.) In "the burden of the valley of vision" (xxii. 1-14) it is doubtless Jerusalem that is thus designated, and not without sadness, as having been so long the home of prophetic vision to so little result. The scene presented is that of Jerusalem during an invasion; in the hostile army are named Elam and Kir, nations which no doubt contributed troops both to the Ninevite and to the Babylonian armies. The latter is probably here contemptual.<sup>l</sup> The homiletic purpose of this prediction in reference to Isaiah's contemporaries, was to inculcate a pious and humble dependence upon Jehovah in place of any mere fleshly confidence.

(k.) The passage xxii. 15-25 is singular in Isaiah as a prophesying against an individual. Comp. the word of Amos (vii.) against Amaziah, and of Jeremiah (xx.) against Pashur. Shebna was probably as ungodly as they. One of the king's highest functionaries, he seems to have been leader of a party opposed to Jehovah (v. 25, "the burden that is upon it"). Himself a stranger in Jerusalem—perhaps an alien, as Ewald conjectures from the Hebrew form of his name—he may have been introduced by Hezekiah's predecessor Ahaz; he made great parade of his rank (ver. 18; comp. 2 Sam. xv. 1), and presumed upon his elevation so far as to hew out a tomb high up in the cliffs (probably on the western or south-western side of Jerusalem where so many were excavated) as an ostentatious display of his greatness (comp. 2 Chr. xxiii. 33, *margin*). We may believe him to have been engaged with this business outside the walls when Isaiah came to him with his message. Shebna fancies his power securely rooted; but Jehovah will roll him up as a ball and toss him away into a far distant land,—disgrace that he is to his *master!* his stately robes of office, with his broad magnificent girdle, shall invest another, Eliakim. Ch. xxxvi. 3, seems to indicate a decline of his power, as it also shows Eliakim's promotion to

<sup>k</sup> Comp. the close of the "burden of Tyre." The "city of destruction" (xix. 18) is supposed by many to be the Bethshemesh of Jer. xliii. 13, specified because hitherto an especial seat of idolatry. Onias's misuse of this prediction is well known. [See IN-IA-HERSES.]

In vers. 3 and 4 the poet dramatically represents the feelings of the Babylonians.

<sup>l</sup> That it is not Sennacherib's invasion, we infer from the unrelieved description of godlessness and recklessness (vers. 11, 12), and the threatened punish-

ment unto death (ver. 14), whereas Hezekiah's piety was conspicuous, and saved the city. (Comp. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 12, 16.) Moreover, the famine in 2 K. xxv. 2 throws light on Is. xxii. 2. That vers. 9-11 agree with 2 Chr. xxxii. 3-5 proves nothing; the same measures would be taken in any invasion (comp. Is. vii. 3). The former part of ver. 2 and vers. 12, 14 describe the state of things preceding the imagined present.

Shebna's former post. Perhaps he was disgraced and exiled by Hezekiah, after the event of xxxvii., when the sinners in Zion were overawed and great ascendancy for a while secured to the party which was true to Jehovah. If his fall was the consequence of the Assyrian overthrow, we can better understand both the denunciation against the individual and the position it occupies in the record.

(1.) The last "burden" is against Tyre (xxiii.). The only cause specified by Isaiah for the judgment upon Tyre is her pride (ver. 9; comp. Ez. xxviii. 2, 6); and we can understand how the Tyrians, proud of their material progress and its outward displays, may have looked with contempt upon the plainer habits of the theocratic people. But this was not the only ground. The contagion of her idolatry reached Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 5, 33; 2 K. xi. 18, xxiii. 13). Otherwise also she was an injurious neighbour (Ps. lxxxiii. 7; Joel iii. 6; Am. i. 9). It therefore behoved Jehovah, both as avenger of His own worship, and as the guardian and avenger of His peculiar people, to punish Tyre. Shalmaneser appears to have been foiled in his five years' siege; Nebuchadnezzar was more successful, capturing at least the mainland part of the city; and to this latter circumstance ver. 13 refers.<sup>a</sup> In vers. 15-17 it seems to be intimated that when the pressure of Asshur should be removed (by the Meso-Persian conquest) Tyre should revive. Her utter destruction is not predicted by Isaiah as it afterwards was by Ezekiel. Ver. 18 probably points to Messianic times: comp. Mark vii. 26; Acts xxi. 3; Euseb. H. E. x. 4.

9. The next four chapters, xxiv.-xxvii., form one prophecy essentially connected with the preceding ten "burdens" (xiii.-xxiii.), of which it is in effect a general summary; it presents previous denunciations in one general denunciation which includes the theocratic people itself, and therewith also the promise of blessings, especially Messianic blessings, for the remnant. It no longer particularises (Moab, xxv. 10, represents all enemies of God's people, as Edom does in lxiii. 1), but speaks of judgments upon lands, cities, and oppressors in general terms, the reference of which is to be gathered from what goes before.<sup>b</sup>

The elegy of xxiv. is interrupted at ver. 13 by a glimpse at the happy remnant (ver. 15, *fires* probably means *east*), but is resumed at ver. 16, till at ver. 21 the dark night passes away altogether to usher in an inexpressibly glorious day.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people," i. e. the Chaldeans, "was not: Asshur founded it for the inhabitants of the wilderness," assigning a location to the Chaldeans, heretofore nomadic, Job i. 17; "they," the Chaldeans, "set up their watch-towers; they demolished her (Tyre's) palaces: He made her a ruin." In the face of all external evidence, we cannot accept Ewald's ingenious conjecture of פְּנֵי־יָם for פְּנֵי־יָם.

<sup>b</sup> Thus comp. xxiv. 13-15, xxvii. 9, with xvii. 5-8; also xxv. 2 with xlii. 19; also xxv. 3-12 with xviii. 7, xxiii. 18; and xxv. 5 with xviii. 4-6.

<sup>c</sup> In ver. 21, "Jehovah shall visit the host of the bright"—stars, symbolic of rulers, as Mark xlii. 25. The "ancients" of ver. 23 represent the Church, like the elders in Rev. iv. 4.

<sup>d</sup> In ver. 7 "the face," i. e. "the surface of the covering," is the veil itself as lying upon the earth, "of the covering." In ver. 11 we have the fruitless endeavours of Moab to escape out of the flood of God's wrath.

In xxv., after commemorating the destruction of all oppressors ("city" ver. 2, contemplates Babylon as type of all), the prophet gives us in vers. 6-9 a most glowing description of Messianic blessings, which connects itself with the N. T. by numberless links, indicating the oneness of the prophetic Spirit ("the Spirit of Christ," 1 Pet. i. 11), with that which dwells in the later revelation.<sup>d</sup>

In xxvi., vers. 12-18 describe the new, happy state of God's people as God's work wholly (comp. 13, "by thee only"); all their efforts were fruitless till God graciously interposed. The new condition of Israel is figuratively a resurrection (comp. Ezekiel's vision of dry bones, Ez. xxxvii.), a fruit of omnipotent agency; as indeed the glorified state of the Church hereafter will be literally a resurrection.

In xxvii. 1, "Leviathan the fleeing serpent, and Leviathan the twisting serpent, and the dragon in the sea," are perhaps Nineveh and Babylon—two phases of the same Asshur—and Egypt (comp. ver. 13); all, however, symbolizing adverse powers of evil. The reader will observe that in this period of his ministry, Isaiah already contemplates the future deliverance of his people as a restoration from captivity, especially from Assyria, vers. 12, 13 (comp. xi. 11, 16), as he does in the second part;—Babylon being a second phase of Asshur.

10. Chs. xxviii.-xxxv. The former part of this section seems to be of a fragmentary character, being as Hengstenberg with much probability conjectures, the substance of discourses not fully communicated, and spoken at different times. The latter part hangs more closely together, and may with considerable certainty be assigned to the time of Sennacherib's invasion. At such a season the spirit of prophecy would be especially awake.

xxviii. 1-6 is clearly predictive; it therefore preceded Shalmaneser's invasion, when Samaria, "the crown of pride" surmounting its beautiful hill, was destroyed. But the men of Judah also, ver. 7 (comp. ver. 14) are threatened. And here we have a picture given us of the way in which Jehovah's word was received by Isaiah's contemporaries. Priest and prophet were drunk with a spirit of infatuation,—“they erred in vision, they stumbled in judgment,” and therefore only scoffed at his ministrations.<sup>e</sup>

In the lips of these false prophets, prophesying, in proportion to its falsehood, would be exaggerated in the wildness and incoherency of the style. Hence

<sup>e</sup> "The priest and the prophet." There is no reason to understand these as connected with idolatry. There were always (it would seem) a numerous party who assumed the hair-wove mantle of the prophet ("wearing a hairy garment to deceive"); and these sable-clad men perhaps even swarmed in the streets of Jerusalem. [ELIJAH, p. 525 b, note.] The priests, on the other hand, were the aristocracy of Judah, and, under the king, to a great extent ruled its policy. Like the coalition of strategus and orator at Athens, so priest and prophet played into each other's hands at Jerusalem. Whatever public policy the priests advised, they would be seconded therein by prophets, "in the name of Jehovah." Isaiah's contemporary shews us in what an unprincipled manner the prophets abused their function for their own advantage (Mic. iii. 5-7, 11): "The prophets prophesied falsely, and the priests bare rule by their means" (Jer. v. 31). Hence prophets and priests are so often named together (comp. xxix. 9, 10).

the scoffing prophets and priests made it a matter of reproach against Isaiah that his style was so plain and simple,—as if he were dealing with little children, ver. 9. And in mockery they accumulate monosyllables as imitating his style (tsav la-tsav, tsav la-tsav, kav la-kav, kav la-kav, zeir sham, zeir sham, ver. 10). "Twist my words" (is Isaiah's reply) "into a mocking jabber if ye will; God shall in turn speak to you by the jabber of foreign invaders!" (comp. Deut. xxviii. 49). They trusted that they had made a "vision"—a compact with death and hell (vers. 15, 18, "agreement," Hebr. *vision*), and that through the measures which they, seer and priest together, had adopted, no invasion should hurt them. But, the stone which Jehovah lays in Zion (God's own prophets) alone secures those who trust in it; *ye* shall perish (16-22). Ver. 16 is applied in the N. T. to Christ; He is now the prophet who saves those who believe in Him.—This glimpse into Hebrew life explains to us in part the cause of the failure of the prophetic ministry. The travesty of "the word of Jehovah" preoccupied men's minds, or at least confused them; while further the conflicting voices of different prophets, the false and the true, would furnish then, as in all ages it does to the worldly and the sceptical, a ground for entire disbelief.

"Cannot ye wise men apply to the conduct of your affairs in relation to God that shrewdness and wisdom, which the farmer displays in dealing with his various businesses, and which God has given alike to him and to you?" (23-29).

Ch. xxix. Jerusalem was to be visited with extreme danger and terror, and then sudden deliverance, vers. 1-8. (Sennacherib's invasion again!) But the threatening and promise seemed very enigmatical; prophets, and rulers, and scholars, could make nothing of the riddle (9-12). Alas! the people themselves will only hearken to the prophets and priests speaking out of their own heart; even their so-called piety to Jehovah is regulated, not by His true organs, but by pretended ones, ver. 13 (comp. the condition of the Jews in relation to their rabbins and to Christ, Matt. xv. 8, 9); but all their vaunted policy shall be confounded; the wild wood shall become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field a wild wood;—the humble pupils of Jehovah and these self-wise leaders shall interchange their places of dishonour and prosperity, vers. 13-24.

One instance of the false leading of these prophets and priests (xxx. 1) in opposition to the true prophets (vers. 10, 11), was the policy of courting the help of Egypt against Assyria. Against this, Isaiah is commanded to protest, which he does both in xxx. 1-17, and in xxxi. 1-3, pointing out at the same time the fruitlessness of all measures of human policy and the necessity of trusting in Jehovah alone for deliverance. In xxx. 18-33, and xxxi. 4-9, there is added to each address the prediction of the Assyrian's overthrow and its consequences, xxx. 19-24, in terms which, when read in the light of the event, seem very clear, but which no doubt appeared to the worldly and sceptical at the time mere frenzy.

As the time approaches, the spirit of prophecy

\* In ver. 10, read "some days over a year shall ye be troubled."

† The reference to "the book of Jehovah," v. 16, as containing this prediction, deserves notice. As the prophet's spoken word was "the word of Jehovah," so his written word is here called "the book of

becomes more and more glowing; that marvellous deliverance from Asshur, wherein God's "Name" (xxx. 27) so gloriously came near, opens even clearer glimpses into the time when God should indeed come and reign, in the Anointed One, and when virtue and righteousness should everywhere prevail (xxxii. 1-8 and 15-20); then the mighty Jehovah should be a king dwelling amongst His people (xxxiii. 17, 22); He should Himself be a sea of glory and defence encircling them, in which all hostile galleys should perish. At that glorious display of Jehovah's nearness (namely, that afforded in the Assyrian's overthrow), they who had rejected Jehovah in His servants and prophets, the sinners in Zion, should be filled with dismay, dreading lest His terrible judgment should alight upon themselves also (xxxiii. 14). With these glorious predictions are blended also descriptions of the grief and despair which should precede that hour, xxxii. 9-14 (?) and xxxiii. 7-9, and the earnest prayer then to be offered by the pious (xxxiii. 2).

In ch. xxxiv. the prediction must certainly be taken with a particular reference to Idumea (this is shown by the challenge in ver. 16, to compare the fulfilment with the prophecy); we are however led both by the placing of the prophecy and by lxiii. 2, to take it in a general sense as well as typical.\*

As xxxiv. has a general sense, so xxxv. indicates in general terms the deliverance of Israel as if out of captivity, rejoicing in their secure and happy march through the wilderness. It may be doubted whether the description is meant to apply to any deliverance out of temporal captivity, closely as the imagery approaches that of the second part. It rather seems to picture the march of the spiritual Israel to her eternal Zion (Heb. xii. 22).

11. xxxvii.-xxxix.—At length the season so often, though no doubt obscurely foretold, arrived. The Assyrian was near with forces apparently irresistible. In the universal consternation which ensued, all the hope of the state centred upon Isaiah; the highest functionaries of the state,—Sheban too,—wait upon him in the name of their sovereign, confessing that they were now in the very extremity of danger, xxxvii. 3, and entreating his prayers;—a signal token this, of the approval and fidelity of the prophet in the ministry which he had so long exercised. The short answer which Jehovah gave through him was, that the Assyrian king should hear intelligence which would send him back to his own land, there to perish. The event shows that the intelligence pointed to was that of the destruction of his army. Accordingly Hezekiah communicated to Sennacherib, now at Lishah, his refusal to submit, expressing his assurance of being protected by Jehovah (comp. ver. 10). This drew from the Assyrian king a letter of defiance against Jehovah Himself, as being no more able to defend Jerusalem, than other tutelary gods had been to defend the countries which he had conquered. On Hezekiah spreading this letter before Jehovah in the Temple for Him to read and answer (ver. 17), Isaiah was commissioned to send a fuller reply to the pious king (21-35), the manifest object

Jehovah." It shows Isaiah's estimate of his prophetic writings. So xxx. 8 points to an enduring record in which he was to deposit his testimony concerning Egypt. (In xxx. 9, for "That this is," &c., read "Because this is," &c.)

of which was the more completely to signalise, especially to God's own people themselves, the meaning of the coming event.<sup>6</sup> How the deliverance was to be effected, Isaiah was not commissioned to tell; but the very next night (2 K. xix. 35) brought the appalling fulfilment. A divine interposition so marvellous, so evidently miraculous, in its magnificence worthy of being the kernel of Isaiah's whole book; it is indeed that without which the whole book falls to pieces, but with which it forms a well organised whole (Comp. Ps. lxxvi., xlvi., xlvi.).

Chs. xxxviii., xxxix. chronologically precede the two previous ones;<sup>7</sup> but there seems to be a twofold purpose in this arrangement; one ethical, to illustrate God's discipline exercised over His most favoured servants, and the other literary, to introduce by the prediction of the Babylonian captivity the second part of the book. As the two preceding chapters look back upon the prediction of the first part, and therefore stand even before xxxviii., so xxxix. looks forward to the subsequent prophesying, and is therefore placed immediately before them.<sup>7</sup>

12. The last 27 chapters form a prophecy, whose coherence of structure and unity of authorship are generally admitted even by those who deny that it was written by Isaiah. The point of time and situation from which the prophet here speaks, is for the most part that of the captivity in Babylon (comp., e.g., lxiv. 10, 11). But this is adopted on a principle already noted as characterising "vision," viz., that the prophet sees the future as if present. That the present with the prophet in this section was imagined and not real, is indicated by the specification of sins which are rebuked; as neglect of sacrifices (xl. 22-24), unacceptable sacrifices (lxvi. 3), various idolatries (lvii. 3-10, lxv. 3, 4); sins belonging to a period before the exile, and not to the exile itself.<sup>8</sup> But that this imagined time and place should be maintained through so long a composition is unquestionably a remarkable phenomenon. It is, however, explained by the fact, that the prophet in these later prophesying is a writer rather than a public speaker, writing for the edification of God's people in those future days of the approach of which Isaiah was aware. For the punishment of exile had been of old denounced in case of disobedience even by Moses himself (Lev. xxvi. 31-35), and thus contemplated by

Solomon (1 K. viii. 46-50); moreover, Isaiah had himself often realised and predicted it, with reference repeatedly to Babylon in particular (xxxix. 6, 7, xxvii. 12, 13, xxi. 2, 10, xiv. 2, 3, xi. 11, 12, vi. 11, 12); which was also done by Micah (iv. 10, vii. 12, 13). Apart therefore from the immediate suggestion of an inspiring afflatus, it was a thought already fixed in Isaiah's mind by a chain of foregoing revelations, that the Hebrews would be deported to Babylon, and that too within a generation or two. We dwell upon this, because it must be acknowledged, and we have already made the remark, that "vision" even in its most heightened form still adapted itself more or less to the previous mental condition of the seer. We can understand, therefore, how Isaiah might be led to write prophesying, such as should serve as his ministerial bequest to his people when the hour of their captivity should have fallen upon them.

This same fact, namely, that the prophet is here, in the undisturbed retirement of his chamber, giving us a written prophecy, and not recording, as in the early part of the book, spoken discourses, goes far to explain the greater profusion of words, and the clearer, more flowing, and more complete exposition of thoughts, which generally characterise this second part; whereas the first part frequently exhibits great abruptness, and a close compression and terseness of diction, at times almost enigmatical—as an indignant man might speak among gainsayers from whom little was to be hoped. This difference of style, so far as it exists (for it has been greatly exaggerated) may be further ascribed to the difference of purpose; for here Isaiah generally appears as the tender and compassionate comforter of the pious and afflicted; whereas before he appears rather as accuser and denouncer. There exists after all sufficient similarity of diction to indicate Isaiah's hand (see Keil's *Einleitung*, §72, note 7).

This second part falls into three sections, each, as it happens, consisting of nine chapters; the two first end with the *refrain*, "There is no peace, saith Jehovah (or "my God"), to the wicked;" and the third with the same thought amplified.

(1.) The first section (xl.-xlvi.) has for its main topic the comforting assurance of the deliverance from Babylon by Koresch (Cyrus) who is even named twice (xli. 2, 3, 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1-4, 13, xlvii. 11, xlvi. 14, 15).<sup>9</sup> This section abounds

<sup>6</sup> How like Isaiah's style the whole passage is! xxxvii. 26 refers to the numerous predictions of Asshur's conquests and overthrow found in preceding parts of the book (comp. xlv. 8; xlvi. 9-11, &c.). Comp. ver. 27 with xli. 2. "Sign" in ver. 30, as in vi. 14-16;—"There must be a remnant; therefore ye shall now be delivered." For further explanation, Ewald refers to the law in Lev. xx v. 5, 11;—"Your condition this year will be like that of a Sabbath year; next year (the land being even then not quite cleared of invaders) like that of the jubilee year: as at the jubilee the Hebrew commonwealth starts afresh, restored to its proper condition, so now reformation, the fruit of affliction, shall introduce better days," (ver. 31).

<sup>7</sup> For Hezekiah's sickness was 15 years before his death, whereas the destruction of Sennacherib's army (so chronologers determine) occurred 12 or 13 years before the same date.

<sup>8</sup> Since xxxviii. 9-20 is not in 2 K., and on the other hand in 2 K. are found many touches not found in Is. (e.g. 2 K. xviii. 14-16; xx. 4, 5, 9, &c.), critics are generally agreed that neither account was

drawn from the other, but both of them from the record mentioned in 2 Chr. xxxii. 32 as "the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, (found) in (not, as in A. V., "and in") the book of the kings of Judah and Israel;" which record Isaiah adopted with modifications into the compilation of his prophecies.

<sup>9</sup> As it is for the benefit of God's own people that Isaiah writes, and not to affect heathen nations to whom he had no commission, the arguing against idolatry, of which we have so much in this part, is to be ascribed to idolatrous tendencies among the Hebrews themselves, which ceased at the captivity; for the deportation probably (Hengst.) affected chiefly the best disposed of the nation, especially the priests, of whom there appears to have been a disproportionate number both among those who were exiled and those who returned.

<sup>10</sup> The point has been argued for, and the evidence seems satisfactory (Hävernick, Hengst.), that Koresch, a word meaning *Sun*, was commonly in the East, and particularly in Persia, a title of princes, and that it was assumed by Cyrus, whose original name was

with arguments against idolatry, founded mainly not wholly, see the noble passage xlv. 9-20) upon the gift of prediction possessed by Jehovah's prophets, especially as shown by their predicting Cyrus, and even naming him (xli. 26, xlv. 8, 24-26, xlv. 4, 19, 21, xlv. 8-11, xlviii. 3-8, 15). Idols and heathen diviners are taunted with not being able to predict (xli. 1-7, 21-24, xlviii. 8-13, xlv. 20-21, xlvii. 10-13). This power of foretelling the future, as shown in this instance, is insisted upon as the test of divinity.<sup>b</sup> It is of importance to observe, in reference to the prophet's standing-point in this second part, that in speaking both of the captivity in Babylon and of the deliverance out of it, there is (excepting Cyrus's name) no specification of particular circumstances, such as we might expect to find if the writer had written at the end of the exile; the delineation is of a general kind, borrowed frequently from the history of Moses and Joshua. Let it be observed, in particular, that the language respecting the *wilderness* (*c. g.* xli. 17-20), through which the redeemed were to pass, is unmistakably ideal and symbolical.

It is characteristic of sacred prophecy in general, that the "vision" of a great deliverance leads the seer to glance at the great deliverance to come through Jesus Christ. This association of ideas is found in several passages in the first part of Isaiah, in which the destruction of the Assyrian army suggests the thought of Christ (*c. g.* x. 24-xi. 16, xxxi. 8-xxxii. 2). This principle of association prevails in the second part taken as a whole; but in the first section, taken apart, it appears as yet imperfectly. However, xlii. 1-7 is a clear prediction of the Messiah, and that too as viewed in part in contrast with Cyrus; for the "servant" of Jehovah is meek and gentle (ver. 2, 3), and will establish the true religion in the earth (ver. 4). Nevertheless, since the prophet regards the two deliverances as referable to the same type of thought (comp. lxi. 1-3), so the announcement of one (xl. 3-5) is held by all the four Evangelists, and by John Baptist himself, as predictive of the announcement of the other.<sup>c</sup>

(2.) The second section (xlix.-lvii.) is distinguished from the first by several features. The person of Cyrus as well as his name, and the specification of Babylon (named in the first section four times) and of its gods, and of the Chaldeans (named before five times), disappear altogether. Return from exile is indeed repeatedly spoken of

Agradates, on his ascending the throne. It stands, however, in history as his own proper name. This instance of particularising in prophecy is paralleled by the specification of Josiah's name (1 K. xlii. 2) some 350 years before his time.

<sup>b</sup> It is difficult to acquit the passages above cited of impudent and indeed suicidal mendacity, if they were not written before Cyrus appeared on the political scene.

<sup>c</sup> For the discussion and refutation of all expositions which understand by "the servant of Jehovah" here or in the second section the Jewish people, or the pious among them, or the prophetic order, or some other object than the Messiah, comp. Hengstenberg's *Christology*, vol. ii.

<sup>1</sup> In this passage Christ is called "Israel," as the concentration and consummation of the covenant-people—as He in whom its idea is to be realised.

<sup>2</sup> That Jesus of Nazareth is the object which in "vision" the prophet saw in l. 6, and in lii. 13, liii. 12 (connecting lii. 13 with liii. 12 as one passage), will hardly be questioned amongst our-

and at length (xlix. 9-26, li. 9-11, 12, lv. 12, 13, lvii. 14); but in such general terms as admit of well as to the literal restoration. And that the Messianic restoration (whether a spiritual restoration or not) is principally intended, is clear from the connexion of the restoration promised in xlix. 9-25 with the Messiah portrayed in xlix. 1-8; from the description of the suffering Christ (in l. 5, 6) in the midst of the promise of deliverance (l. 1-11); from the same description in lii. 13-14, 12, between the passages li. 1-11, 12, and liv. 1-17; and from the exhibition of Christ in lv. 4 (connected in ver. 3 with the Messianic promise given to David), forming the foundation on which is raised the promise of lv. 3-13. Comp. also the interpretation of liv. 13 given by Christ Himself in John vi. 45, and that of lxi. 1-3 in Luke iv. 18. In fact the place of Cyrus in the first section is in this second section held by his greater Antitype.<sup>d</sup>

(3.) In the third section (lviii.-lxvi.) as Cyrus nowhere appears, so neither does "Jehovah's servant" occur so frequently to view as in the second. The only delineation of the latter is in lxi. 1-3 and in lxiii. 1-6, 9. He no longer appears as suffering, but only as saving and avenging Zion.<sup>e</sup> The section is mainly occupied with various practical exhortations founded upon the views of the future already set forth. In the second the parenthesis is almost all consoling, taking in lv. 1-7 the form of advice; only in lii. and towards the close in lvi. 9-17, 14 is the language accusing and minatory. In this third section, on the other hand, the prophesying is very much in this last named strain (cf. lviii. 1-7, lix. 1-8, lxi. 1-16, lxvi. 1-6, 15-17, 24); taking the form of national self-bewailment in lix. 9-15 and lxiii. 1-14. Still, interspersed in this admonition, accusation, and threatening, there are gleams, and even bright tracts, of more cheering matter; besides the conditional promises as arguments for well-doing in lviii. 8-14 and lxvi. 1, 2, we have the long passage of general and unconditional promise in lix. 20-lxiii. 6, and the shorter ones lvi. 17-25, lxvi. 7-14, 18-23; and in some of these passages the future of Zion is depicted with brighter coloring than almost anywhere before in the whole book. But on the whole the predominant feature of this section is exhortation with the view, as it should seem, of qualifying men to receive the promised blessings. There was to be "no peace for

ourselves, except by those whose minds are prepared by the notion that predictive revelation is in-cessible. Meanwhile all will acknowledge the conceivable. Meanwhile all will acknowledge the truth of Ewald's remark: "In the Servant of Jehovah, truth of Ewald's remark: "In the Servant of Jehovah, who so vividly hovers before his view, the prophet discerns a new clear light shed abroad over all possible situations of that time; in Him he finds the balm of consolation, the cheer of everlasting hope, the weapon wherewith to combat and shame down those who understand not the time, the means of impressive exhortation. And if in this long passage (xl.-lxvi.) a multitude of very diverse weighty thoughts emerge into view, yet this is the dominant thought which binds everything together" (*Prophezen*, ii. p. 407).

<sup>d</sup> Restoration from captivity is spoken of in lvii. 11, lxi. 4-7, lxii. 4, 5, 10; but for the most part in such general terms as might easily be understood as referring to spiritual restoration only; but since the literal restoration pre-required repentance, this exhortation may be taken with a reference to literal restoration as well.

the wicked," but only for those who turned from ungodliness in Jacob; and therefore the prophet in such various forms of exhortations urges the topic of repentance,—promising, advising, leading to confession (lxiv. 6-12; comp. Hos. xiv. 2, 3), warning, threatening. In reference to the sins especially selected for rebuke, we find specified idolatry lxi. 3, 4, 11, lxvi. 17 (as in the second section lvii. 3-10), bloodshedding, and injustice (lix. 1-15), selfishness (lxv. 5), and merely outward and ceremonial religiousness (lxvi. 1-3). If it were not for the place given to idolatry, we might suppose with Dr. Henderson that the spirit of God is already by prophetic anticipation rebuking the Judaism of the time of Jesus Christ,—so accurately in many places as its features delineated as denounced in the N. T. But the specification of idolatry leads us to seek for the immediate objects of this parameis in the prophet's own time, when indeed the Pharisaism displayed in the N. T. already existed, being in fact in all ages the natural product of an unconverted, unspiritual heart combining with the observance of a positive religion, and in all ages (comp. *e. g.* Ps. l.) antagonistic to true piety.

While we can clearly discern certain dominant thoughts and aims in each of these three sections, we must not, however, expect to find them pursued with the regularity which we look for in a modern sermon; such treatment is wholly alien from the spirit of prophecy, which always more or less is in the strict sense of the word desultory. Accordingly we find in these, as in the earlier portions of the book, the transitions sudden, and the exhortation every now and then varied by dramatic interlocution, by description, by odes of thanksgiving, by prayers.

III. Numberless attacks have been made by German critics upon the integrity of the whole book, different critics pronouncing different portions of the first part spurious, and many concurring to reject the second part altogether. A few observations, particularly on this latter point, appear therefore to be necessary.

1. The first writer who ever breathed a suspicion that Isaiah was not the author of the last twenty-seven chapters was Koppe, in remarks upon ch. l. in his German translation of Lowth's *Isaiah*, published in the years 1779-1781. This was presently after followed up by Döderlein, especially in his Latin translation and commentary in 1789; by Eichhorn who in a later period most fully developed his views on this point in his *Hebräischen Propheten*, 1816-1819; and the most fully and effectively by Justi. The majority of the German critics have given in their adhesion to these views: as Paulus (1793), Bertholdt (1812), De Wette (1817), Gesenius (1820, 1821), Hitzig (1833), Knobel (1838), Umbreit and Ewald (1841). Defenders of the integrity of the book have not, however, been wanting—particularly Jahn in his *Einleitung* (1802); Möller in his *De Authentia Oraculorum Jesaiæ* (Copenhagen, 1825); Kleinert in his *Aechtheit des Jesaias* (1829); Hengstenberg in his *Christology*, vol. ii.; Hävernick, *Einleitung*, B. iii. (1849); Stier in his *Jesaias nicht Pseudo-Jesaias* (1850); and Keil, *Einleitung* (1853), in which last the reader will find a most satisfactory compendium of the controversy and of the grounds for the generally received view.

2. The catalogue of authors who gainsay Isaiah's authorship of this second part is, in point of numbers, of critical ability and of profound Hebrew

scholarship, sufficiently imposing. Nevertheless when we come to inquire into their grounds of objection, we soon cease to attach much value to this formidable array of authorities. The circumstance mainly urged by them is the unquestionable fact that the author has to a considerable view taken his standing-point at the close of the Babylonish Captivity as if that were his present, and from thence looks forward into the subsequent future. Now is it possible (they ask) that in such a manner and to such a degree a Seer should step out of his own time, and plant his foot so firmly in a later time? We must grant (they urge) that he might gaze upon a future not very distant, as if present, and represent it accordingly; but in the case before us infallible insight and prescience must be predicated of him; for this idea of an Isaiah who knows even Cyrus's name was not realised for two centuries later, and a chance hit is here out of the question. "This, however, is inconceivable. A prophet's prescience must be limited to the notion of foreboding (*Ahnung*), and to the deductions from patent facts taken in combination with real or supposed truths. Prophets were bounded like other men by the horizon of their own age; they borrowed the object of their soothsaying from their present; and excited by the relations of their present they spoke to their contemporaries of what affected other people's minds or their own, occupying themselves only with that future whose rewards or punishments were likely to reach their contemporaries. For exegesis the position is impregnable, that the prophetic writings are to be interpreted in each case out of the relations belonging to the time of the prophet; and from this follows as a corollary the critical Canon: that *that time, those time-relations, out of which a prophetic writer is explained, are his time, his time-relations;—to that time he must be referred as the date of his own existence*" (Hitzig, p. 463-468).

3. This is the main argument. Other grounds which are alleged are confessedly "secondary and external," and are really of no great weight. The most important of these is founded upon the difference in the complexion of style which has already been noticed; this point will come into view again presently. A number of particulars of diction said to be non-Isaianic have been accumulated; but the reasoning founded upon them has been satisfactorily met by opposing evidence of a similar kind (see Keil, *Einleitung*, §72). It is not, however, on such considerations that the chief stress is laid by the impugners of the Isaianic authorship of this portion of Scripture: the great ground of objection is, as already stated, the incompatibility of those phenomena of prediction which are noted in the writings in question, with the subjective theories of inspiration (or rather non-inspiration) which the reader has just had submitted to him. The incompatibility is confessed. But where is the solution of the difficulty to be sought? Are those theories so certainly true that all evidence must give way to them? This is not the place for combating them: but, for our own part, we are so firmly convinced that the theory is utterly discredited by the facts exhibited to us in the Bible throughout, that we are content to lack in this case the countenance of its upholders. Their judgment in the critical question before us is determined, not by their scholarship, but avowedly by the prepossessions of their unbelief.

4. For our present purpose, it must suffice briefly



to indicate the following reasons as establishing the integrity of the whole book, and as vindicating the authenticity of the second part:—

(a.) *Externally.*—The unanimous testimony of Jewish and Christian tradition.—Eccles. xlviii. 24, 25, which manifestly (in the words *παρεκάλεσε τοὺς περθεύοντας ἐν Σιών* and *ὑπέδειξε—τὰ ὑπόκρυφα πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι αὐτά*) refers to this second part.—The use apparently made of the second part by Jeremiah (x. 1-16, v. 25, xxv. 31, 1. li.), Ezekiel (xxiii. 40, 41) and Zephaniah (ii. 15, iii. 10).—The decree of Cyrus in Ezr. i. 2-4, which plainly is founded upon Is. xlv. 28, xlv. 1, 13, accrediting Josephus's statement (*Ant.* xi. 1, §2) that the Jews showed Cyrus Isaiah's predictions of him.—The inspired testimony of the N. T. which often (*Matt.* iii. 3 and the parallel passages; *Luke* iv. 17; *Acts* viii. 28; *Rom.* x. 16, 20) quotes with specification of Isaiah's name prophecies found in the second part.

(b.) *Internally.*—The unity of design and construction which, as we have seen, connects these last twenty-seven chapters with the preceding parts of the book.—The oneness of diction which pervades the whole book.—The peculiar elevation and grandeur of style, which, as is universally acknowledged, distinguishes the whole contents of the second part as much as of the first, and which assigns their composition to the golden age of Hebrew literature.—The absence of any other name than Isaiah's claiming the authorship. At the time to which the composition is assigned, a Zechariah or a Malachi could gain a separate name and book; how was it that an author of such transcendent gifts, as "the Great Unnamed" who wrote xl.-lxvi., could gain none?—The claims which the writer makes to the foreknowledge of the deliverance by Cyrus, which claims, on the opposing view, must be regarded as a fraudulent personation of an earlier writer.—Lastly, the predictions which it contains of the character, sufferings, death, and glorification of Jesus Christ: a believer in Christ cannot fail to regard those predictions as affixing to this second part the broad seal of Divine Inspiration; whereby the chief ground of objection against its having been written by Isaiah is at once annihilated.

IV. It remains to make a few observations on Isaiah's style; though in truth the abundance of the materials which offer themselves makes it a difficult matter to give anything like a just and definite view of the subject, without trespassing unduly upon the limits necessarily prescribed to us. On this point we cannot do better than introduce some of the remarks with which Ewald prefaces his translation of such parts of the book as he is disposed to acknowledge as Isaiah's (*Propheten*, i. 166-179):—

"In Isaiah we see prophetic authorship reaching its culminating point. Everything conspired to raise him to an elevation to which no prophet either before or after could as writer attain. Among the other prophets, each of the more important ones is distinguished by some one particular excellence, and some one peculiar talent: in Isaiah, all kinds of talent and all beauties of prophetic discourse meet together so as mutually to temper and qualify each other; it is not so much any single feature that distinguishes him as the symmetry and perfection of the whole.

"We cannot fail to assume, as the first condition of Isaiah's peculiar historical greatness, a native

power and a vivacity of spirit, which even among prophets is seldom to be met with. It is but rarely that we see combined in one and the same spirit the three several characteristics of—first, the most profound prophetic excitement and the most fervent sentiment; next, the most indefatigable and successful practical activity amidst all perplexities and changes of outward life; and, thirdly, that faculty and beauty in representing thought which is the prerogative of the genuine poet; but this threefold combination we find realised in Isaiah as in no other prophet; and from the traces which we can perceive of the unceasing joint-working of these three powers we must draw our conclusions as to the original greatness of his genius.—Both as prophet and as author Isaiah stands upon that calm, sunny height, which in each several branch of ancient literature one eminently favoured spirit at the right time takes possession of; which seems as it were to have been waiting for him; and which, when he has come and mounted the ascent, seems to keep and guard him to the last as its own right man. In the sentiments which he expresses, in the topics of his discourses, and in the manner of expression, Isaiah uniformly reveals himself as the Kingly Prophet.

"In reference to the last named point, it cannot be said that his manner of representing thought is elaborate and artificial: it rather shows a lofty simplicity and an unconcern about external attractiveness, abandoning itself freely to the leading and requirement of each several thought; but nevertheless it always rolls along in a full stream which overpowers all resistance, and never fails at the right place to accomplish at every turn its object without toil or effort.

"The progress and development of the discourse is always majestic, achieving much with few words, which though short are yet clear and transparent; an overflowing, swelling fullness of thought, which might readily lose itself in the vast and indefinite, but which always at the right time with tight rein collects and tempers its exuberance; to the bottom exhausting the thought and completing the utterance, and yet never too diffuse. This severe self-control is the most admirably seen in those shorter utterances, which by briefly sketched images and thoughts, give us the vague apprehension of something infinite, whilst nevertheless they stand before us complete in themselves and clearly delineated; as *e. g.*, viii. 6-ix. 6, xiv. 29-32, xviii. 1-7, xxi. 11, 12; while in the long piece, xxviii.-xxxii., if the composition here and there for a moment languishes, it is only to lift itself up again afresh with all the greater might. In this rich and thickly crowded fullness of thought and word, it is but seldom that the simile which is employed appears apart, to set forth and complete itself (xxxii. 4, 5); in general it crowds into the delineation of the object which it is meant to illustrate and is swallowed up in it; and frequently simile after simile; and yet the many threads of the discourse which for a moment appeared unravelled together soon disentangle themselves into perfect clearness;—a characteristic which belongs to this prophet alone, a freedom of language which with no one else so easily succeeds.

"The versification in like manner is always full and yet strongly marked: while however this prophet is little concerned about anxiously weighing out to each verse its proper number of words; not unfrequently he repeats the same word in two members (xxxii. 8, xxxii. 17, xi. 5, xii. 13), as if

with so much power and beauty in the matter within, he did not so much require a painstaking finish in the outside. The structure of the strophe is always easy and beautifully round.

"Still the main point lies here,—that we cannot in the case of Isaiah, as in that of other prophets, specify any particular peculiarity, or any favourite colour as attaching to his general style. He is not the especially lyrical prophet, or the especially elegiacal prophet, or the especially oratorical and hortatory prophet, as we should describe a Joel, a Hosea, a Micah, with whom there is a greater prevalence of some particular colour; but, just as the subject requires, he has readily at command every several kind of style and every several change of delineation; and it is precisely this that, in point of language, establishes his greatness, as well as in general forms one of his most towering points of excellence. His only fundamental peculiarity is the lofty, majestic calmness of his style, proceeding out of the perfect command which he feels he possesses over his subject-matter. This calmness, however, no way demands that the strain shall not, when occasion requires, be more vehemently excited and assail the hearer with mightier blows; but even the extremest excitement, which does here and there intervene, is in the main bridled still by the same spirit of calmness, and, not overstepping the limits which that spirit assigns, it soon with lofty self-control returns back to its wonted tone of equability (ii. 10-iii. 1, xxviii. 11-23, xxix. 9-14). Neither does this calmness in discourse require that the subject shall always be treated only in a plain level way, without any variation of form; rather, Isaiah shows himself master in just that variety of manner which suits the relation in which his hearers stand to the matter now in hand. If he wishes to bring home to their minds a distant truth which they like not to hear, and to judge them by a sentence pronounced by their own mouth, he retreats back into a popular statement of a case drawn from ordinary life (v. 1-6, xxviii. 23-29). If he will draw the attention of the over-wise to some new truth, or to some future prospect, he surprises them by a brief oracle clothed in an enigmatical dress, leaving it to their penetration to discover its solution (vii. 14-16, xxix. 1-8). When the unhappy temper of people's minds which nothing can amend leads to loud lamentation, his speech becomes for a while the strain of elegy and lament (i. 21-23, xxii. 4, 5). Do the frivolous leaders of the people mock?—he outdoes them at their own weapons, and crushes them under the fearful earnest of divine mockery (xxviii. 10-13). Even a single ironical word in passing will drop from the lofty prophet (xvii. 3, glory). Thus his discourse varies into every complexion: it is tender and stern, didactic and threatening, mourning and again exulting in divine joy, mocking and earnest; but ever at the right time it returns back to its original elevation and repose, and never loses the clear ground-colour of its divine seriousness."

In this delineation of Isaiah's style, Ewald contemplates exclusively the Isaiah of i.-xxxix., in which part of the book itself, however, there are to be the author. These are the following: xii., xiv. 2-xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxiv. -xxvii., xxxiv., xxv. In reference to all these passages, with the exception of the first, the ground of objection is obvious upon a moment's observation of the con-

texts; on rationalistic views of prophecy, none of them can be ascribed to Isaiah. For the proof of their genuineness it is sufficient to refer to Drechsler's *Prophet Jesaja*, or to Keil's *Einleitung*. We cannot, however, help noticing the estimate which the honesty of Ewald's aesthetical judgment forms of the style of nearly all these passages. He pronounces the magnificent denunciation of Babylon, xiii. 2-xiv. 23, to be referable to the same author as the prediction of Babylon's overthrow in xxi. 1-10, and both as alike remarkable for "the poetical facility of the words, images, and sentiments," particularising xiv. 5-20 especially as "an ode of high poetical finish," which in the last strophe (vers. 20-23) rises to "prophetic sublimity." In xxiv.-xxvii. he finds parts, particularly the "beautiful utterances" in xxv. 6-8, xxvii. 9, 12, 13, which he considers as plainly borrowed from oracles which are now lost; while lastly, in xxxiv., xxxv. (which in his 20th lecture on Hebrew poetry Bp. Lowth selects for particular comment on account of its peculiar poetical merit), he traces much that "re-echoes words of the genuine Isaiah."

If we refer to that part of Ewald's *Propheten* which treats of xl.-lxvi., which he ascribes to "the Great Unnamed," the terms in which he speaks of its style of composition do not fall far short of those which he has employed respecting the former part. "Creative as this prophet is in his views and thoughts, he is not less peculiar and new in his language, which at times is highly inspired and carries away the reader with a wonderful power.—Although, after the general manner of the later prophets, the discourse is apt to be too diffuse in delineation; yet, on the other side, it often moves confusedly and heavily, owing to the over-gushing fulness of fresh thoughts continually streaming in. But whenever it rises to a higher strain, as e. g., xl., xlii. 1-4, it then attains to such a pure luminous sublimity, and carries the hearer away with such a wonderful charm of diction, that one might be ready to fancy he was listening to another prophet altogether, if other grounds did not convince us that it is one and the same prophet speaking, only in different moods of feeling.—In no prophet does the mood in the composition of particular passages so much vary, as throughout the three several sections into which this part of the book is divided, while under vehement excitement the prophet pursues the most diverse objects. It is his business at different times, to comfort, to exhort, to shame, to chasten; to show, as out of heaven, the heavenly image of the Servant of the Lord, and, in contrast, to scourge the folly and base grovelling of image-worship; to teach what conduct the times require, and to rebuke those who linger behind the occasion, and then also to draw them along by his own example—his prayers, confessions, and thanksgivings, thus smoothing for them the approach to the exalted object of the New Time. Thus the complexion of the style, although hardly anywhere passing into the representation of visions properly so called, varies in a constant interchange; and rightly to recognise these changes is the great problem for the interpretation" (*Propheten*, vol. ii. 407-409).

For obvious reasons we have preferred citing the aesthetical judgments of so accomplished a critic as Ewald, to attempting any original criticism of our own; and this all the more willingly, because the inference to be drawn from the above cited

passages (the reader will please especially to mark the sentences which we have put into Italics) is clear, that in point of style, after taking account of the considerations already stated by us, we can find no difficulty in recognising in the second part the presence of the same plastic genius as we discover in the first. And, altogether, the aesthetic criticism of all the different parts of the book brings us to the conclusion substantiated by the evidence previously accumulated; namely, that the whole of the book originated in one mind, and that mind one of the most sublime and variously gifted instruments which the Spirit of God has ever employed to pour forth Its Voice upon the world.

V. The following are the most important works on Isaiah:—Vitrina's *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Isaiae*, 2 vols. fol. 1714, a vast mine of materials; Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, 1818-1820, or his somewhat briefer *Scholia in Compendium redacta*, 1831, which, though rationalistic, is sober, and valuable in particular for the full use which he makes of Jerome and the Jewish expositors; Gesenius's *Philologisch-Kritischer und Historischer Commentar*. 1821; Hitzig's *Prophet Isaiah übersetzt und ausgelegt*, 1833; and Knobel, 1843, in the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alt. Testam.*, which are all three decidedly sceptical, but for lexical and historical materials are of very great value; Ewald's *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, which, though likewise sceptical, is absolutely indispensable for a just appreciation of the poetry; the second vol. of Hengstenberg's *Christology*, translated in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, 1856; Drechsler's *Prophet Jesaja übersetzt und erklärt*, now in course of publication, and Rud. Stier's *Jesajas nicht Pseudo-Jesajas*, 1850-51, which is a commentary on the last 27 chapters. The two chief English works are Bp. Lowth's *Isaiah, a new translation, with Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory*, 1778 (whose incessant correction of the Hebrew text is constantly to be mistrusted), and Dr. Ebenezer Henderson's *Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edit., 1857. [E. H—e.]

IS'CAH (יִשְׁכָּה): 'Ιεσχα; *Jesca*, daughter of Haran the brother of Abram, and sister of Milcah and of Lot (Gen. xi. 29). In the Jewish traditions as preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §5), Jerome (*Quaest. in Genesis*), and the Targum Pseudo-jonathan—not to mention later writers—she is identified with SARAI.

ISCARIOT. [JUDAS ISCARIOT.]

IS'DAEL ('Ισδαήλ: *Gaddahel*), 1 Esd. v. 33. [GIDDEL, 2].

ISH'BAH (יִשְׁבָּח): δ 'Ιεσβα; Alex. 'Ιεσβαδ; *Iesba*, a man in the line of Judah, commemorated as the "father of Eshtemoa" (1 Chr. iv. 17); but from whom he was immediately descended is, in the very confused state of this part of the genealogy, not to be ascertained. The most feasible conjecture is that he was one of the sons of Mered by his Egyptian wife BITHIAH. (See Bertheau, *Chronik.* ad loc.)

ISH'BAK (יִשְׁבָּק): 'Ιεσβάκ, Σοβάκ; *Jes-boc*; "leaving behind," Ges.), a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chr. i. 32), and the progenitor of a tribe of northern Arabia. The settlements of this people are very ob-

scure, and we can only suggest as possible that they may be recovered in the name of the valley

called Sabák, or, it is said, Sibák (سَبَاك), in the

Dahná (دَهْنَا and الدَهْنَاء), (*Marásid.* s. v.)

The Heb. root שָׁבַק corresponds to the Arabic

سَبَق in etymology and signification: therefore

identifications with names derived from the root

شَبَكَ are improbable. There are many places of

the latter derivation, as Shebek (شَبَيْك), Shilák

(الشُّوبَك), and Esh-Shóbak (الشُّوبَك): the last

having been supposed (as by Bunsen, *Bibelskeri*, i. pt. ii. 53) to preserve a trace of Ishbak. It is a

fortress in Arabia Petraea; and is near the well-known fortress of the Crusaders' times called *E. Karak*.

The Dahná, in which is situate Sabák, is a fertile and extensive tract, belonging to the Bencé-Tensem,

in Nejd, or the highland, of Arabia, on the north-west of it, and the borders of the great desert, reaching

from the rugged tract ("hazn") of Yemso'ah to the sands of Yebreen. It contains much pasture,

with comparatively few wells, and is greatly frequented by the Arabs when the vegetation is plentiful (*Mushtarak* and *Marásid*, s. v.). There is

however, another Dahná, nearer to the Euphrates (*ib.*), and some confusion may exist regarding the

true position of Sabák; but either Dahná is suitable for the settlements of Ishbak. The first-men-

tioned Dahná lies in a favourable portion of the widely-stretching country known to have been

peopled by the Keturahites. They extended to the borders of Palestine even to the Persian Gulf

and traces of their settlements must be looked for all along the edge of the Arabian peninsula, when

the desert merges into the cultivable land, or (as a rocky undulating plateau) rises to the wild, moun-

tainous country of Nejd. Ishbak seems from his name to have preceded or gone before his brethren

to the place suggested for his dwelling is far away to the Persian Gulf, and penetrates also into the

peninsula. On these, as well as mere etymological grounds, the identification is sufficiently probable

and every way better than that which connects the patriarch with Esh-Shóbak, &c. [E. S. P.]

ISH'BI-BE'NOB (יִשְׁבִּי בְנֹב, *Keri*, יִשְׁבִּי: 'Ιεσβι; *Jesbi benob*), son of Rapha, one of the

race of Philistine giants, who attacked David in battle, but was slain by Abishai (2 Sam. xxi. 16, [H. W. P.]

17).

ISH-BO'SHETH (יִשְׁבֹּשֶׁת; 'Ιεσοσθή; *I-*

*boseth*), the youngest of Saul's four sons, and his legitimate successor. His name appears (1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39) to have been originally *Esh-Bo-*

*sheth*, "the man of Baal." Whether this indicates that *Baal* was used as equivalent to *Jehovah* or that the reverence for *Baal* still lingered in Israel- itish families, is uncertain; but it can hardly be doubted that the name (Ish-boseth, "the man of shame") by which he is commonly known must have been substituted for the original word, with a view of removing the scandalous sound of *Baal* from the name of an Israelitish king, and super-

ending it by the contemptuous word (Bosheth—"shame") which was sometimes used as its equivalent in later times (Jer. iii. 24; xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10). A similar process appears in the alteration of Jerubbaal (Judg. viii. 35) into Jerubbesheth of 2 Sam. xi. 21; Meribaal (2 Sam. iv. 4) into Mephibosheth (1 Chr. viii. 34, ix. 40). The three last cases all occur in Saul's family. He was 35 years of age at the time of the battle of Gilboa, in which his father and three oldest brothers perished; and therefore, according to the law of Oriental, though not of European succession, ascended the throne, as the oldest of the royal family, rather than Mephibosheth, son of his elder brother Jonathan, who was a child of five years old. He was immediately taken under the care of Abner, his powerful kinsman, who brought him to the ancient sanctuary of Mahanaim on the east of the Jordan, beyond the reach of the victorious Philistines (2 Sam. ii. 8). There was a momentary doubt even in those remote tribes whether they should not close with the offer of David to be their king (2 Sam. ii. 7, iii. 17). But this was overruled in favour of Ishbosheth by Abner (2 Sam. iii. 17), who then for five years slowly but effectually restored the dominion of the house of Saul over the Transjordanic territory, the plain of Esdraelon, the central mountains of Ephraim, the frontier tribe of Benjamin, and eventually "over all Israel" (except the tribe of Judah, 2 Sam. iii. 9). Ishbosheth was then "40 years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years" (2 Sam. iii. 10). This form of expression is used only for the accession of a fully recognised sovereign (comp. in the case of David, 2 Sam. ii. 4, and v. 4).

During these two years he reigned at Mahanaim, though only in name. The wars and negotiations with David were entirely carried on by Abner (2 Sam. ii. 12, iii. 6, 12). At length Ishbosheth accused Abner (whether rightly or wrongly does not appear) of an attempt on his father's concubine, Rizpah; which, according to Oriental usage, amounted to treason (2 Sam. iii. 7; comp. 1 K. ii. 13; 2 Sam. xvi. 21, xx. 3). Abner resented this suspicion in a burst of passion, which vented itself in a solemn vow to transfer the kingdom from the house of Saul to the house of David. Ishbosheth was too much cowed to answer; and when, shortly afterwards, through Abner's negotiation, David demanded the restoration of his former wife, Michal, he at once tore his sister from her reluctant husband, and committed her to Abner's charge (2 Sam. iii. 14, 15).

The death of Abner deprived the house of Saul of their last remaining support. When Ishbosheth heard of it, "his hands were feeble and all the Israelites were troubled" (2 Sam. iv. 1).

In this extremity of weakness he fell a victim, probably, to a revenge for a crime of his father. The guard of Ishbosheth, as of Saul, was taken from their own royal tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. xii. 29). But amongst the sons of Benjamin were reckoned the descendants of the old Canaanitish inhabitants of Beeroth, one of the cities in league with Gibeon (2 Sam. iv. 2, 3). Two of those Beerothites, Baana and Rechab, in remembrance, it has been conjectured, of Saul's slaughter of their kinsmen the Gibeonites, determined to take advantage of the helplessness of the royal house to destroy the only representative that was left, excepting the child Mephibosheth (2 Sam. iv. 4). They were "chiefs of the marauding troops" which

used from time to time to attack the territory of Judah (comp. 2 Sam. iv. 2, iii. 22: where the same word  $\text{יָרִיבִים}$  is used; Vulg. *principes latronum*). [BENJAMIN, p. 189b; GITTAIM, p. 703a.] They knew the habits of the king and court, and acted accordingly. In the stillness of an eastern noon they entered the palace, as if to carry off the wheat which was piled up near the entrance. The female slave, who, as usual in eastern houses, kept the door, and was herself sifting the wheat, had, in the heat of the day, fallen asleep at her task (2 Sam. iv. 5, 6, in LXX. and Vulg.). They stole in, and passed into the royal bedchamber, where Ishbosheth was asleep on his couch. They stabbed him in the stomach, cut off his head, made their escape, all that afternoon, all that night, down the valley of the Jordan (Arabah, A. V. "plain;" 2 Sam. iv. 7), and presented the head to David as a welcome present. They met with a stern reception. David rebuked them for the cold-blooded murder of an innocent man, and ordered them to be executed; their hands and feet were cut off, and their bodies suspended over the tank at Hebron. The head of Ishbosheth was carefully buried in the sepulchre of his great kinsman Abner, at the same place (2 Sam. iv. 9-12). [A. P. S.]

**ISHI** ( $\text{יִשִׁי}$ : *Jesi*). 1. ( $\text{Ἰσηήλ}$ ; Alex. *Iesef*). A man of the descendants of Judah, son of Appaim (1 Chr. ii. 31); one of the great house of Hezron, and therefore a near connexion of the family of Jesse (comp. 9-13). The only son here attributed to Ishi is Sheshan.

2. ( $\text{Ἰση}$ ; Alex. *Es*). In a subsequent genealogy of Judah we find another Ishi, with a son Zoheth (1 Chr. iv. 20). There does not appear to be any connexion between the two.

3. ( $\text{Ἰσεί}$ ; Alex. *Iesef*). Four men of the Bene-Ishih, of the tribe of Simeon, are named in 1 Chr. iv. 42 as having headed an expedition of 500 of their brethren, who took Mount Seir from the Amalekites, and made it their own abode.

4. ( $\text{Ἰση}$ ; Alex. *Iesef*). One of the heads of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

**ISHI** ( $\text{יְשִׁי}$ :  $\delta \text{ ἄνθρωπος μου}$ : *Vir meus*). This word has no connexion whatever with the foregoing. It occurs in Hos. ii. 16, and signifies "my man," "my husband." It is the Israelite term, in opposition to BAALI, the Canaanite term, with the same meaning, though with a significance of its own. See p. 146b, where the difference between the two appellations is noticed more at length.

**ISHIAH** ( $\text{יִשִּׁיָּה}$ ), *i. e.* Isshiyah: *Iesia*: the fifth of the five sons of Izrahiah; one of the heads of the tribe of Issachar in the time of David (1 Chr. vii. 3).

The name is identical with that elsewhere given as ISHIJAH, ISSHIAH, JESIAH.

**ISHIJAH** ( $\text{יִשִּׁיָּה}$ ): *Iesia*; Alex. *Iesia*: *Josue*, a lay Israelite of the Bene-Harim, who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 31). In Esdras the name is ASEAS. This name appears in the A. V. under the various forms of ISHIAH, ISSHIAH, JESIAH.

\* In Dryden's *Absalom and Aithophel*, "foolish Ishbosheth" is ingeniously taken to represent Richard Cromwell.

ISHMA (יִשְׁמָא): 'Iesman; Alex. *Iesma*; *Jesema*, a name in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). The passage is very obscure, and in the case of many of the names it is difficult to know whether they are of persons or places. Ishma and his companions appear to be closely connected with Bethlehem (see ver. 4).

ISHMAEL (יִשְׁמָאֵל): 'Ismāhā; *Ismael*; "whom God hears"), the son of Abraham by Hagar, his concubine, the Egyptian; born when Abraham was fourscore and six years old (Gen. xvi. 15, 16). Ishmael was the first-born of his father: in ch. xv. we read that he was then childless, and there is no apparent interval for the birth of any other child; nor does the teaching of the narrative, besides the precise enumeration of the sons of Abraham as the father of the faithful, admit of the supposition. The saying of Sarah, also, when she gave him Hagar, supports the inference that until then he was without children. When he "added and took a wife" (A. V. "Then again Abraham took a wife," xxv. 1), Keturah, is uncertain, but it is not likely to have been until after the birth of Isaac, and perhaps the death of Sarah. The conception of Ishmael occasioned the flight of Hagar [HAGAR]; and it was during her wandering in the wilderness that the angel of the Lord appeared to her, commanding her to return to her mistress, and giving her the promise, "I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude;" and, "Behold, thou [art] with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand [will be] against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren" (xvi. 10-12).

Ishmael was born in Abraham's house, when he dwelt in the plain of Mamre; and on the institution of the covenant of circumcision, was circumcised, he being then thirteen years old (xvii. 25). With the institution of the covenant, God renewed his promise respecting Ishmael. In answer to Abraham's entreaty, when he cried, "O that Ishmael might live before Thee!" God assured him of the birth of Isaac, and said, "As for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation" (xvii. 18, 20). Before this time, Abraham seems to have regarded his first-born child as the heir of the promise, his belief in which was counted unto him for righteousness (xv. 6); and although that faith *ἔδωκε* yet more brightly after his passing weakness when Isaac was first promised, his love for Ishmael is recorded in the narrative of Sarah's expulsion of the latter: "And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son" (xxi. 11).

Ishmael does not again appear in the narrative until the weaning of Isaac. The latter was born when Abraham was a hundred years old (xxi. 5), and as the weaning, according to Eastern usage, pro-

bably took place when the child was *between two and three years old*, Ishmael himself must have been *between fifteen and sixteen years old*. The age of the latter at the period of his circumcision, and at that of his expulsion (which we have now reached), has given occasion for some literary speculation. A careful consideration of the passages referring to it fails, however, to show any discrepancy between them. In Gen. xvii. 25, it is stated that he was *thirteen years old* when he was circumcised; and in xxi. 14 (probably two or three years later) "Abraham . . . took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave [it] unto Hagar, putting [it] on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away." Here it is at least unnecessary to assume that the child was put on her shoulder, the construction of the Hebrew (translated by the LXX., with whom seems to rest the origin of the question) not requiring it; and the sense of the passage renders it highly improbable. Hagar certainly carried the bottle on her shoulder, and perhaps the bread: she could hardly have also thus carried a child. Again, these passages are quite reconcilable with ver. 20 of the last quoted chapter, where Ishmael is termed יִשְׁמָאֵל, A. V. "Iai" (comp. for use of this word, Gen. xxxiv. 19, xxxvii. 2, xli. 12).

At the "great feast" made in celebration of the weaning, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking, and urged Abraham to cast out him and his mother. The patriarch, comforted by God's renewed promise that of Ishmael He would make a nation, sent them both away, and they departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. Here the water being spent in the bottle, Hagar cast her son under one of the desert shrubs, and went away a little distance, "for she said, Let me not see the death of the child," and wept. "And God heard the voice of the lad, and the angel of the Lord called to Hagar out of heaven," renewed the promise already thrice given, "I will make him a great nation," and "opened her eyes and she saw a well of water." Thus miraculously saved from perishing by thirst, "God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness; and became an archer." It is doubtful whether the wanderers halted by the well, or at once continued their way to the "wilderness of Paran," where, we are told in the next verse to that just quoted, he dwelt, and where "his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt" (Gen. xxi. 9-21). This wife of Ishmael is not elsewhere mentioned; she was, we must infer, an Egyptian; and this second infusion of Hamitic blood into the progenitors of the Arab nation, Ishmael's sons, is a fact that has been generally overlooked. No record is made of any other wife of Ishmael, and failing such record, the Egyptian was the mother of his twelve sons, and daughter of Nebajoth" (Gen. xxviii. 9), and this limitation of the parentage of the brother and sister certainly seems to point to a different mother for Ishmael's other sons.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Heb. rendered "prince" in this case, is יְשִׁיבָא, which signifies both a "prince" and the "leader," or "captain" of a tribe, or even of a family (Ges.). It here seems to mean the leader of a tribe, and Ishmael's twelve sons are enumerated in Gen. xxv. 16 "according to their nations," more correctly "peoples," אֲמֹתָא.

<sup>b</sup> According to Rabbinical tradition, Ishmael put away his wife and took a second; and the Arabs, probably borrowing from the above, assert that he twice married; the first wife being an Amaickite, by whom he had no issue; and the second, a Joktanite of the tribe of Jurhum (*Mfir-ât ez-Zemân*, MS., *q. d. sing.*) tradition of Mohammad Ibn-Is-hâk.

Of the later life of Ishmael we know little. He was present with Isaac at the burial of Abraham; and Esau contracted an alliance with him when he took unto the wives which he had Mahalath [or BASHEMATH or BASMATH, Gen. xxxiii. 3] the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife; and this did Esau because the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob in obedience to their wishes had gone to Laban to obtain of his daughters a wife (xxviii. 6-9). The death of Ishmael is recorded in a previous chapter, after the enumeration of his sons, as having taken place at the age of a hundred and thirty-seven years; and, it is added, "he died in the presence of all his brethren" (xxv. 17, 18). The alliance with Esau occurred before this event (although it is mentioned in a previous passage), for he "went . . . unto Ishmael;" but it cannot have been long before, if the chronological data be correctly preserved.<sup>c</sup>

It remains for us to consider, 1, the place of Ishmael's dwelling; and, 2, the names of his children, with their settlements, and the nation sprung from them.

1. From the narrative of his expulsion, we learn that Ishmael first went into the wilderness of Beersheba, and thence, but at what interval of time is uncertain, removed to that of Paran. His continuance in these or the neighbouring places seems to be proved by his having been present at the burial of Abraham; for it must be remembered that in the East, sepulture follows death after a few hours' space; and by Esau's marrying his daughter at a time when he (Esau) dwelt at Beersheba: the tenor of the narrative of both these events favouring the inference that Ishmael did not settle far from the neighbourhood of Abraham and Isaac. There are, however, other passages which must be taken into account. It is prophesied of him, that "he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," and thus too he "died in the presence of all his brethren" (xxv. 18). The meaning of these passages is confessedly obscure; but it seems only to signify that he dwelt near them. He was the first Abrahamic settler in the east country. In ch. xxv. 6 it is said, "But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country." The "east country" perhaps was restricted in early times to the wildernesses of Beersheba and Paran, and it afterwards seems to have included those districts (though neither supposition necessarily follows from the above passage); or, Ishmael removed to that east country, northwards, without being distant from his father and his brethren; each case being agreeable with Gen. xxv. 6. The appellation of the "east country" became afterwards applied to the whole desert extending from the frontier of Palestine east to the Euphrates, and south probably to the borders of Egypt and the Arabian peninsula. This question is discussed in art. BENE-KEDEM; and it is interwoven, though obscurely, with the next subject, that of the names and settlements of the sons of Ishmael. See also KETURAH, &c.; for the "brethren" of Ishmael, in whose presence he dwelt and died, included the sons of Keturah.

<sup>c</sup> Abraham at the birth of Ishmael was 86 years old, and at Isaac's about 100. Isaac took Rebekah to wife when he was 40 years old, when Ishmael would be about 54. Esau was born when his father

2. The sons of Ishmael were, Nebajoth (expressly stated to be his first-born), Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah (Gen. xxv. 13-15), and he had a daughter named Mahalath (xxviii. 9), elsewhere written Bashemath (or Basmath, Gen. xxxvi. 3), the sister of Nebajoth, before mentioned. The sons are enumerated with the particular statement that "these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations" or "peoples" (xv. 16). In seeking to identify Ishmael's sons, this passage requires close attention: it bears the interpretation of their being fathers of tribes, having towns and castles called after them; and identifications of the latter become therefore more than usually satisfactory. "They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest unto Assyria" (xxv. 18), and it is certain, in accordance with this statement of their limits [see HAVILAH, SHUR], that they stretched in very early times across the desert to the Persian Gulf, peopled the north and west of the Arabian peninsula, and eventually formed the chief element of the Arab nation. Their language, which is generally acknowledged to have been the Arabic commonly so called, has been adopted with insignificant exceptions throughout Arabia. It has been said that the Bible requires the whole of that nation to be sprung from Ishmael, and the fact of a large admixture of Joktanite and even Cushite peoples in the south and south-east has been regarded as a suggestion of scepticism. Yet not only does the Bible contain no warrant for the assumption that all Arabs are Ishmaelites; but the characteristics of the Ishmaelites, strongly marked in all the more northern tribes of Arabia, and exactly fulfilling the prophecy "he will be a wild man; his hand [will be] against every man, and every man's hand against him," become weaker in the south, and can scarcely be predicated of all the peoples of Joktanite and other descent. The true Ishmaelites, however, and even tribes of very mixed race, are thoroughly "wild men," living by warlike forays and plunder; dreaded by their neighbours; dwelling in tents, with hardly any household chattels, but rich in flocks and herds, migratory, and recognising no law but the authority of the chiefs of their tribes. Even the religion of Mohammad is held in light esteem by many of the more remote tribes, among whom the ancient usages of their people obtain in almost their old simplicity, besides idolatrous practices altogether repugnant to Mohammadanism as they are to the faith of the patriarchs; practices which may be ascribed to the influence of the Canaanites, of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, with whom, by intermarriages, commerce, and war, the tribes of Ishmael must have had long and intimate relations.

The term ISHMAELITE (יִשְׁמָאֵלִי) occurs on three occasions, Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxxix. 1, Judg. viii. 24; Ps. lxxxiii. 6. From the context of the first two instances, it seems to have been a general name for the Abrahamic peoples of the east country, the Bene-Kedem: but the second admits also of a closer meaning. In the third instance the name is applied in its strict sense to the Ishmaelites. It is also applied to Jether, the

was 60; and Esau was more than 40 when he married Ishmael's daughter. Therefore Ishmael was then at least 114 (54 + 20 + 40 = 114), leaving 23 years before his death for Esau's coming to him.

father of Amasa by David's sister Abigail (1 Chr. ii. 17.) [ITHRA; JETHER.]

The notions of the Arabs respecting Ishmael

(إسماعيل) are partly derived from the Bible,

partly from the Jewish Rabbins, and partly from native traditions. The origin of many of these traditions is obscure, but a great number may be ascribed to the fact of Mohammad's having for political reasons claimed Ishmael for his ancestor, and striven to make out an impossible pedigree; while both he and his followers have, as a consequence of accepting this assumed descent, sought to exalt that ancestor. Another reason may be safely found in Ishmael's acknowledged headship of the naturalised Arabs, and this cause existed from the very period of his settlement. [ARABIA.] Yet the rivalry of the Joktanite kingdom of southern Arabia, and its intercourse with classical and mediaeval Europe, the wandering and unsettled habits of the Ishmaelites, their having no literature, and as far as we know only a meagre oral tradition, all contributed, till the importance it acquired with the promulgation of El-Islám, to render our knowledge of the Ishmaelitic portion of the people of Arabia, before Mohammad, lamentably defective. That they maintained, and still maintain, a patriarchal and primitive form of life is known to us. Their religion, at least in the period immediately preceding Mohammad, was in central Arabia chiefly the grossest fetishism, probably learnt from aboriginal inhabitants of the land; southwards it diverged to the cosmic worship of the Joktanite Himyerites (though these were far from being exempt from fetishism), and northwards (so at least in ancient times) to an approach to that true faith which Ishmael carried with him, and his descendants thus gradually lost. This last point is curiously illustrated by the numbers who, in Arabia, became either Jews (Carites) or Christians (though of a very corrupt form of Christianity), and by the movement in search of the faith of the patriarchs which had been put forward, not long before the birth of Mohammad, by men not satisfied with Judaism or the corrupt form of Christianity with which alone they were acquainted. This movement first aroused Mohammad, and was afterwards the main cause of his success.

The Arabs believe that Ishmael was the first-born of Abraham, and the majority of their doctors (but the point is in dispute) assert that this son, and not Isaac, was offered by Abraham in sacrifice.<sup>d</sup> The scene of this sacrifice is Mount 'Arafát, near Mekkeh, the last holy place visited by pilgrims, it being necessary to the completion of pilgrimage to be present at a sermon delivered there on the 9th of the Mohammadan month Zu-l-Hejje, in commemoration of the offering, and to sacrifice a victim on the following evening after sunset, in the valley of Miné. The sacrifice last mentioned is observed throughout the Muslim world, and the day on which it is made is called "The Great Festival" (Mr. Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* ch. iii.). Ishmael, say the Arabs, dwelt with his mother at Mek-

<sup>d</sup> With this, and some other exceptions, the Muslims have adopted the chief facts of the history of Ishmael recorded in the Bible.

<sup>e</sup> זרע המלכה. Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chron. xx-iii. 7) interprets this expression as meaning "of

keh, and both are buried in the place called the "Hejr," on the north-west (termed by the Arabs the north) side of the Kaabeh, and inclosed by a curbed wall called the "Hateem." Ishmael was visited at Mekkeh by Abraham, and they together rebuilt the temple, which had been destroyed by a flood. At El-Mudád, chief of the Joktanite tribe Jurham [ALMODAD; ARABIA], and had thirteen children (Biblical number, including the daughter).

Mohammad's descent from Ishmael is totally lost, for an unknown number of generations, to 'Adnán, of the twenty-first generation before the prophet: from him downwards the latter's descent is, if we may believe the genealogists, fairly proved. But we have evidence far more trustworthy than that of the genealogists; for while most of the natives of Arabia are unable to trace up their pedigrees, it is scarcely possible to find one who is ignorant of his race, seeing that his very life often depends upon it. The law of blood-revenge necessitates his knowing the names of his ancestors for four generations, but no more; and this law extending from time immemorial has made any confusion of race almost impossible. This law, it should be remembered, is not a law of Mohammad, but an old pagan law that he endeavoured to suppress, but could not. In casting doubt on the prophet's pedigree, we must add that this cannot affect the grade of the chief element of the Arab nation being Ishmaelite (and so too the tribe of Kureysh of whom was Mohammad). Although partly mixed with Jektanites, they are more mixed with Ketarabites, but the characteristics of the Jektanites, as before remarked, are widely different from those of the Ishmaelites; and whatever theories may be adduced to the contrary, we believe that the Arabs, from physical characteristics, language, the concurrence of native traditions (before Mohammadanism made them untrustworthy), and the testimony of the Bible, are mainly and essentially Ishmaelite. [E. S. P.]

MAEL, 1.]

2. One of the sons of Azel, a descendant of Shem through Merib-baal, or Mephibosheth (1 Chr. vi. 38, ix. 44). See the genealogy, under SATL.

3. A man of Judah, whose son or descendant ZEBADIAH was ruler (זבדי) of the house of Judah in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 11).

4. Another man of Judah, son of Jehoshaphat, one of the "captains (קָרָי) of hundreds" who assisted Jehoiada in restoring Joash to the throne (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

5. A priest, of the Bene-Pashur, who was forced by Ezra to relinquish his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 20). [ISHMAEL, 2.]

6. The son of Nathaniah; a perfect marvel of craft and villainy, whose treachery forms one of the chief episodes of the history of the period immediately succeeding the first fall of Jerusalem. His exploits are related in Jer. xl. 7-xli. 15, with a short summary in 2 K. xxv. 23-25, and they read almost like a page from the annals of the late Indian mutiny.

His full description is "Ishmael, the son of Nathaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal,"

the seed of Molech." He gives the same meaning to the words "the King's son" applied to Manasseh in the above passage. The question is an interesting one, and has been recently revived by Geiger (*Zeitschrift*, &c. p. 307), who extends it to other passages

of Judah (Jer. xli. 1; 2 K. xxv. 25). Whether by this is intended that he was actually a son of Zedekiah, or one of the later kings, or, more generally, that he had royal blood in his veins—perhaps a descendant of ELISHAMA, the son of David (2 Sam. v. 16)—we cannot tell. During the siege of the city he had, like many others of his countrymen (Jer. xl. 11), fled across the Jordan, where he found a refuge at the court of Baalis, the then king of the Bene-Ammon (Jos. Ant. x. 9, §2). Ammonite women were sometimes found in the harems of the kings of Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 1), and Ishmael may have been thus related to the Ammonite court on his mother's side. At any rate he was instigated by Baalis to the designs which he accomplished but too successfully (Jer. xl. 14; Ant. x. 9, §3). Several bodies of Jews appear to have been lying under arms in the plains on the S.E. of the Jordan, during the last days of Jerusalem, watching the progress of affairs in Western Palestine, commanded by "princes" (רָבִיּוֹת), the chief of whom were Ishmael, and two brothers, Johanan and Jonathan, sons of Kareah. Immediately after the departure of the Chaldean army these men moved across the Jordan to pay their respects to GEDALIAH, whom the king of Babylon had left as superintendent (שֹׁרֵט) of the province. Gedaliah had taken up his residence at MIZPAH, a few miles north of Jerusalem, on the main road, where Jeremiah the prophet resided with him (xl. 6). The house would appear to have been isolated from the rest of the town. We can discern a high inclosed court-yard and a deep well within its precincts. The well was certainly (Jer. xli. 9; comp. 1 K. xv. 22), and the whole residence was probably, a relic of the military works of Asa king of Judah.

Ishmael made no secret of his intention to kill the superintendent, and usurp his position. Of this Gedaliah was warned in express terms by Johanan and his companions; and Johanan, in a secret interview, foreseeing how irreparable a misfortune Gedaliah's death would be at this juncture (xl. 15), offered to remove the danger by killing Ishmael. This, however, Gedaliah, a man evidently of a high and unsuspecting nature, would not hear of (xl. 16, and see the amplification in Jos. Ant. x. 9, §3). They all accordingly took leave. Thirty days after (Ant. x. 9, §4), in the seventh month (xli. 1), on the third day of the month—so says the tradition—Ishmael again appeared at Mizpah, this time accompanied by ten men, who were, according to the Hebrew text, "princes of the king" (רָבִיּוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ), though this is omitted by the LXX. and by Josephus. Gedaliah entertained them at a feast (xli. 1). According to the statement of Josephus this was a very lavish

entertainment, and Gedaliah became much intoxicated. It must have been a private one, for before its close Ishmael and his followers had murdered Gedaliah and all his attendants with such secrecy that no alarm was given outside the room. The same night he killed all Gedaliah's establishment, including some Chaldean soldiers who were there. Jeremiah appears fortunately to have been absent, and, incredible as it seems, so well had Ishmael taken his precautions that for two days the massacre remained perfectly unknown to the people of the town. On the second day Ishmael perceived from his elevated position a large party coming southward along the main road from Shechem and Samaria. He went out to meet them. They proved to be eighty devotees, who with rent clothes, and with shaven beards, mutilated bodies, and other marks of heathen devotion, and weeping<sup>a</sup> as they went, were bringing incense and offerings to the ruins of the Temple. At his invitation they turned aside to the residence of the superintendent. And here Ishmael put into practice the same stratagem, which on a larger scale was employed by Mehemet Ali in the massacre of the Mamelukes at Cairo in 1806. As the unsuspecting pilgrims passed into the court-yard<sup>1</sup> he closed the entrances behind them, and there he and his band butchered the whole number: ten only escaped by the offer of heavy ransom for their lives. The seventy corpses were then thrown into the well which, as at Cawnpore, was within the precincts of the house, and which was completely filled with the bodies. It was the same thing that had been done by Jehu—a man in some respects a prototype of Ishmael, with the bodies of the forty-two relatives of Ahaziah (2 K. x. 14). This done he descended to the town, surprised and carried off the daughters of king Zedekiah, who had been sent there by Nebuchadnezzar for safety, with their eunuchs and their Chaldean guard (xli. 10, 16), and all the people of the town, and made off with his prisoners to the country of the Ammonites. Which road he took is not quite clear; the Hebrew text and LXX. say by Gibeon, that is north; but Josephus, by Hebron, round the southern end of the Dead Sea. The news of the massacre had by this time got abroad, and Ishmael was quickly pursued by Johanan and his companions. Whether north or south, they soon tracked him and his unwieldy booty, and found them reposing by some copious waters (מַיִם רַבִּים). He was attacked, two of his bravos slain, the whole of the prey recovered, and Ishmael himself, with the remaining eight of his people, escaped to the Ammonites, and thenceforward passes into the obscurity from which it would have been well if he had never emerged.

Johanan's foreboding was fulfilled. The result of

and persons. [MOLECH.] Jerome (as above) further says—perhaps on the strength of a tradition—that Ishmael was the son of an Egyptian slave, Gera: as a reason why the "seed royal" should bear the meaning he gives it. This the writer has not hitherto succeeded in elucidating.

<sup>1</sup> So perhaps, taking it with the express statement of xl. 11, we may interpret the words "the forces which were in the field" (Jer. xl. 7, 13), where the term rendered "the field" (בְּשֵׂרָה) is one used to denote the pasture grounds of Moab—the modern *Belka*—oftener than any other district. See Gen. xxxi. 35; Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 1, and *passim*; 1 Chr. viii. 8; and Stanley's *S. & P. App.* §15. The

persistent use of the word in the semi-Moabite book of Ruth is alone enough to fix its meaning.

<sup>a</sup> It is a pity that some different word is not employed to render this Hebrew term from that used in xli. 1 to translate one totally distinct.

<sup>b</sup> This is the LXX. version of the matter—αἰροὶ ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἐκλαύον. The statement of the Hebrew Text and A. V. that Ishmael wept is unintelligible.

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew has הָעִיר—"the city" (A. V. ver. 7). This has been read by Josephus הָעִיר—"court-yard." The alteration carries its genuineness in its face. The same change has been made by the Masorets (*Keri*) in 2 K. xx. 4.



this tragedy was an immediate panic. The small remnants of the Jewish commonwealth—the captains of the forces, the king's daughters, the two prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and all the men, women, and children—at once took flight into Egypt (Jer. xli. 17; xliii. 5-7); and all hopes of a settlement were for the time at an end. The remembrance of the calamity was perpetuated by a fast—the fast of the seventh month (Zech. vii. 5; viii. 19), which is to this day strictly kept by the Jews on the third of Tishri. (See Reland, *Antiq.* iv. 10; Kimchi on Zech. vii. 5.) The part taken by Baulis in this transaction apparently brought upon his nation the denunciations both of Jeremiah (xlix. 1-5), and the more distant Ezekiel (xxv. 1-7), but we have no record how these predictions were accomplished. [G.]

**ISHMA'IAH** (יִשְׁמַעְיָהוּ), *i. e.* Ishmayahu: *Σαμαίας*: *Jesmaias*, son of Obadiah: the ruler of the tribe of Zebulun in the time of king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 19).

**ISH'MEELITE** AND **ISH'MEELITES** (יִשְׁמַעְיִלִים and יִשְׁמַעְיִלִיּוֹת respectively), the form—in agreement with the vowels of the Hebrew—in which the descendants of Ishmael are given in a few places in the A. V.; the former in 1 Chr. ii. 17; the latter in Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxxix. 1.

**ISH'MERAI** (יִשְׁמַרַי), *Ἰσαμαρί*; Alex. *Ἰεσαμαρί*: *Jesamari*, a Benjamite; one of the family of Elpaal, and named as a chief man in the tribe (1 Chr. viii. 18).

**ISH'OD** (יִשְׁהוֹד), *i. e.* Ish-hod: δ *Ἰσοῦδ*; Alex. *Σοῦδ*: *virum decorum*, one of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan, son of Hammoleketh, *i. e.* the Queen, and from his near connexion with Gilead, evidently an important person (1 Chr. vii. 18).

**ISH-PAN** (יִשְׁפָּן), *Ἰεσφάν*; Alex. *Ἐσφόν*; *Jespham*, a Benjamite, one of the family of Shashak; named as a chief man in his tribe (1 Chr. viii. 22).

**ISH'TOB** (יִשְׁתּוֹב), *Ἰστωβ*; Jos. *Ἰστωβος*: *Istob*, apparently one of the small kingdoms or states which formed part of the general country of Aram, named with Zobah, Rehob, and Maacah (2 Sam. x. 6, 8). In the parallel account of 1 Chr. xix. Ish'tob is omitted. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, §1) the name is given as that of a king. But though in the ancient versions the name is given as one word, it is probable that the real signification is "the men of Tob," a district mentioned also in connexion with Ammon in the records of Jephthah, and again perhaps, under the shape of **TOBIE** or **TUBIENI**, in the history of the Maccabees. [G.]

**ISHUAH** (יִשׁוּא), *Ἰεσσαῦ*, Alex. *Ἰεσσαί*: *Jesua*, the second son of Asher (Gen. xli. 17). In the genealogies of Asher in 1 Chr. vii. 30 the name, though identical in the original, is in the A. V. given as **ISUAH**. In the lists of Num. xxvi., however, Ishuah is entirely omitted.

**ISHUAI** (יִשׁוּי), *i. e.* Ishvi: *Ἰσουί*, Alex. *Ἰεσουί*: *Jessui*, the third son of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30), founder of a family bearing his name (Num. xxvi. 44; A. V. "Jesuites"). His descendants, however, are not mentioned in the genealogy in Chronicles. His name is elsewhere given in the A. V. as **ISUI**, **JESUI**, and (another person) **ISHUI**.

**ISHUI** (יִשׁוּי), *i. e.* Ishvi: *Ἰεσουί*; Alex. *Ἰσουί*; Joseph. *Ἰεσουί*: *Jessui*, the second son of Saul by his wife Ahinoam (1 Sam. xiv. 48, Jonathan and Melchishua. In the list of Saul's genealogy in 1 Chr. viii. and ix., however, the name of Ishui is entirely omitted; and in the sad narrative of the battle of Gilboa his place is occupied by Abinadab (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). We can only conclude that he died young.

The same name is elsewhere given in the A. V. as **ISUI**, and **ISHUAI**. [G.]

**ISLE** (Ἰ; νῆσος). The radical sense of the Hebrew word seems to be "habitable places," as opposed to water, and in this sense it occurs in Is. xlii. 15. Hence it means secondarily any maritime district, whether belonging to a continent or to an island: thus it is used of the shore of the Mediterranean (Is. xx. 6, xxiii. 2, 6), and of the coasts of Elishah (Ez. xxvii. 7), *i. e.* of Greece and Asia Minor. In this sense it is more particularly restricted to the shores of the Mediterranean, sometimes in the fuller expression "islands of the sea" (Is. xi. 11), or "isles of the Gentiles" (Gen. x. 3; comp. Zeph. ii. 11), and sometimes simply as "isles" (Ps. lxxii. 10; Ez. xxvi. 15, 18, xxvii. 3, 35, xxxix. 6; Dan. xi. 18): an exception to this, however, occurs in Ez. xxvii. 15, where the shores of the Persian gulf are intended. Occasionally the word is specifically used of an island, as of Caphtor or Crete (Jer. xlvii. 4), and Chittim or Cyprus (Ez. xxvii. 6; Jer. ii. 10), or of islands as opposed to the mainland (Esth. x. 1). But more generally it is applied to any region separated from Palestine by water, as fully described in Jer. xiv. 22, "the isles which are beyond the sea," which were hence regarded as the most remote regions of the earth (Is. xxiv. 15, xlii. 10, lix. 18, compare the expression in Is. lxvi. 19, "the isles afar off") and also as large and numerous (Is. xl. 15; Ps. xxvii. 1): the word is more particularly used by the prophets. (See J. D. Michaelis, *Synonymicon*, i. 131-142.) [W. L. R.]

**ISMACHI'AH** (יִסְמַחִיָּהוּ), *i. e.* *Ἰσμαχίας*: δ *Σαμαχίας*: *Jesmachias*, a Levite who was one of the overseers (פְּקִידִים) of offerings, during the revival under king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 13).

**ISMAEL**. 1. (*Ἰσμαήλ*: *Ismaël*), *Ἰσ.* 2. 23. Another form for the name **ISHMAEL**, son of Abraham.

2. (*Ἰσμαήλος*: *Hismaenis*), 1 *Esd.* ix. 28. [**ISHMAEL**, 5.]

**ISMA'IAH** (יִשְׁמַעְיָהוּ), *Σαμαίας*: *Samaias*, a Gibeonite, one of the chiefs of these warriors who relinquished the cause of Saul, the head of their tribe, and joined themselves to David, when he was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4). He is described as "a hero (*Gibbor*) among the thirty and over the thirty"—*i. e.* David's body-guard: but his name does not appear in the lists of the guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. and 1 Chr. xi. Possibly he was killed in some encounter before David reached the throne.

**ISPAH** (יִשְׁפָּה), *i. e.* Ishpah: *Ἰσφά*, Alex. *Ἐσφάχ*: *Jespha*, a Benjamite, of the family of Beriath; one of the heads of his tribe (1 Chr. viii. 16).

**ISRAEL** (יִשְׂרָאֵל), *Ἰσραήλ*. 1. The name given (Gen. xxxii. 28) to Jacob after his wrestling with the Angel (Hos. xii. 4) at Peniel. In the

time of Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr. in Gen. Opp.* iii. 357) the signification of the name was commonly believed to be "the man (or the mind) seeing God." But he prefers another interpretation, and paraphrases the verse after this manner, "Thy name shall not be called Jacob, *Supplanter*, but Israel, *Prince with God*. For as I am a Prince, so thou who hast been able to wrestle with Me shalt be called a Prince. But if with Me who am God (or an Angel) thou hast been able to contend, how much more [shalt thou be able to contend] with men, i. e. with Esau, whom thou oughtest not to dread?" The A. V., apparently following Jerome, translates שׂרַיִת, "as a prince thou hast power;" but Rosenmüller and Gesenius give it the simpler meaning, "thou hast contended." Gesenius interprets Israel "soldier of God."

2. It became the national name of the twelve tribes collectively. They are so called in Ex. iii. 16 and afterwards.

3. It is used in a narrower sense, excluding Judah, in 1 Sam. xi. 8. It is so used in the famous cry of the rebels against David (2 Sam. xx. 1), and against his grandson (1 K. xii. 16). Thenceforth it was assumed and accepted as the name of the Northern Kingdom, in which the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Levi, Dan, and Simeon, had no share.

4. After the Babylonian captivity, the returned exiles, although they were mainly of the kingdom of Judah, resumed the name Israel as the designation of their nation; but as individuals they are almost always described as Jews in the Apocrypha and N. T. Instances occur in the Books of Chronicles of the application of the name Israel to Judah (e. g. 2 Chr. xi. 3, xii. 6); and in Esther of the name Jews to the whole people. The name Israel is also used to denote laymen, as distinguished from Priests, Levites, and other ministers (Ezr. vi. 16; ix. 1; x. 25; Neh. xi. 3, &c.). [W. T. B.]

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF. 1. The prophet Ahijah of Shiloh who was commissioned in the later days of Solomon to announce the division of the kingdom, left one tribe (Judah) to the house of David, and assigned ten to Jeroboam (1 K. i. 35, 31). These were probably Joseph (= Ephraim and Manasseh), Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, Gad, and Reuben; Levi being intentionally omitted. Eventually, the greater part of Benjamin, and probably the whole of Simeon and Dan were included as if by common consent in the kingdom of Judah. With respect to the conquests of David, Moab appears to have been attached to the kingdom of Israel (2 K. iii. 4); so much of Syria as remained subject to Solomon (see 1 K. xi. 24) would probably be claimed by his successor in the northern kingdom; and Ammon, though connected with Rehoboam as his mother's native land (2 Chr. xii. 13), and though afterwards tributary to Judah (2 Chr. xxvii. 5) was at one time allied (2 Chr. xx. 1), we know not how closely, or how early, with Moab. The sen-consort between Aecho and Japho remained in the possession of Israel.

2. The population of the kingdom is not ex-

pressly stated, and in drawing any inference from the numbers of fighting-men, we must bear in mind that the numbers in the Hebrew text of the O. T. are strongly suspected to have been subjected to extensive, perhaps systematic, corruption. Forty years before the disruption the census taken by direction of David gave 800,000 according to 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, or 1,100,000\* according to 1 Chr. xxi. 5, as the number of fighting-men in Israel. Jeroboam, B.C. 957, brought into the field an army of 800,000 men (2 Chr. xiii. 3). The small number of the army of Jehohaz (2 K. xiii. 7) is to be attributed to his compact with Hazael; for in the next reign Israel could spare a mercenary host ten times as numerous for the wars of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 6). Ewald is scarcely correct in his remark that we know not what time of life is reckoned as the military age (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 185); for it is defined in Num. i. 3, and again 2 Chr. xxv. 5, as "twenty years old and above." If in B.C. 957 there were actually under arms 800,000 men of that age in Israel, the whole population may perhaps have amounted to at least three millions and a half.<sup>b</sup> Later observers have echoed the disappointment with which Jerome from his cell at Bethlehem contemplated the small extent of this celebrated country (*Ep.* 129, *ad Dardan.* §4). The area of Palestine, as it is laid down in Kiepert's *Bibel-Atlas* (ed. Lionnet, 1859), is calculated at 13,620 English square miles. Deducting from this 810 miles for the strip of coast S. of Japho, belonging to the Philistines, we get 12,810 miles as the area of the land occupied by the 12 tribes at the death of Solomon: the area of the two kingdoms being—Israel 9375, Judah 3435. Hence it appears that the whole area of Palestine was nearly equal to that of the kingdom of Holland (13,610 sq. m.); or rather more than that of the six northern counties of England (13,136 sq. m.). The kingdom of Judah was rather less than Northumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland (3683 sq. m., with 752,852 population in 1851): the kingdom of Israel was very nearly as large as Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cumberland (9453 sq. m., with 4,023,713 population in 1851).

3. SHECHEM was the first capital of the new kingdom (1 K. xii. 25), venerable for its traditions, and beautiful in its situation. Subsequently Tirzah, whose loveliness had fixed the wandering gaze of Solomon (Cant. vi. 4), became the royal residence, if not the capital, of Jeroboam (1 K. xiv. 17) and of his successors (xv. 33, xvi. 8, 17, 23). Samaria, uniting in itself the qualities of beauty and fertility, and a commanding position, was chosen by Omri (1 K. xvi. 24), and remained the capital of the kingdom until it had given the last proof of its strength by sustaining for three years the onset of the hosts of Assyria. Jezreel was probably only a royal residence of some of the Israelitish kings. It may have been in awe of the ancient holiness of Shiloh, that Jeroboam forbore to pollute the secluded site of the Tabernacle with the golden calves. He chose for the religious capitals of his kingdom Dan, the old home of northern schism, and Bethel,<sup>c</sup> a

\* Bp. Patrick proposes to reconcile these two numbers, by adding to the former 288,000 on account of David's standing legions.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Rickman noticed that in 1821 and in 1831 the number of males under 20 years of age, and the number of males of 20 years of age and upwards, were nearly equal; and this proportion has been since re-

garded as invariable: or, it has been assumed that the males of the age of 10 and upwards are equal in number to a fourth part of the whole population.—*Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population Tables, II., Ages, &c.*, p. vi.

<sup>c</sup> On these seven places see Stanley's *S. & P.* chaps. iv. v. and xi.

Benjamite city not far from Shiloh, and marked out by history and situation as the rival of Jerusalem.

4. The disaffection of Ephraim and the northern tribes having grown in secret under the prosperous but burdensome reign of Solomon, broke out at the critical moment of that great monarch's death. It was just then that Ephraim, the centre of the movement, found in Jeroboam an instrument prepared to give expression to the rivalry of centuries, with sufficient ability and application to raise him to high station, with the stain of treason on his name, and with the bitter recollections of an exile in his mind. Judah and Joseph were rivals from the time that they occupied the two prominent places, and received the amplest promises in the blessing of the dying patriarch (Gen. xlix. 8, 22). When the twelve tribes issued from Egypt, only Judah and Joseph could muster each above 70,000 warriors. In the desert and in the conquest, Caleb and Joshua, the representatives of the two tribes, stand out side by side eminent among the leaders of the people. The blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 13) and the divine selection of Joshua inaugurated the greater prominence of Joseph for the next three centuries. Othniel, the successor of Joshua, was from Judah: the last, Samuel, was born among the Ephraimites. Within that period Ephraim supplied at Shiloh (Judg. xxi. 19) a resting-place for the ark, the centre of divine worship; and a rendezvous, or capital at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 1; Judg. ix. 2) for the whole people. Ephraim arrogantly claimed (Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1) the exclusive right of taking the lead against invaders. Royal authority was offered to one dweller in Ephraim (viii. 22), and actually exercised for three years by another (ix. 22). After a silent, perhaps sullen, acquiescence in the transfer of Samuel's authority with additional dignity to a Benjamite, they resisted for seven years (2 Sam. ii. 9-11) its passing into the hands of the popular Jewish leader, and yielded reluctantly to the conviction that the sceptre which seemed almost within their grasp was reserved at last for Judah. Even in David's reign their jealousy did not always slumber (2 Sam. xix. 43); and though Solomon's alliance and intercourse with Tyre must have tended to increase the loyalty of the northern tribes, they took the first opportunity to emancipate themselves from the rule of his son. Doubtless the length of Solomon's reign, and the clouds that gathered round the close of it (1 K. xi. 14-25), and possibly his increasing despotism (Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 395), tended to diminish the general popularity of the house of David; and the idolatry of the king alienated the affection of religious Israelites. But none of these was the immediate cause of the disruption. No aspiration after greater liberty, political privileges, or aggrandisement at the expense of other powers, no spirit of commercial enterprise, no breaking forth of pent-up energy seems to have instigated the movement. Ephraim proudly longed for independence, without considering whether or at what cost he could maintain it. Shechem was built as a capital, and Tirzah as a residence, for an Ephraimite king, by the people who murmured under the burden imposed upon them by the royal state of Solomon. Ephraim felt no patriotic pride in a national splendour of which Judah was the centre. The dwelling-place of God when fixed in Jerusalem ceased to be so honourable to him as of old. It was ancient jealousy rather than recent provocation, the opportune death of Solomon rather than unwillingness to

incur taxation, the opportune return of a persecuted Ephraimite rather than any commanding genius for rule which Jeroboam possessed, that finally broke up the brotherhood of the children of Jacob. It was an outburst of human feeling so soon as that divine influence which restrained the spirit of disunion was withdrawn in consequence of the idolatry of Solomon, so soon as that stern prophetic Voice which had called Saul to the throne under a protest, and David to the throne in repentance, was heard in anger summoning Jeroboam to divide the kingdom.

5. Disruption where there can be no expansion, or dismemberment without growth, is fatal to a state. If England and America had prospered since 1783 it is because each found space for increase, and had vital energy to fill it. If the separation of east and west was but a step in the decline of the Roman empire, it was so because each portion was hemmed in by obstacles which it wanted vigour to surmount. The sources of life and strength begin to dry up; the state shrinks within itself, withers, and falls before some blast which once it might have braved.

The kingdom of Israel developed no new power. It was but a portion of David's kingdom deprived of many elements of strength. Its frontier was so open and as widely extended as before; but it wanted a capital for the seat of organised power. Its territory was as fertile and as tempting to the spoiler, but its people were less united and patriotic. A corrupt religion poisoned the source of national life. When less reverence attended on a new and unconsecrated king, and less respect was felt for an aristocracy reduced by the retirement of the Levites, the army which David found hard to control rose up unchecked in the exercise of its wilful strength; and thus eight houses, each ushered in by a revolution, occupied the throne in quick succession. Tyre ceased to be an ally when the alliance was no longer profitable to the merchant-city. Moab and Ammon yielded tribute only while under compulsion. A powerful neighbour, Damascus, sat armed at the gate of Israel; and, beyond Damascus, might be discerned the rising strength of the first great monarchy of the world.

These causes tended to increase the misfortune, and to accelerate the early end of the kingdom of Israel. It lasted 254 years, from B.C. 975 to B.C. 721, about two-thirds of the duration of its most compact neighbour Judah.

But it may be doubted whether the division into two kingdoms greatly shortened the independence of the Hebrew race, or interfered with the existence of the Hebrew monarchy. If among the purposes which, it is thought, may be traced in the establishment of David's monarchy, are the preservation of those purposes were the preservation of an agency adapted for the diffusion of Christianity in religion in the world, and the preparation of a due season, then it must be observed—first, that a bulwark providentially raised against the corrupting influence of idolatrous Tyre and Damascus, Israel kept back that contagion from Judah, and partly exhausted it before its arrival in the south; next, that the purity of Divine worship which were impaired by the excision of those tribes which were remote from the influence of the Temple, and by the concentration of priests and religious Israelites within the southern kingdom; and lastly, that the worshippers at Jerusalem the early decline and fall of Israel was a solemn and impressive spectacle of judgment,—the working out of the great problem of God's toleration of idolatry. This prepared the

heart of Judah for the revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah, softened them into repentance during the captivity, and strengthened them for their absolute renunciation of idolatry, when after seventy years they returned to Palestine, to teach the world that there is a spiritual bond more efficacious than the occupancy of a certain soil for keeping up national existence, and to become the channel through which God's greatest gift was conveyed to mankind. [CAPTIVITY.]

6. The detailed history of the kingdom of Israel will be found under the names of its nineteen kings. [See also EPHRAIM.] A summary view may be taken in four periods:—

(a.) B.C. 975-929. Jeroboam had not sufficient force of character in himself to make a lasting impression on his people. A king, but not a founder of a dynasty, he aimed at nothing beyond securing his present elevation. Without any ambition to share in the commerce of Tyre, or to compete with the growing power of Damascus, or even to complete the humiliation of the helpless monarch whom he had deprived of half a kingdom, Jeroboam acted entirely on a defensive policy. He attempted to give his subjects a centre which they wanted for their political allegiance, in Shechem or in Tirzah. He sought to change merely so much of their ritual as was inconsistent with his authority over them. But as soon as the golden calves were set up, the priests and Levites and many religious Israelites (2 Chr. xi. 16) left their country, and the disastrous emigration was not effectually checked even by the attempt of Baasha to build a fortress (2 Chr. xvi. 6) at Ramah. A new priesthood was introduced (1 K. xii. 31) absolutely dependent on the king (Am. vii. 13), not forming as under the Mosaic law a landed aristocracy, not respected by the people, and unable either to withstand the oppression or to strengthen the weakness of a king. A priesthood created and a ritual devised for secular purposes had no hold whatever on the conscience of the people. To meet their spiritual cravings a succession of prophets was raised up, great in their poverty, their purity, their austerity, their self-dependence, their moral influence, but imperfectly organised;—a rod to correct and check the civil government, not, as they might have been under happier circumstances, a staff to support it. The army soon learned its power to dictate to the isolated monarch and disunited people. Baasha in the midst of the army at Gibbethon slew the son and successor of Jeroboam; Zimri, a captain of chariots, slew the son and successor of Baasha; Omri, the captain of the host, was chosen to punish Zimri; and after a civil war of four years he prevailed over Tibni, the choice of half the people.

(b.) B.C. 929-884. For forty-five years Israel was governed by the house of Omri. That sagacious king pitched on the strong hill of Samaria as the site of his capital. Damascus, which in the days of Baasha had proved itself more than a match for Israel, now again assumed a threatening attitude. Edom and Moab showed a tendency to independence, or even aggression. Hence the princes of Omri's house cultivated an alliance with the contemporary kings of Judah, which was cemented by the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah, and marked by the community of names among the royal children. Ahab's Tyrian alliance strengthened him with the counsels of the masculine mind of Jezebel, but brought him no farther support. The entire rejection of the God of Abraham, under the

disguise of abandoning Jeroboam's unlawful symbolism, and adopting Baal as the god of a luxurious court and adverting populace, led to a reaction in the nation, to the moral triumph of the prophets in the person of Elijah, and to the extinction of the house of Ahab in obedience to the bidding of Elisha.

(c.) B.C. 884-772. Unparalleled triumphs, but deeper humiliation, awaited the kingdom of Israel under the dynasty of Jehu. The worship of Baal was abolished by one blow; but, so long as the kingdom lasted, the people never rose superior to the debasing form of religion established by Jeroboam. Hazael, the successor of the two Benhadads, the ablest king of Damascus, reduced Jehoahaz to the condition of a vassal, and triumphed for a time over both the disunited Hebrew kingdoms. Almost the first sign of the restoration of their strength was a war between them; and Jehoash, the grandson of Jehu, entered Jerusalem as the conqueror of Amaziah. Jehoash also turned the tide of war against the Syrians; and Jeroboam II., the most powerful of all the kings of Israel, captured Damascus, and recovered the whole ancient frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea. In the midst of his long and seemingly glorious reign the prophets Hosea and Amos uttered their warnings more clearly than any of their predecessors. The short-lived greatness expired with the last king of Jehu's line.

(d.) B.C. 772-721. Military violence, it would seem, broke off the hereditary succession after the obscure and probably convulsed reign of Zachariah. An unsuccessful usurper, Shallum, is followed by the cruel Menahem, who, being unable to make head against the first attack of Assyria under Pul, became the agent of that monarch for the oppressive taxation of his subjects. Yet his power at home was sufficient to insure for his son and successor Pekahiah a ten years' reign, cut short by a bold usurper, Pekah. Abandoning the northern and transjordanic regions to the encroaching power of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser, he was very near subjugating Judah, with the help of Damascus, now the coequal ally of Israel. But Assyria interposing summarily put an end to the independence of Damascus, and perhaps was the indirect cause of the assassination of the baffled Pekah. The irrelative Hoshea, the next and last usurper, became tributary to his invader, Salmanser, betrayed the Assyrian to the rival monarchy of Egypt, and was punished by the loss of his liberty, and by the capture, after a three years' siege, of his strong capital, Samaria. Some gleanings of the ten tribes yet remained in the land after so many years of religious decline, moral debasement, national degradation, anarchy, bloodshed, and deportation. Even these were gathered up by the conqueror and carried to Assyria, never again, as a distinct people, to occupy their portion of that goodly and pleasant land which their forefathers won under Joshua from the heathen.

7. The following table shows at one view the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah. Columns 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10 are taken from the Bible. Columns 4, 5, 6 are the computations of eminent modern chronologists: column 4 being the scheme adopted in the margin of the English Version, which is founded on the calculations of Archbishop Ussher; column 5 being the computation of Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici* iii. App. §5); and column 6 being the computation of Winer (*Realwörterbuch*).

Year of preceding King of Judah.	Duration of Reign.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.	Commencement of Reign.			KINGS OF JUDAH.	Duration of Reign.	Year of preceding King of Israel.	Queen Mother in Judah.
			A. V.	Clinton.	Winer.				
	22	Jeroboam . . .	975	976	975	Rehoboam . . .	17		
			958	959	957	Abijah . . .	3	18th	Naamah.
			955	956	955	Asa . . .	41	20th	Michajah (?). Manshah (?).
2nd . . .	2	Nadab . . .	954	955	954				
3rd . . .	24	Baasha . . .	953	954	953				
26th . . .	2	Elah . . .	930	930	930				
27th . . .	0	Zimri . . .	929	930	928				
	12	Omri . . .	929	930	928				
38th . . .	22	Ahab . . .	918	919	918				
			914	915	914	Jehoshaphat . . .	25	4th	Azubah.
17th . . .	2	Ahaziah . . .	898	896	897				
13th . . .	12	Jehoram . . .	896	895	896				
			892	891	889	Jehoram . . .	8	5th	
			885	884	885	Ahaziah . . .	1	12th	Athaliah.
	28	Jehu . . .	884	883	884	Athaliah . . .	6		
			878	877	878	Jehoash . . .	40	7th	Zibiah.
23rd . . .	17	Jehoahaz . . .	856	855	856				
37th . . .	16	Jehoash . . .	841	839	840				
			839	837	838	Amaziah . . .	29	2nd	Jehoadab.
15th . . .	41	Jeroboam II. . .	825	823	825				
			810	808	809	Uzziah or Azariah.	52	27th	Jecholiah.
	11	Interregnum.							
38th . . .	0	Zachariah . . .	773	771	772				
	0	Shallum . . .	772	770	771				
39th . . .	10	Menahem . . .	772	770	771				
50th . . .	2	Pekahiah . . .	761	759	760				
52nd . . .	20	Pekah . . .	759	757	758				
			758	756	758	Jotham . . .	16	2nd	Jerusha.
			742	741	741	Ahaz . . .	16	17th	
	9	2nd Interregnum.							
12th . . .	9	Hoshea . . .	730	730	729				
			726	726	725	Hezekiah . . .	29	3rd	Abl.
			721	721	721				
6th . . .		Samaria taken	698	697	696	Manasseh . . .	55		Hephzibah. Meshullemeth
			643	642	641	Amon . . .	2		Jedidah.
			641	640	639	Josiah . . .	31		Hamutal.
			610	609	609	Jehoahaz . . .	0		Zebudah.
			610	609	609	Jehoiachim . . .	11		Nehushta.
			599	598	598	Jehoiachin or Coniah.	0		
			599	598	598	Zedekiah . . .	11		Hamutal.
			588	587	586	Jerusalem destroyed.			

The numerous dates given in the Bible as the limits of the duration of the king's reigns act as a continued check on each other. The apparent discrepancies between them have been unduly exaggerated by some writers. To meet such difficulties various hypotheses have been put forward;—that an interregnum occurred; that two kings (father and son) reigned conjointly; that certain reigns were dated not from their real commencement, but from some arbitrary period in that Jewish year in which they commenced; that the Hebrew copyists have transcribed the numbers incorrectly, either by accident or design; that the original writers have made mistakes in their reckoning. All these are mere suppositions, and even the most probable of them must not be insisted on as if it were a historical fact. But in truth most of the discrepancies may be accounted for by the simple fact that the Hebrew annalists reckon in round numbers, never specifying the months in addition to the years of the duration of a king's reign. Consequently some of these writers seem to set down a fragment of a year as an entire year, and others omit such frag-

ments altogether. Hence in computing the date of the commencement of each reign, without attributing any error to the writer or transcribers, it is necessary to allow for a possible mistake amounting to something less than two years in our interpretation of the indefinite phraseology of the Hebrew text which cannot thus be reconciled. But there are a few statements in the Second Book of Kings three statements as to the beginning of the reign of Jehoram king of Israel, which in the view of some writers involve a great error, and not a mere numerical one. His accession is dated (1) in the second year of Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. i. 17); (2) in the fifth year before Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. viii. 16); (3) in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (2 K. iii. 1). But these statements may be reconciled by the fact that Jehoram king of Judah had two accessions which are recorded in Scripture, and by the probable supposition of Archbishop Ussher that he had a third and earlier accession which is not recorded. These three accessions are, (1) when Jehoshaphat left his kingdom

to go to the battle of Ramoth-gilead, in his 17th year; (2) when Jehoshaphat (2 K. viii. 18) either retired from the administration of affairs, or made his son joint-king, in his 23rd year; (3) when Jehoshaphat died, in his 25th year. So that, if the supposition of Ussher be allowed, the accession of Jehoram king of Israel in Jehoshaphat's 18th year synchronized with (1) the second year of the first accession, and (2) the fifth year before the second accession of Jehoram king of Judah.

(b.) The date of the beginning of Uzziah's reign (2 K. xv. 1) in the 27th year of Jeroboam II. cannot be reconciled with the statement that Uzziah's father, Amaziah, whose whole reign was 29 years only, came to the throne in the second year of Joash (2 K. xiv. 1), and so reigned 14 years contemporaneously with Joash and 27 with Jeroboam. Ussher and others suggest a reconciliation of these statements by the supposition that Jeroboam's reign had two commencements, the first not mentioned in Scripture, on his association with his father Joash, B.C. 837. But Keil, after Capellus and Grotius, supposes that יז is an error of the Hebrew copyists for יט, and that instead of 27th of Jeroboam we ought to read 15th.

(c.) The statements that Jeroboam II. reigned 41 years (2 K. xiv. 23) after the 15th year of Amaziah, who reigned 29 years, and that Jeroboam's son Zachariah came to the throne in the 38th year of Uzziah (2 K. xv. 8), cannot be reconciled without supposing that there was an interregnum of 11 years between Jeroboam and his son Zachariah. And almost all chronologists accept this as a fact, although it is not mentioned in the Bible. Some chronologists, who regard an interregnum as intrinsically improbable after the prosperous reign of Jeroboam, prefer the supposition that the number 41 in 2 K. xiv. 23 ought to be changed to 51, and that the number 27 in xv. 1 should be changed to 14, and that a few other corresponding alterations should be made.

(d.) In order to bring down the date of Pekah's murder to the date of Hoshea's accession, some chronologists propose to read 29 years for 20, in 2 K. xv. 27. Others prefer to let the dates stand as at present in the text, and suppose that an interregnum, not expressly mentioned in the Bible, occurred between those two usurpers. The words of Isaiah (ix. 20, 21) seem to indicate a time of anarchy in Israel.

The Chronology of the Kings has been minutely investigated by Abp. Ussher, *Chronologia Sacra, Pars Posterior, De Annis Regum*, Works, xii. 95-144; by Lightfoot, *Order of the Texts of the O. T.*, Works, i. 77-130; by Hales, *New Analysis of Chronology*, ii. 372-447; by Clinton, *l. c.*; and by H. Browne, *Ordo Saeculorum*. [W. T. B.]

**ISSACHAR** (יִשָּׂכָר, *i. e.* Issacar—such is the invariable spelling of the name in the Hebrew, the Samaritan Codex and Version, the Targums of Onkelos and Pseudojonathan, but the Masorets have pointed it so as to supersede the second S, יִשָּׂכָר, Issa[<sup>s</sup>]car: 'Ισαάχαρ; Rec. Text of N. T. 'Ισααχαρ, but Cod. C. 'Ισαχαρ; Joseph. 'Ισαάχαρις: Issachar), the ninth son of Jacob and the fifth of Leah; the firstborn to Leah after the interval which

occurred in the births of her children (Gen. xxx. 17 comp. xxix. 35). As is the case with each of the sons the name is recorded as bestowed on account of a circumstance connected with the birth. But, as may be also noticed in more than one of the others, two explanations seem to be combined in the narrative, which even then is not in exact accordance with the requirements of the name. "God hath given me my hire (שָׂכָר, *sácar*) . . . and she called his name Issáchar," is the record; but in verse 18 that "hire" is for the surrender of her maid to her husband—while in ver. 14-17 it is for the discovery and bestowal of the mandrakes. Besides, as indicated above, the name in its original form—Isascar—rebels against this interpretation, an interpretation which to be consistent requires the form subsequently imposed on the word, Is-sachar.\* The allusion is not again brought forward as it is with Dan, Asher, &c., in the blessings of Jacob and Moses. In the former only it is perhaps allowable to discern a faint echo of the sound of "Issachar" in the word *shicmo*—"shoulder" (Gen. xlix. 15).

Of Issachar the individual we know nothing. In Genesis he is not mentioned after his birth, and the few verses in Chronicles devoted to the tribe contain merely a brief list of its chief men and heroes in the reign of David (1 Chr. vii. 1-5).

At the descent into Egypt four sons are ascribed to him, who founded the four chief families of the tribe (Gen. xlii. 13; Num. xxvi. 23, 25; 1 Chr. vii. 1). Issachar's place during the journey to Canaan was on the east of the Tabernacle with his brothers Judah and Zebulun (Num. ii. 5), the group moving foremost in the march (x. 15), and having a common standard which, according to the Rabbinical tradition, was of the three colours of sardine, topaz, and carbuncle, inscribed with the names of the three tribes, and bearing the figure of a lion's whelp (see Targum Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 3). At this time the captain of the tribe was Nethaneel ben-Zuar (Num. i. 8, ii. 5, vii. 18, x. 15). He was succeeded by Igal ben-Joseph, who went as representative of his tribe among the spies (xiii. 7), and he again by Paltiel ben-Azzan, who assisted Joshua in apportioning the land of Canaan (xxxiv. 26). Issachar was one of the six tribes who were to stand on Mount Gerizim during the ceremony of blessing and cursing (Deut. xxvii. 12). He was still in company with Judah, Zebulun being opposite on Ebal. The number of the fighting men of Issachar when taken in the census at Sinai was 54,400. During the journey they seem to have steadily increased, and after the mortality at Peor they amounted to 64,300, being inferior to none but Judah and Dan—to the latter by 100 souls only. The numbers given in 1 Chr. vii. 2, 4, 5, probably the census of Joab, amount in all to 145,600.

The Promised Land once reached, the connexion between Issachar and Judah seems to have closed, to be renewed only on two brief occasions, which will be noticed in their turn. The intimate relation with Zebulun was however maintained. The two brother-tribes had their portions close together, and more than once they are mentioned in company. The allotment of Issachar lay above that of

\* The words occur again almost identically in 2 Chr. xv. 7, and Jer. xxxi. 16: יִשָּׂכָר = "there is a reward for," A. V. "shall be rewarded."

An expansion of the story of the mandrakes, with

curious details, will be found in the *Testamentum Isaachar*, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* 620-623. They were ultimately deposited "in the house of the Lord," whatever that expression may mean.

Manasseh. The specification of its boundaries and contents as contained in Josh. ix. 17-23. But to the towns there named must be added Daberath, given in the catalogue of Levitical cities (xxi. 28: Jarmuth here is probably the Remeth of ix. 21), and five others—Beth-shean, Ibleam, En-dor, Taanach, and Megiddo. These last, though the property of Manasseh, remained within the limits of Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27), and they assist us materially in determining his boundary. In the words of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22), "it extended in length from Carmel to the Jordan, in breadth to Mount Tabor." In fact it exactly consisted of the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel. The south boundary we can trace by En-gannim, the modern *Jenba*, on the heights which form the southern enclosure to the Plain, and then further westward by Taanach and Megiddo, the authentic fragments of which still stand on the same heights as they trend away to the hump of Carmel. On the north the territory also ceased with the plain, which is there bounded by Tabor, the outpost of the hills of Zebulun. East of Tabor the hill-country continued so as to screen the tribe from the Sea of Galilee, but a continuous tract of level on the S.E. led to Bethshean and the upper part of the Jordan valley. West of Tabor again, a little to the south, is Chesulloth, the modern *Ihsal*, close to the traditional "Mount of Precipitation;" and over this the boundary probably ran in a slanting course till it joined Mount Carmel, where the Kishon (Josh. ix. 20) worked its way below the eastern bluff of that mountain—and thus completed the triangle at its western apex. Nazareth lies among the hills, a few miles north of the so-called Mount of Precipitation, and therefore escaped being in Issachar. Almost exactly in the centre of this plain stood Jezreel, on a low swell, attended on the one hand by the eminence of Mount Gilboa, on the other by that now called *Ed Duhy*, or "little Hermon," the latter having Shunem, Nain, and Endor on its slopes, names which recall some of the most interesting and important events in the history of Israel.

This territory was, as it still is, among the richest land in Palestine. Westward was the famous plain which derived its name, the "seed-plot of God"—such is the signification of Jezreel—from its fertility, and the very weeds of which at this day testify to its enormous powers of production (Stanley, *S. & P.* 348). [ESDRAELON; JEZREEL.] On the north is Tabor, which even under the burning sun of that climate is said to retain the glades and dells of an English wood (*ibid.* 350). On the east, behind Jezreel, is the opening which conducts to the plain of the Jordan—to that Beth-shean which was proverbially among the rabbis the gate of Paradise for its fruitfulness. It is this aspect of the territory of Issachar which appears to be alluded to in the Blessing of Jacob. The image of the "strong-boned he-ass" (חֲמֹר נָרָם)—the large animal used for burdens and field-work, not the lighter and swifter she-ass for riding—"couching

<sup>b</sup> The word here rendered "hedge-rows" is one which only occurs in Judg. v. 16. The sense there is evidently similar to that in this passage. But as to what that sense is all the authorities differ. See Gesenius, Ben Zev, &c. The rendering given seems to be nearer the real *כִּנְרָא* than any.

\* לָמוֹס עֵבֶר. By the LXX. rendered ἀγρὸν γεωργός. Comp. their similar rendering of עֵבֶרָה (A. V. "servants," and "husbandry") in Gen. xxvi. 14.

down between the two hedge-rows,"<sup>b</sup> chewing the cud or stolid ease and quiet—is very applicable, not only to the tendencies and habits, but to the very size and air of a rural agrarian people, while the sequel of the verse is no less suggestive of the certain result of such tendencies when unrelieved by any higher aspirations:—"He saw that his back to bear and became a slave to tribute"—the tribute imposed on him by the various marauding tribes who were attracted to his territory by the richness of the crops. The Blessing of Moses completes the picture. He is not only "in tents"—in nomad or semi-nomad life—but "rejoicing" in them, and it is perhaps not straining a point to observe that he has by this time begun to lose his individuality. He and Zebulun are mentioned together as having part possession in the holy mountain of Tabor, which was on the frontier line of each (Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19). We pass from this to the time of Deborah: the chief struggle in the great victory over Sisera took place on the territory of Issachar, "by Taanach at the waters of Megiddo" (Judg. v. 19); but the allusion to the tribe in the song of triumph is of the most cursory nature, not consistent with its having taken any prominent part in the action.

One among the Judges of Israel was from Issachar—TOLA (Judg. x. 1)—but beyond length of his sway we have only the fact recorded that he resided out of the limits of his own tribe—at Shimir in Mount Ephraim. By Josephus he is estimated entirely (see *Ant.* v. 7, §6). The census of the tribe taken in the reign of David has already been alluded to. It is contained in 1 Chr. vii. 1-5, and an expression occurs in it which testifies to the nomadic tendencies above noticed. Out of the whole number of the tribe no less than 36,000 were marauding mercenary troops—"bands" (בָּנָיִם)

—a term applied to no other tribe in this enumeration, though elsewhere to Gad, and uniformly to the irregular bodies of the Bedouin nations round Israel.<sup>d</sup> This was probably at the close of David's reign. Thirty years before, when two hundred of the head men of the tribe had gone to Hebron to assist in making David king over the entire realm, different qualifications are noted in them—they "had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do . . . and all their brethren were at their commandment." To what this "understanding of the times" was we have no clue. In the later Jewish interpreters it is explained as skill in ascertaining the periods of the sun and moon, the intercalation of months, and dates of solemn feasts, and the interpretation of the signs of the heavens (Targum, *ad loc.*; Jerome, *Quaest. Heb.*); Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 2, §2) gives it as "knowing the things that were to happen;" and he adds that the armed men who came with these leaders were 20,000. One of the wise men of Issachar, according to an old Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb.* on 2 Chr. xvii. 16), was Amasa

<sup>d</sup> The word "bands," which is commonly employed in the A. V. to render *Gedoodim*, as above, is unfortunately used in 1 Chr. xii. 23 for a very different term, by which the orderly assembly of the fighting men of the tribes is denoted when they visited Hebron to make David king. This term is בָּנָיִם = "bands." We may almost suspect a mere misprint, especially as the Vulgate has *principes*.

son of Zichri, who with 200,000 men offered himself to Jehovah in the service of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 16): but this is very questionable, as the movement appears to have been confined to Judah and Benjamin. The ruler of the tribe at this time was Omri, of the great family of Michael (1 Chr. xxvii. 18; comp. vii. 3). May he not have been the forefather of the king of Israel of the same name—the founder of the “house of Omri” and of the “house of Ahab,” the builder of Samaria, possibly on the same hill of Shamir on which the Issacharite judge, Tola, had formerly held his court? But whether this was so or not at any rate one dynasty of the Israelite kings was Issacharite. BAASHA, the son of Abijah, of the house of Issachar, a member of the army with which Nadab and all Israel were besieging Gibbethon, apparently not of any standing in the tribe (comp. 1 K. xvi. 2), slew the king, and himself mounted the throne (1 K. xv. 27, &c.). He was evidently a fierce and warlike man (xvi. 29; 1 Chr. xvi. 1), and an idolater like Jeroboam. The Issacharite dynasty lasted during the 24 years of his reign and the 2 of his son Elah. At the end of that time it was wrested from him by the same means that his father had acquired it, and Zimri, the new king, commenced his reign by a massacre of the whole kindred and connexions of Baasha—he left him “not even so much as a dog” (xvi. 11).

One more notice of Issachar remains to be added to the meagre information already collected. It is fortunately a favourable one. There may be no truth in the tradition just quoted that the tribe was in any way connected with the reforms of Jehoshaphat, but we are fortunately certain that, distant as Jerzeel was from Jerusalem, they took part in the passover with which Hezekiah sanctified the opening of his reign. On that memorable occasion a multitude of the people from the northern tribes, and amongst them from Issachar, although so long estranged from the worship of Jehovah as to have forgotten how to make the necessary purifications, yet by the enlightened wisdom of Hezekiah were allowed to keep the feast; and they did keep it seven days with great gladness—with such tumultuous joy as had not been known since the time of Solomon, when the whole land was one. Nor did they separate till the occasion had been signalled by an immense destruction of idolatrous altars and symbols, “in Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim and Manasseh,” up to the very confines of Issachar’s own land—and then “all the children of Israel returned every man to his possession into their own cities” (2 Chr. xxxi. 1). It is a satisfactory farewell to take of the tribe. Within five years from this date Shalmaneser king of Assyria had invaded the north of Palestine, and after three years’ siege had taken Samaria, and with the rest of Israel had carried Issachar away to his distant dominions. There we must be content to leave them until, with the rest of their brethren of all the tribes of the children of Israel (Dan only excepted), the twelve thousand of the tribe of Issachar shall be sealed in their foreheads (Rev. vii. 7).

2. (יִשְׂשָׁכָר: Ἰσάχαρ). A Korhite Levite, one of the doorkeepers (A. V. “porters”) of the house of Jehovah, seventh son of OBED-EDOM (1 Chr. xvi. 5).

\* The expressions are, יָבַד מְבִשְׂרוֹ, or יָבַד alone, יָבַד בְּשָׂרוֹ אֶת זִבְנוֹ; and those of the LXX.,

ISSH'AH (יִשְׁיָא). 1. (Vat. omits; Alex. 'Ieoias: Jesias). A descendant of Moses by his younger son Eliezer; the head of the numerous family of Rehahiah, in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 21; comp. xxiii. 17, xxvi. 25). His name is elsewhere given as JESHAI'AH.

2. (Ἰσά; Alex. 'Asia: Jesia). A Levite of the house of Kohath and family of Uzziel: named in the list of the tribe in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 25).

ISSUE RUNNING. The texts Lev. xv. 2, 3, xxii. 4, Num. v. 2 (and 2 Sam. iii. 29, where the malady<sup>a</sup> is invoked as a curse), are probably to be interpreted of gonorrhoea. In Lev. xv. 3 a distinction is introduced, which merely means that the cessation of the actual flux does not constitute ceremonial cleanness, but that the patient must bide the legal time, 7 days (ver. 13), and perform the prescribed purifications and sacrifice (ver. 14). See, however, Surenhusius's preface to the treatise *Zabim* of the Mishna, where another interpretation is given. As regards the specific varieties of this malady, it is generally asserted that its most severe form (*gon. virulenta*) is modern, having first appeared in the 15th century. Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, ii. 200) states that he observed that this disorder was prevalent in Persia, but that its effects were far less severe than in western climates. If this be true, it would go some way to explain the alleged absence of the *gon. virul.* from ancient nosology, which found its field of observation in the East, Greece, &c.; and to confirm the supposition that the milder form only was the subject of Mosaic legislation. But, beyond this, it is probable that diseases may appear, run their course, and disappear, and, for want of an accurate observation of their symptoms, leave no trace behind them. The “bed,” “seat,” &c. (Lev. xv. 5, 6, &c.), are not to be supposed regarded by that law as contagious, but the defilement extended to them merely to give greater prominence to the ceremonial strictness with which the case was ruled. In the woman's “issue” (ver. 19) the ordinary menstruation seems alone intended, supposed prolonged (ver. 25) to a morbid extent. The scriptural handling of the subject not dealing, as in the case of leprosy, in symptoms, it seems gratuitous to detail them here: those who desire such knowledge will find them in any compendium of therapeutics. The refl. are Joseph. *de B. J.* v. 5, 6, vi. 9, 3; Mishna, *Chelim*. i. 3, 8; Maimon. *ad Zabim*. ii. 2: whence we learn that persons thus affected might not ascend the Temple mount, nor share in any religious celebration, nor even enter Jerusalem. See also Michaelis, *Laus of Moses*, iv. 282. [H. H.]

ISTALC'URUS. In 1 Esd. viii. 40, the “son of Istalcurus” (ὁ τοῦ Ἰσταλκούρου) is substituted for “and Zabbud” of the corresponding list in Ezra (viii. 14). The *Keri* has Ziccur instead of Zabbud, and of this there is perhaps some trace in Istalcurus.

IS'UAH (יִשְׂוָה), i. e. Ishvah: Σουά, Alex. 'Ieouá: Jesua), second son of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30). Elsewhere in the A. V. his name, though the same in Hebrew, appears as ISHUAH.

IS'UI (יִשְׂוִי), i. e. Ishvi: Vat. and Alex. 'Ieoiá: Jessui), third son of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17); founder

ῥύσις ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, the verb γορορρῆναι, or the adj. γορορρῆς, &c.



of a family called after him, though in the A. V. appearing as THE JESUITES (Num. xxvi. 44). Elsewhere the name also appears as ISHUAL.

**ITALY** (Ἰταλία). This word is used in the N. T. in the usual sense of the period, i. e. in its true geographical sense, as denoting the whole natural peninsula between the Alps and the Straits of Messina. For the progress of the history of the word, first as applied to the extreme south of the peninsula, then as extended northwards to the right bank of the Po, see the *Dict. of Geogr.*, vol. ii. pp. 75, 76. From the time of the close of the Republic it was employed as we employ it now. In the N. T. it occurs three, or indeed, more correctly speaking, four times. In Acts x. 1, the Italian cohort at Caesarea (ἡ σκείρα ἡ καλουμένη Ἰταλική, A. V. "Italian band"), consisting, as it doubtless did, of men recruited in Italy, illustrates the military relations of the imperial peninsula with the provinces. [ARMY.] In Acts xviii. 2, where we are told of the expulsion of Aquila and Priscilla with their compatriots "from Italy," we are reminded of the large Jewish population which many authorities show that it contained. Acts xxvii. 1, where the beginning of St. Paul's voyage "to Italy" is mentioned, and the whole subsequent narrative, illustrate the trade which subsisted between the peninsula and other parts of the Mediterranean. And the words in Heb. xiii. 24, "They of Italy (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας) salute you," whatever they may prove for or against this being the region in which the letter was written (and the matter has been strongly argued both ways), are interesting as a specimen of the progress of Christianity in the west. [J. S. H.]

**ITHAI** (Ἰθαι; Aipl; Ἰθου; *Ethai*), a Benjamite, son of Ribai of Gibeah, one of the heroes of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 31). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is given as ITTAL. But Kennicott decides that the form Ithai is the original (*Dissertation*, ad loc.).

**ITHAMAR** (Ἰθამαρ; Ἰθαμάρ; *Ithamar*), the youngest son of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23). After the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. x. 1), Eleazar and Ithamar, having been admonished to show no mark of sorrow for their brothers' loss, were appointed to succeed to their places in the priestly office, as they had left no children (Ex. xxviii. 1, 40, 43; Num. iii. 3, 4; 1 Chr. xxiv. 2). In the distribution of services belonging to the Tabernacle and its transport on the march of the Israelites, the Gershonites had charge of the curtains and hangings, and the Merarites of the pillars, cords, and boards, and both of these departments were placed under the superintendence of Ithamar (Ex. xxxviii. 21; Num. iv. 21-33). These services were continued under the Temple system, so far as was consistent with its stationary character, but instead of being appropriated to families, they were divided by lot; the first lot being taken by the family of Eleazar, whose descendants were more numerous than those of Ithamar (1 Chr. xxiv. 4, 6). The high-priesthood passed into the family of Ithamar in the person of Eli, but for what reason we are not informed. It reverted into its original line in the person of Zadok, in consequence of Abiathar's participation in the rebellion of Adonijah. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy delivered to Samuel against Eli (1 Sam. ii. 31-35; 1 K. ii. 26, 27, 35; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1. §3).

## ITHRITE, THE

A descendant of Ithamar, by name Daziel, mentioned as returning from captivity in the time of Artaxerxes (Ezr. viii. 2).

**ITHIEL** (Ἰθιήλ; Ἰθιήλ; *Ethel*). L. A. Benjamite, son of Jesaiah (Neh. xi. 7).

2. (LXX. omits; Vul. translates, *cum quo est Deus*). One of two persons—Ithiel and Ucal—to whom Agur ben-Jakoh delivered his discourse (Prov. xxx. 1). [UCAL.]

**ITHMAH** (Ἰθμα; Ἰθμαδ; Alex. *Ithmad* *Jethma*), a Moabite, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the enlarged list of Chronicles (1 Chr. xi. 46).

**ITHNAN** (Ἰθναν; in both MSS. of the LXX. the name is corrupted by being attached to that next it: Ἀσориαναν, Alex. Ἰθνα(φ); *Jethnan*), one of the towns in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 23), named with Kedesh and Telet (comp. 1 Sam. xv. 4), and therefore probably on the borders of the desert, if not actually in the desert itself. No trace of its existence has yet been discovered—nor does it appear to have been known to Jerome. The village *Idna*, which recalls the name, is between Hebron and Beit-Jibrin, and therefore much too far north. [G.]

**ITHRA** (Ἰθρα; Ἰθέρ; Ἰθόρ; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, §1, *Ithápros*; *Jetra*), an Israelite (2 Sam. xvii. 25) or Ishmaelite (1 Chr. ii. 17, "Jether the Ishmaelite"); the father of Amasa by Abigail, David's sister. He was thus brother-in-law to David and uncle to Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, the three "sons of Zeruiah." There is no absolute means of settling which of these—Israelite or Ishmaelite—is correct; but there can be little doubt that the latter is so; the fact of the admixture of Ishmaelite blood in David's family being a fit subject for notice in the genealogies, whereas Ithra's being an Israelite would call for no remark. [JETHER.]

**ITHRAN** (Ἰθραν; Ἰθράν; Ἰθράμ; *Jethran*, *Jethran*), a son of Dishon, a Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 26; 1 Chr. i. 41); and probably a patriarch ("Duke," A. V.) of a tribe of the Horites, as was his father (Gen. xxxvi. 30); for the latter was evidently a son of Seir (vers. 21 and 30), and not a son of Anah (ver. 25).

2. (Ἰθρά; *Jethran*), a descendant of Ashur, in the genealogy contained in 1 Chr. vii. 30-40. [E. S. P.]

**ITHREAM** (Ἰθρεμ; Ἰθρεμ; Ἰθρεμ; Alex. *Eiθρεμ*, Ἰθράμ; Joseph. *Γεθραεμ*; *Jethraem*), a son of David, born to him in Hebron, and distinctly specified as the sixth, and as the child of "Eglah, David's wife" (2 Sam. iii. 3; 1 Chr. iii. 3). In the ancient Jewish traditions Eglah is said to have been Michal, and to have died in giving birth to Ithream.

**ITHRITE, THE** (Ἰθριτ; Ἰθριτ; Ἰθριτ; Alex. *Eθριτ*, Ἰθριτ; Ἰθριτ; *Jethrites*, *Jethraeus*), the native of a place, Ἰθριτ; a descendant of a man, called Ither (according to the Hebrew mode of forming derivatives); the designation of two of the members of David's guard, Ira and Gareb (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Chr. xi. 40). The Ithrite (A. V. "Ithrites") is mentioned in 1 Chr. ii. 53 as among the "families of Kirjath-jarin;" but this does not give us much clue to

the derivation of the term, except that it fixes it as belonging to Judah. The two Ithrite heroes of David's guard may have come from JATTIR, in the mountains of Judah, one of the places which were the "haunt" of David and his men in their freebooting wanderings, and where he had "friends" (1 Sam. xxx. 27; comp. 31). Ira has been supposed to be identical with "Ira the Jairite," David's priest (2 Sam. xx. 26)—the Syriac version reading "from Jatur" in that place. But nothing more than conjecture can be arrived at on the point.

ITTAH-KAZIN (יְתָה קָזִין: ἐπὶ πύλῳ Καρσίου; Alex. . . . Καρσίμ: *Thacasin*), one of the landmarks of the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 13), named next to Gath-hepher. Like that place (A. V. "Gittah-hepher") the name is probably Eth-kazin, with the Hebrew particle of motion (*ah*) added—i. e. "to Eth-kazin." Taken as Hebrew the name bears the interpretation "time, or people, of a judge" (Ges. *Theo.* 1083 b). It has not been identified.

ITTAI (יְתָה). 1. (Ἐθὶ, and so Josephus; Alex. Ἐθθαί: *Ethai*) "ITTAI THE GITTITE," i. e. the native of Gath, a Philistine in the army of king David. He appears only during the revolution of Absalom. We first discern him on the morning of David's flight, while the king was standing under the olive-tree below the city, watching the army and the people defile past him. [See DAVID, p. 412a.] Last in the procession came the 600 heroes who had formed David's band during his wanderings in Judah, and had been with him at Gath (2 Sam. xv. 18; comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xxvii. 2, xxx. 9, 10; and see Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, §2). Amongst these, apparently commanding them, was Ittai the Gittite (ver. 19). He caught the eye of the king, who at once addressed him and besought him as "a stranger and an exile," and as one who had but very recently joined his service, not to attach himself to a doubtful cause, but to return "with his brethren" and abide with the king\* (19, 20). But Ittai is firm; he is the king's slave (עַבְדִּי, A. V. "servant"), and wherever his master goes he will go. Accordingly he is allowed by David to proceed, and he passes over the Kedron with the king (xv. 22, LXX.), with all his men, and "all the little ones that were with him." These "little ones" (בְּנֵי הַטַּיִם, "all the children") must have been the families of the band, their "households" (1 Sam. xxvii. 3). They accompanied them during their wanderings in Judah, often in great risk (1 Sam. xxx. 6), and they were not likely to leave them behind in this fresh commencement of their wandering life.

When the army was numbered and organised by David at Mahanaim, Ittai again appears, now in command of a third part of the force, and (for the time at least) enjoying equal rank with Joab and Abishai (2 Sam. xvii. 2, 5, 12). But here, on the eve of the great battle, we take leave of this valiant and faithful stranger; his conduct in the fight and his subsequent fate are alike unknown to us. Nor is he mentioned in the lists of David's captains and of the heroes of his body-guard (see 2 Sam. xxiii.; 1 Chr. xi.), lists which are possibly of a date previous to Ittai's arrival in Jerusalem.

\* The meaning of this is doubtful. "The king" may be Absalom, or it may be Ittai's former king, Achish. By the LXX. the words are omitted.

An interesting tradition is related by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* on 1 Chr. xx. 2). "David took the crown off the head of the image of Milcom (A. V. 'their king'). But by the law it was forbidden to any Israelite to touch either gold or silver of an idol. Wherefore they say that Ittai the Gittite, who had come to David from the Philistines, was the man who snatched the crown from the head of Milcom; for it was lawful for a Hebrew to take it from the hand of a man, though not from the head of the idol." The main difficulty to the reception of this legend lies in the fact that if Ittai was engaged in the Ammonite war, which happened several years before Absalom's revolt, the expression of David (2 Sam. xv. 20), "thou camest but yesterday" loses its force. However these words may be merely a strong metaphor.

From the expression "thy brethren" (xv. 20) we may infer that there were other Philistines besides Ittai in the six hundred; but this is uncertain. Ittai was not exclusively a Philistine name, nor does "Gittite"—as in the case of Obed-edom, who was a Levite—necessarily imply Philistine parentage. Still David's words, "stranger and exile," seem to show that he was not an Israelite.

2. (Ἐσθαί; *Ithai*). Son of Ribai, from Gibeah of Benjamin; one of the thirty heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 29). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. xi. the name is given as ITHAL. [G.]

ITURAEA (Ἰτουραία), a small province on the north-western border of Palestine, lying along the base of Mount Hermon. In Luke iii. 1 it is stated that Philip was "tetrarch of Ituraea and the region of Trachonitis;" and this is the only mention in Scripture of the district under its Greek name. But the country became historic long before the rule of the Herodian family or the advent of the Greeks. JETUR (יְטוּר) was a son of Ishmael, and he gave his name, like the rest of his brethren, to the little province he colonised (Gen. xxv. 15, 16). In after years, when the Israelites had settled in Canaan, a war broke out between the half-tribe of Manasseh and the Hagurites (or Ishmaelites), Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab. The latter were conquered, and the children of Manasseh "dwelt in the land, and they increased from Bashan unto Baal-Hermon." They already possessed the whole of Bashan, including Gaulanitis and Trachonitis; and now they conquered and colonised the little province of Jetur, which lay between Bashan and Mount Hermon (1 Chr. v. 19-23). Subsequent history shows that the Ishmaelites were neither annihilated nor entirely dispossessed, for in the second century B.C., Aristobulus, king of the Jews, reconquered the province, then called by its Greek name Ituraea, and gave the inhabitants their choice of Judaism or banishment (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 11, §3). While some submitted, many retired to their own rocky fastnesses, and to the defiles of Hermon adjoining. Strabo says that in his day the mountainous regions in the kingdom of Chalcis were inhabited partly by Ituraeans, whom he describes as *κακοῦργοι πάντες* (xvi. 518, 520). Other early writers represent them as skilful archers and daring plunderers (Cic. *Phil.* 2. 44; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 448; Lucan. *Phar.* vii. 230). Ituraea, with the adjoining provinces, fell into the hands of a chief called Zenodorus; but, about B.C. 20, they were taken from him by the Roman emperor, and

given to Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, §1), who bequeathed them to his son Philip (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §1; Luke iii. 1; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, §3).

The passages above referred to point clearly to the position of Ituraea, and show, notwithstanding the arguments of Ireland and others (Ireland, p. 106; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* s. v. *Ituraea*), that it was distinct from Auranitis. Pliny rightly places it north of Bashan and near Damascus (v. 23); and J. de Vitry describes it as adjoining Trachonitis, and lying along the base of Libanus between Tiberias and Damascus (*Gesta Dei*, p. 1074; comp. pp. 771, 1003). At the place indicated is situated the modern province of *Jedûr* (جيدور), which is just the Arabic form of the Hebrew *Jetur* (יטור). It is bounded on the east by Trachonitis, on the south by Gaulanitis, on the west by Hermon, and on the north by the plain of Damascus. It is table-land with an undulating surface, and has little conical and cup-shaped hills at intervals. The southern section of it has a rich soil, well watered by numerous springs, and streams from Hermon. The greater part of the northern section is entirely different. The surface of the ground is covered with jagged rocks; in some places heaped up in huge piles, in others sunk into deep pits; at one place smooth and naked, at another seamed with yawning chasms in whose rugged edges rank grass and weeds spring up. The rock is all basalt, and the formation similar to that of the Lejah. [ARGOB.] The molten lava seems to have issued from the earth through innumerable pores, to have spread over the plain, and then to have been rent and shattered while cooling (Porter's *Handbook*, p. 465). *Jedûr* contains thirty-eight towns and villages, ten of which are now entirely desolate, and all the rest contain only a few families of poor peasants, living in wretched hovels amid heaps of ruins (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 272 sq.). [J. L. P.]

**IVAH**, or **AVA** (אִוָּה), or **אִוָּי**; 'Aîd or 'Aβá: *Avá*, is mentioned in Scripture twice (2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13; comp. Is. xxxvii. 13) in connexion with Hena and Sepharvaim, and once (2 K. xvii. 24) in connexion with Babylon and Cuthah, must be sought in Babylonia, and is probably identical with the modern *Hit*, which is the "Is of Herodotus (i. 179). This town lay on the Euphrates, between *Sippara* (Sepharvaim) and *Anih* (Hena), with which it seems to have been politically united shortly before the time of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 13). It is probably the *Ahava* (אֲהָוָה) of Ezra (viii. 15). The name is thought to have been originally derived from that of a Babylonian god, *Iva*, who represents the sky or Aether, and to whom the town is supposed to have been dedicated (Sir H. Rawlinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 606, note). In this case *Ivavh* (אִוָּוָה) would seem to be the most proper pointing. The pointing *Avá*, or rather *Avæa* (אִוָּוָה), shows a corruption of articulation, which might readily pass on to *Ahava* (אֲהָוָה). In the Talmud the name appears as *Hih* (אִוָּוָה); and hence would be formed the Greek \*Is, and the modern *Hit*, where the *t* is merely the feminine ending. Isidore of Charax seems to intend the same place by his 'Aελ-πολις (*Mans. Parth.* p. 5). Some have thought that it occurs as *Ist* in the Egyptian Inscriptions of the

title of Thothmes III., about B.C. 1450 (Birch, in *Otia Aegyptiaca*, p. 80).

This place has always been famous for its bitumen springs. It is bitumen which is brought to Thothmes III. as tribute from *Ist*. From *Ist*, as used as cement in the walls of Babylon (l. s. c.), Isidore calls *Aeipolis*, "the place where are the bitumen springs" (ἐνθα ἀσφαλτιτῶδες πηγάς). These springs still exist at *Hit*, and sufficiently mark the identity of that place with the Herodotean *Ist*, and therefore probably with the Herodotean *Ist*, and therefore probably with the *Ivavh* of Scripture. They have been noticed by most of our Mesopotamian travellers (see, among others, Kell's *First Memoir on Babylon*, p. 64, and Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 55). [G. R.]

**IVORY** (אִוָּוָה, *shên*, in all passages, except 1 K. x. 22, and 2 Chr. ix. 21, where אִוָּוָה, *shên habbatm*, is so rendered). The word *shên* literally signifies the "tooth" of any animal, and hence more especially denotes the substance of the projecting tusks of elephants. By some of the ancient nations these tusks were imagined to be horns (Ez. xxvii. 15; Plin. viii. 4, xviii. 1), though Diodorus Siculus (i. 55) correctly calls them teeth. As they were first acquainted with elephants through their ivory, which was an important article of commerce, the shape of the tusks, in all probability, led them into this error. It is remarkable that no word in Biblical Hebrew denotes an elephant, unless the latter portion of the compound *shênhabbatm* be supposed to have this meaning. *Shên* derives it from the Sanscrit *ibhas*, "an elephant;" Kell (1 K. x. 22) from the Coptic *eboy*; while Sir Henry Rawlinson mentions a word *habba*, which he met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, and which he understands to mean "the large animal," the term being applied both to the elephant and the camel (*Journ. of As. Soc.* xii. 463). It is suggested in Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (s. v.) that the original meaning may have been אִוָּוָה, "ivory, ebony" (cf. Ez. xxvii. 15). Hitzig (*Isaiah*, p. 643), without any authority, renders the word "nubelste Zahn." The Targum Jonathan on 1 K. x. 22 has אִוָּוָה, "elephant's tusk," while the Peshito gives simply "elephants." In the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan, Gen. l. 1 is translated, "and Joseph placed his father upon a bier of אִוָּוָה" (*shên dâphîn*), which is conjectured to be a valuable species of wood, but for which Buxtorf, with great probability, suggests as another reading אִוָּוָה, "ivory."

The Assyrians appear to have carried on a great traffic in ivory. Their early conquests in India had made them familiar with it, and (according to one rendering of the passage) their artists supplied the luxurious Tyrians with carvings in ivory from the isles of Chittim (Ez. xxvii. 6). On the obelisk in the British Museum the captives or tribute-bearers are represented as carrying tusks. Among the merchandise of Babylon, enumerated in Ez. xxviii. 12, are included "all manner vessels of ivory." The skilled workmen of Hiram, king of Tyre, fashioned the great ivory throne of Solomon and overlaid it with pure gold (1 K. x. 18; 2 Chr. ix. 17). The ivory thus employed was supplied by the caravans of Dedan (Is. xxi. 13; Ez. xxvii. 15), or was brought with apes and peacocks by the navy of Tharshish (1 K. x. 22). The Egyptians

at a very early period, made use of this material in decoration. The cover of a small ivory box in the Egyptian collection at the Louvre is "inscribed with the prænomen Nefer-ka-re, or Neper-cheres, adopted by a dynasty found in the upper line of the tablet of Abydos, and attributed by M. Bunsen to the fifth. . . . In the time of Thothmes III. ivory was imported in considerable quantities into Egypt, either 'in boats laden with ivory and ebony' from Ethiopia, or else in tusks and cups from the Ruten-nu. . . . The celebrated car at Florence has its linchpins tipped with ivory" (Birch, in *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit.* iii. 2nd series). The specimens of Egyptian ivory work, which are found in the principal museums of Europe, are, most of them, in the opinion of Mr. Birch, of a date anterior to the Persian invasion, and some even as old as the 18th dynasty.

The ivory used by the Egyptians was principally brought from Ethiopia (Herod. iii. 114), though their elephants were originally from Asia. The Ethiopians, according to Diodorus Siculus (i. 55), brought to Sesostrius "ebony and gold, and the teeth of elephants." Among the tribute paid by them to the Persian kings were "twenty large tusks of ivory" (Herod. iii. 97). In the *Periplus of the Red Sea* (c. 4), attributed to Arrian, Coloe (*Calai*) is said to be "the chief mart for ivory." It was thence carried down to Adouli (*Zulla*, or *Thulla*), a port on the Red Sea, about three days' journey from Coloe, together with the hides of hippopotami, tortoise-shell, apes, and slaves (Plin. vi. 34). The elephants and rhinoceroses, from which it was obtained, were killed further up the country, and few were taken near the sea, or in the neighbourhood of Adouli. At Ptolemais Theron was found a little ivory like that of Adouli (*Peripl.* c. 3). Ptolemy Philadelphus made this port the depôt of the elephant trade (Plin. vi. 34). According to Pliny (viii. 10), ivory was so plentiful on the borders of Ethiopia that the natives made door-posts of it, and even fences and stalls for their cattle. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 16) mentions Rhapta as another station of the ivory trade, but the ivory brought down to this port is said to have been of an inferior quality, and "for the most part found in the woods, damaged by rain, or collected from animals drowned by the overflow of the rivers at the equinoxes" (Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* art. *Rhapta*). The Egyptian merchants traded for ivory and onyx stones to Barygaza, the port to which was carried down the commerce of Western India from Ozene (*Peripl.* c. 49).

In the early ages of Greece ivory was frequently employed for purposes of ornament. The trappings of horses were studded with it (Hom. *Il.* v. 584): it was used for the handles of keys (*Od.* xxi. 7), and for the bosses of shields (Hes. *Sc. Herc.* 141, 142). The "ivory house" of Ahab (1 K. xxii. 39) was probably a palace, the walls of which were panelled with ivory, like the palace of Menelaus described by Homer (*Odys.* iv. 73; cf. Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 583, *ἰεφρανδοῦτοι δόμοι*). Comp. also Am. iii. 15, and Ps. xiv. 8, unless the "ivory palaces" in the latter passage were perfume boxes made of that material, as has been conjectured). Beds inlaid or veneered with ivory were in use among the Hebrews (Am. vi. 4; cf. Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 200), as also among the Egyptians (Wilkinson,

*Anc. Eg.* iii. 169). The practice of inlaying and veneering wood with ivory and tortoise-shell is described by Pliny (xvi. 84). The great ivory throne of Solomon, the work of the Tyrian craftsmen, has been already mentioned (cf. Rev. xx. 11); but it is difficult to determine whether the "tower of ivory" of Cant. vii. 4 is merely a figure of speech, or whether it had its original among the things that were. By the luxurious Phoenicians ivory was employed to ornament the boxwood rowing benches (or "hatches" according to some) of their galleys (*Ez.* xxvii. 6). Many specimens of Assyrian carving in ivory have been found in the excavations at Nimroud, and among the rest some tablets "richly inlaid with blue and opaque glass, lapis lazuli, &c." (Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 334; cf. Cant. v. 14). Part of an ivory staff, apparently a sceptre, and several entire elephants' tusks were discovered by Mr. Layard in the last stage of decay, and it was with extreme difficulty that these interesting relics could be restored (*Nin. & Bab.* p. 195). [W. A. W.]

**IZEHAR.** The form in which the name Izhar is given in the A. V. of Num. iii. 19 only. In ver. 27 the family of the same person is given as Izeharites. The Hebrew word is the same as Izhar.

**IZ'HAR** (spelt Izehar in Num. iii. 19, 27, of A. V.; in Heb. always יִזְחָר: 'Issaâr and 'Issaâr: *Jesaar*, *Isaar*), son of Kohath, grandson of Levi, uncle of Aaron and Moses, and father of Korah (Ex. vi. 18, 21; Num. iii. 19, xvi. 1; 1 Chr. vi. 2, 18). But in 1 Chr. vi. 22 *Ammiadab* is substituted for *Izhar*, as the son of Kohath and father of Korah, in the line of Samuel. This, however, must be an accidental error of the scribe, as in ver. 38, where the same genealogy is repeated, Izhar appears again in his right place. The Cod. Alex. in ver. 22 reads *Izhar* in place of *Ammiadab*, and the Aldine and Complut. read *Ammiadab* between Izhar and Kore, making another generation. But these are probably only corrections of the text. (See Burrington's *Genealogies of the O. T.*) Izhar was the head of the family of the IZHARITES or IZEHARITES (Num. iii. 27; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23, 29), one of the four families of the Kohathites. [A. C. H.]

**IZRAH'AH** (יִזְרְחָה): 'Iεζραία, 'Eζραία: Alex. 'Iεζρία: *Izrahia*), a man of Issachar, one of the Bene-Uzzi, and father of four, or five—which, is not clear—of the principal men in the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 3).

**IZRAHITE, THE** (יִזְרְחָה, i. e. "the Izrahite": δ' Iεζραή; Alex. 'Iεζραελ: *Jezzerites*), the designation of Shamhuth, the captain of the fifth monthly course as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxvii. 8). In its present form the Hebrew will not bear the interpretation put on it in the A. V. Its real force is probably Zerahite, that is, from the great Judaic family of Zerah—the Zarhites.

**IZ'RI** (יִזְרִי), i. e. "the Itsrite": 'Iεσρί; Alex. 'Iεσρί: *Isari*), a Levite, leader of the fourth course or ward in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xxv. 11). In ver. 3 he is called ZERI.



of the Amorites, and as taken by Israel after Heshbon, and on their way from thence to Bashan (Num. xxi. 32).<sup>a</sup> It was rebuilt subsequently by the children of Gad (xxii. 35), and was a prominent place in their territory (Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xiv. 5). It was allotted to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Chr. vi. 81), but in the time of David it would appear to have been occupied by Hebronites, i. e. descendants of Kohath (1 Chr. xvi. 1). It seems to have given its name to a district of dependent or "daughter" towns (Num. xxi. 32, A. V. "villages;" 1 Macc. v. 8), the "land of Jazer" (Num. xxxii. 1). In the "burdens" proclaimed over Moab by Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jazer is mentioned so as to imply that there were vineyards there, and that the cultivation of the vine had extended thither from SIBMAH (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). In the latter passage, as the text at present stands, mention is made of the "Sea of Jazer" (ים יעזר). This may have been some pool or lake of water, or possibly is an ancient corruption of the text, the LXX. having a different reading—πράσις 'Ι. (See Gesenius, *Jesaja*, 550.)

Jazer was known to Eusebius and Jerome, and its position is laid down with minuteness in the *Onomasticon* as 10 (or 8, s. voc. "Αζωρ) Roman miles west of Philadelphia (*Ammán*), and 15 from Heshbon, and as the source of a river which falls into the Jordan. Two sites bearing the names of *Chárbel Szár* and *es Szár*, on the road westward of *Ammán*, were pointed out to Seetzen in 1806 (*Reisen*, 1854, i. 397, 8). The latter of these was passed also by Burckhardt (*Syr.* 364) at 2½ hours below *Fuhcis* going south. The ruins appear to have been on the left (east) of the road, and below them and the road is the source of the *Wady Szir* (صير), or *Mojeb es Szir* (Seetzen), answering, though certainly but imperfectly, to the *παραυς μέγιστος* of Eusebius. Seetzen conjectures that the sea of Jazer may have been at the source of this brook, considerable marshes or pools sometimes existing at these spots. (Comp. his earlier suggestion of the source of the *Wady Serka*, p. 393.) *Szir*, or *Szir*, is shown on the map of Van de Velde as 9 Roman miles W. of *Ammán*, and about 12 from Heshbon. And here, until further investigation, we must be content to place Jazer. [G.]

**JAASIAH** (יְאִזְיָהוּ), i. e. Yaazyahu: 'Οζία: (*Ozia*), apparently a third son, or a descendant, of Merari the Levite, and the founder of an independent house in that family (1 Chr. xxiv. 26, 27); neither he nor his descendants are mentioned elsewhere (comp. the lists in xxiii. 21-23; Ex. vi. 19, &c.). The word *Beno* (בְּנוֹ), which follows *Jaaziah*, should probably be translated "his son," i. e. the son of Merari.

**JAAZIEL** (יְאִזְיֵאל): 'Οζιήλ; Alex. 'Ιηούλ: (*Jaziel*), one of the Levites of the second order who were appointed by David to perform the musical service before the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18). If *AZIEL* in ver. 20 is a contracted form of the same name—and there is no reason to doubt it (comp. *Jesharelah* and *Asharelah*, 1 Chr. xxv. 14)—his business was to "sound the psaltery on *Alamoth*."

**J'ABAL** (יָבֵל): 'Ιαβήλ: *Jabel*, the son of Lamech and *Adah* (Gen. iv. 20) and brother of

*Jubal*. Though descended from a dweller in a city (ver. 17), he is described as the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle. Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. ii. c. 44, near the end) points out the difference between his mode of life and *Abel's*. *Jabal's* was a migratory life, and his possessions probably included other animals besides sheep. The shepherds who were before him may have found the land on which they dwelt sufficiently productive for the constant sustenance of their flocks in the neighbourhood of their fixed abodes. [W. T. B.]

**JAB'BOK** (יַבְבֹּק; 'Ιαβόχ; *Jaboc*), a stream which intersects the mountain-range of Gilead (comp. Josh. xii. 2, and 5), and falls into the Jordan about midway between the sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. There is some difficulty in interpreting two or three passages of Scripture in which the *Jabbok* is spoken of as "the border of the children of Ammon." The following facts may perhaps throw some light upon them:—The Ammonites at one time possessed the whole country between the rivers *Arnon* and *Jabbok*, from the Jordan on the west to the wilderness on the east. They were driven out of it by *Sihon* king of the Amorites; and he was in turn expelled by the Israelites. Yet long subsequent to these events, the country was popularly called "the land of the Ammonites," and was even claimed by them (Judg. xi. 12-22). For this reason the *Jabbok* is still called "the border of the children of Ammon" in Deut. iii. 16, and Josh. xii. 2. Again, when the Ammonites were driven out by *Sihon* from their ancient territory, they took possession of the eastern plain, and of a considerable section of the eastern defiles of Gilead, around the sources and upper branches of the *Jabbok*. *Rabbath-Ammon*, their capital city (2 Sam. xi.), stood within the mountains of Gilead, and on the banks of a tributary to the *Jabbok*. This explains the statement in Num. xxi. 24—"Israel possessed his (*Sihon's*) land from *Arnon* unto *Jabbok*, unto the children of Ammon (עַרְבֵי עַמּוֹן); for the border of the children of Ammon was strong"—the border among the defiles of the upper *Jabbok* was strong. This also illustrates Deut. ii. 37, "Only unto the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not, unto every place of the torrent *Jabbok* (יַבְבֹּק נַחַל); and unto the cities in the mountains, and every place which the Lord our God forbid."

It was on the south bank of the *Jabbok* the interview took place between *Jacob* and *Esau* (Gen. xxxii. 22); and this river afterwards became, towards its western part, the boundary between the kingdoms of *Sihon* and *Og* (Josh. xii. 2, 5). Eusebius rightly places it between *Gerasa* and *Philadelphia* (*Onom.* s. v.); and at the present day it separates the province of *Belka* from *Jebel Ajlún*. Its modern name is *Wady Zurka*. It rises in the plateau east of Gilead, and receives many tributaries from both north and south in the eastern declivities of the mountain-range—one of these comes from *Gerasa*, another from *Rabbath-Ammon*; but all of them are mere winter streams. The *Zurka* cuts through Gilead in a deep, narrow defile. Throughout the lower part of its course it is fringed with thickets of cane and oleander, and the banks above are clothed with oak-forests. Towards its mouth the stream is perennial, and in winter often impassable. [J. L. P.]

**J'A'BESH** (יַבְשֻׁן; 'Ιαβίς; Alex. 'Αβέλις, 'Ιαβέλις;

<sup>a</sup> In Num. xxi. 24, where the present Hebrew text has יַעֲזָר (A. V. "strong"), the LXX. have read 'Ιαζήρ.

Joseph. *Ἰαβήσος*: *Jabes*). 1. Father of SHALLUM, the 15th king of Israel (2 K. xv. 10, 13, 14).

2. The short form of the name JABESH-GILEAD (1 Chr. x. 12 only).

**JABESH-GILEAD** (יְבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד), also יְבֵשׁ, 1 Sam. xi. 1, 9, &c., "dry," from יְבֵשׁ, "to be dry;" Ἰαβὲς Γαλαὰδ; *Jabes Galaad*, or Jabesh in the territory of Gilead. [GILEAD.] In its widest sense Gilead included the half tribe of Manasse (1 Chr. xxvii. 21) as well as the tribes of Gad and Reuben (Num. xxxii. 1-42) east of the Jordan—and of the cities of Gilead, Jabesh was the chief. It is first mentioned in connexion with the cruel vengeance taken upon its inhabitants for not coming up to Mizpeh on the occasion of the fierce war between the children of Israel and the tribe of Benjamin. Every male of the city was put to the sword, and all virgins—to the number of 400—seized to be given in marriage to the 600 men of Benjamin that remained (Judg. xxi. 8-14). Nevertheless the city survived the loss of its males; and being attacked subsequently by Nahash the Ammonite, gave Saul an opportunity of displaying his prowess in its defence, and silencing all objections made by the children of Belial to his sovereignty (1 Sam. xi. 1-15). Neither were his exertions in behalf of this city unrequited; for when he and his three sons were slain by the Philistines in Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 8), the men of Jabesh-Gilead came by night and took down their corpses from the walls of Bethshan where they had been exposed as trophies; then burnt the bodies, and buried the bones under a tree near the city—observing a strict funeral fast for seven days (Ibid. 13). David does not forget to bless them for this act of piety towards his old master, and his more than brother (2 Sam. ii. 5); though he afterwards had their remains translated to the ancestral sepulchre in the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 14). As to the site of the city, it is not defined in the O. T., but Eusebius (*Onomast.* s. v.) places it beyond Jordan, 6 miles from Pella on the mountain-road to Gerasa; where its name is probably preserved in the *Wady Yabes*, which flowing from the east, enters the Jordan below Bethshan or Scythopolis. According to Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 319), the ruin *ed-Deir*, on the S. side of the Wady, still marks its site. [E. S. Ff.]

**JABEZ** (יְעִבֵּז: *Idbis*; Alex. Γαβήσ: *Jabes*), apparently a place, at which the families of the scribes (סֹפְרִים) resided, who belonged to the families of the Kenites (1 Chr. ii. 55). It occurs among the descendants of Salma, who was of Judah, and closely connected with Bethlehem (ver. 51), possibly the father of Boaz; and also—though how is not clear—with Joab. The Targum states some curious particulars, which, however, do not much elucidate the difficulty, and which are probably a mixture of trustworthy tradition and of mere invention based on philological grounds. Rechab is there identified with Rechabiah the son of Eliezer, Moses' younger son (1 Chr. xxvi. 25), and Jabez with Othniel the Kenezite, who bore the name of Jabez "because he founded by his counsel (עֲצָה) a school (תַּרְבִּיטָא) of disciples called Tirathites, Shimeathites, and Sueathites." See also the quotations from Talmud, *Temurah*, in Buxtorf's *Lex.* col. 966, where a similar derivation is given.

2. The name occurs again in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 9, 10), in a passage of remark-

able detail inserted in a genealogy again connected with Bethlehem (ver. 4). Here a different sense is attached to the name. It is made to refer to the sorrow (עֲצֵב, *otzev*) with which his mother bore him, and also to his prayer that evil may not befall him, and also to his prayer that evil may not befall his brethren, "more honourable than his brethren," though who they were is not ascertainable. It is very doubtful whether any connexion exists between this genealogy and that in ii. 50-55. Several names appear in both—Hur, Ephraim, Bethlehem, Zareathites (in A. V. iv. 2 inaccurately "Zorathites"), Joab, Caleb; and there is much similarity between others, as Rechab and Rechab, Eshton and Eshtautes; but any positive connexion seems undemonstrable. The Targum repeats its identification of Jabez and Othniel.

These passages in the Targums are worthy of remark, not only because they exemplify the same habit of playing on words and seeking for connections which is found in the above and many other passages of the Bible, both early and late, but also because, as often as not, the puns do not now exist in the Rabbinical Hebrew in which these paraphrases are written, although they appear if the Rabbinical Hebrew is translated back into Biblical Hebrew. There are several cases of this in the Targum above quoted, viz. on 1 Chr. ii. 55 (see Tirathim, Socathim, &c.), and others in the Targum on Ruth, in the additions to the genealogy at the end of that Book. One example will show what is intended. "Obed (עוֹבֵד) was he who served the Lord of the world with a perfect heart." "Served" in Biblical Hebrew is עִבַד, from the same root as Obed, but in the dialect of the Targum it is רַפְּלָה, so that the allusion (like that of Coleridge's famous pun) exists, as it stands, neither for the eye nor the ear. [E.]

**JA' BIN** (יָבִין, *Ἰαβίς*). 1. King of Hazor, a royal city in the north of Palestine, near the waters of Merom, who organised a confederacy of the northern princes against the Israelites (Josh. xi. 1-5). He assembled an army, which the Scripture narrative merely compares to the sands for multitude (ver. 4), but which Josephus reckons at 500,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 20,000 chariots. Joshua, encouraged by God, surprised this vast army of allied forces "by the waters of Merom" (ver. 7; see Kedesh, according to Josephus), utterly routed them, cut the hoof-sinews of their horses, and burnt the chariots with fire at a place which from that circumstance may have derived its name of MISREPHOTH-MAIM (Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, p. 228). [MISREPHOTH-MAIM.] It is probable that in consequence of this battle the confederate kings, and Jabin among them, were reduced to vassalage, for we find immediately afterwards that Jabin was safe in his capital. But during the ensuing war (which occupied some time, Josh. xi. 18), Joshua "turned back," and perhaps on some fresh rebellion of Jabin, inflicted on him a signal and summary vengeance, making Hazor an exception to the general rule of not burning the conquered cities of Canaan (xi. 1-14; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, §18; *Ewald*, *Gesch.* ii. 328).

2. A king of Hazor, whose general Siera was defeated by Barak, whose army is described in much the same terms as that of his predecessor (Judg. iv. 3, 13), and who suffered precisely the same fate. We have already pointed out the minute similarity of the two narratives (Josh. xi.; Judg. iv. v. 1, and

an attentive comparison of them with Josephus (who curiously omits the name of Jabin altogether in his mention of Joshua's victory, although his account is full of details), would easily supply further points of resemblance. [BARAK; DEBORAH.] It is indeed by no means impossible that in the course of 150 years Hazor should have risen from its ashes, and even reassumed its pre-eminence under sovereigns who still bore the old dynastic name. But entirely independent considerations show that the period between Joshua and Barak could not have been 150 years, and indeed tend to prove that those two chiefs were contemporaries (Hervey, *Geneal.* 228); and we are therefore led to regard the two accounts of the destruction of Hazor and Jabin as really applying to the same monarch, and the same event. What is to prevent us from supposing that Jabin and his confederate kings were defeated both by Joshua and by Barak, and that distinct accounts of both victories were preserved? The most casual reader of the narrative cannot but be struck by the remarkable resemblance between the two stories. There is no ground whatever to throw doubts on the historical veracity of the earlier narrative, as is done by Hasse (p. 129), Maurer (*ad loc.*), Studer (*on Judges*, p. 90), and De Wette (*Eintl.* p. 231), according to Keil, *on Josh.* xi. 10-15; and by Rosenmüller (*Schol. Jos.* xi. 11); but when the chronological arguments are taken into consideration, we do not (in spite of the difficulties which still remain) consider Hävernich successful in removing the improbabilities which beset the common supposition that this 'abin lived long after the one which Joshua defeated. At any rate we cannot agree with Winer in denouncing any attempt to identify them with each other as the *no plus ultra* of uncritical audacity. [F. W. F.]

**JAB'NEEL** (יַבְנֵאל). The name of two towns in Palestine.

1. (In O. T. *Λεβνιά*; Alex. *Ἰαβνήλ*; in Apocr. *Ἰαυεία*: *Jebneel*, *Jabnia*, *Jannia*). One of the points on the northern boundary of Judah, not quite at the sea, though near it" (*Josh.* xv. 11). There is no sign, however, of its ever having been occupied by Judah. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) attributes it to the Danites. There was a constant struggle going on between that tribe and the Philistines for the possession of all the places in the lowland plain [DAN], and it is not surprising that the next time we meet with Jabneel it should be in the hands of the latter (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). Uzziah dispossessed them of it, and demolished its fortifications. Here it is in the shorter form of JABNEEL. In its Greek garb, *ΙΑΜΝΙΑ*, it is frequently mentioned in the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 15, v. 53, x. 69, xv. 40), in whose time it was again a strong place. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, §6) Gorgias was governor of it; but the text of the Maccabees (2 Macc. xii. 32) has Idumaea. At this time there was a harbour on the coast to which, and the vessels lying there, Judas set fire, and the conflagration was seen at Jerusalem, a distance of about 25 miles (2 Macc. xii. 9). The harbour is also mentioned by Pliny, who in conse-

quence speaks of the town as double—*duae Jannas* (see the quotations in Ireland, 823). Luke Ascalon and Gaza the harbour bore the title of *Majunna*, perhaps a Coptic word, meaning the "place on this sea" (Ireland, 590, &c.; Raumer, 174 note, 184 note; Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, 27, 29). At the time of the fall of Jerusalem, Jabneh was one of the most populous places of Judaea, and contained a Jewish school of great fame, whose learned doctors are often mentioned in the Talmud. The great Sanhedrim was also held here. In this holy city, according to an early Jewish tradition, was buried the great Gamaliel. His tomb was visited by Parchi in the 14th cent. (Zunz, in *Asher's Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 439, 440; also 98). In the time of Eusebius, however, it had dwindled to a small place, *πολίχνη*, merely requiring casual mention (*Onomasticon*). In the 6th century, under Justinian, it became the seat of a Christian bishop (Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* lib. ii. 730). Under the Crusaders it bore the corrupted name of Ibelin, and gave a title to a line of Counts, one of whom, Jean d'Ibelin, about 1250, restored to efficiency the famous code of the "Assises de Jérusalem" (Gibbon, ch. 58 *ad fin.*; also the citations in Raumer. *Palästina*, 185).

The modern village of *Yebna*, or more accurately *Ibna* (يبنا), stands about 2 miles from the sea on a slight eminence just south of the *Nahr Rubin*. It is about 11 miles south of *Jaffa*, 7 from *Ramleh*, and 4 from *Akir* (Ekron). It probably occupies its ancient site, for some remains of old buildings are to be seen, possibly relics of the fortress which the Crusaders built there (Porter *Handbook*, 274).

2. (*Ἰεφθαμαί*; Alex. *Ἰαβνήλ*: *Jebnaël*). One of the landmarks on the boundary of Naphtali (*Josh.* xix. 33, only). It is named next after Adami-Nekebe, and had apparently Lakkum between it and the "outgoings" of the boundary at the Jordan. But little or no clue can be got from the passage to its situation. Doubtless it is the same place which, as *Ἰαυεία* (*Vita*, §37), and *Ἰαυνίθ* (*B. J.* ii. 20, §6), is mentioned by Josephus among the villages in Upper Galilee, which, though strong in themselves (*περὶ ὄβσας*), were fortified by him in anticipation of the arrival of the Romans. The other villages named by him in the same connexion are Meroth, Achabare, or the rock of the Achabari, and Seph. Schwarz (181) mentions that the later name of Jabneel was *Kefi Yamah*,<sup>b</sup> the village by the sea. Taking this with the vague indications of Josephus, we should be disposed to look for its traces at the N.W. part of the Sea of Galilee, in the hill country. [G.]

**JAB'NEH** (יַבְנֵה): *Ἰαβνήρ*; Alex. *Ἰαβείσ*. *Jabnia*, 2 Chr. xxvi. 6. [JABNEEL.]

**JA'CHAN** (יַחֲכָן): *Ἰαχάν*; Alex. *Ἰαχάν*: *Jachan*, one of seven chief men of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 13).

**JA'CHIN** (יַחֲזִין): in Kings *Ἰαχούμ*, Alex. *Ἰαχούμ*; but in Chron. *Κατόθωσις* in both MSS., Josephus *Ἰαχίν*: *Jachin*, *Jachin*, one of the two pillars which were set up "in the porch" (1 K.

<sup>a</sup> In *Josh.* xv. 46, after the words "from Ekron," the LXX. adds *Ἰεμαί*, Jabneh, instead of "even unto the sea;" probably reading *יַמְנָה* for the present *יַמְנָה*.

<sup>b</sup> Can the name in the Vat. LXX. (given above) be a corruption of this? It can hardly be corrupted from *Jabnia* or *Jabneel*.



vii. 21) or before the temple (2 Chr. iii. 17) of Solomon. It was the "right-hand" one of the two; by which is probably meant the south (comp. 1 K. vii. 39). However, both the position and the structure of these famous columns are full of difficulties, and they will be most suitably examined in describing the TEMPLE. Interpreted as a Hebrew word Jachin signifies firmness.

**JACHIN** (יָכִין: 'Αχέιν, 'Ιαχέιν, 'Ιαχίν; Alex. 'Ιαχέιν: *Jachin*). 1. Fourth son of Simeon (Gen. xli. 10; Ex. vi. 15); founder of the family of the JACHINITES (Num. xxvi. 12).

2. Head of the 21st course of priests in the time of David. Some of the course returned from Babylon (1 Chr. ix. 10, xxiv. 17; Neh. xi. 10). [JOLARIB.] Jachimus, the original name of Alcimus (1 Macc. vii. 5, &c.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. ix. §7), who was the first of his family that was high-priest, may possibly have been in Hebrew Jachin, though the κ more properly suggests Jakim.

'Αχέιν, ACHIM (Matt. i. 14), seems also to be the same name. [A. C. H.]

**JACHINITES, THE** (יָכִינִי: 'Ιαχινί; Alex. δ' 'Ιαχινί: *familia Jachinitarum*), the family founded by JACHIN, son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

**JACINTH** (δάκινθος; *hyacinthus*), a precious stone, forming one of the foundations of the walls of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 20). It seems to be identical with the Hebrew *leshem* (לֶשֶׁם, A. V. "ligure"), which was employed in the formation of the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 19). The jacinth or hyacinth is a red variety of zircon, which is found in square prisms, of a white, grey, red, reddish-brown, yellow, or pale-green colour. Ligurite is a crystallised mineral of a yellowish-green or apple-green hue, found in Liguria, and thence deriving its name. It was reputed to possess an attractive power similar to that of amber (Theophrast. *Copp.* 28), and perhaps the Greek *λεγύριον*, which the LXX. gives, was suggested by an apparent reference to this quality (as if from *λείχεν*, "to lick"). The expression in Rev. ix. 17, "of jacinth," applied to the breastplate, is descriptive simply of a *hyacinthine*, i. e. dark-purple colour, and has no reference to the stone. [W. L. B.]

**JACOB** (יַעֲקֹב = "supplanter;" 'Ιακώβ: *Jacob*), the second son of Isaac and Rebekah. He was born with Esau, when Isaac was 59 and Abraham 159 years old, probably at the well Lahai-roi. His history is related in the latter half of the book of Genesis. He grew up a quiet, domestic youth, the favourite son of his mother. He bought the birthright from his brother Esau; and afterwards, at his mother's instigation, acquired the blessing intended for Esau, by practising a well-known deceit on Isaac. Hitherto the two sons shared the wanderings of Isaac in the South Country; but now Jacob in his 78th year was sent from the family home, to avoid his brother, and to seek a wife among his kindred in Padan-aram. As he passed through Bethel, God appeared to him. After the lapse of 21 years he returned from Padan-aram with two wives, two concubines, eleven sons, and a daughter, and large property. He escaped from the angry pursuit of Laban, from a rencontre with Esau, and from the vengeance of the Canaanites provoked by the murder of Shechem; and in each of those three emergencies

he was aided and strengthened by the interposition of God, and in sign of the grace won by a night of wrestling with God his name was changed at Jab-bok into Israel ("soldier of God"). Deborah and Rachel died before he reached Hebron; and it was at Hebron, in the 122nd year of his age, that he and Esau buried their father Isaac. Joseph, the favourite son of Jacob, was sold into Egypt, the years before the death of Isaac; and Jacob had probably exceeded his 130th year when he went thither, being encouraged in a divine vision as he passed, for the last time through Beersheba. He was presented to Pharaoh, and dwelt for seventeen years in Ramesses and Goshen. After giving his solemn blessing to Ephraim and Manasseh, and his own name one by one, and charging the ten to complete their reconciliation with Joseph, he died in his 147th year. His body was embalmed, carried with great care and pomp into the land of Canaan, and deposited with his fathers, and his wife Leah, in the cave of Machpelah.

The example of Jacob is quoted by the first and the last of the minor prophets. Hosea, in the latter days of the kingdom, seeks (xii. 3, 4, 12) to convert the descendants of Jacob from their state of alienation from God, by recalling to their memory the repeated acts of God's favour shown to their ancestor. And Malachi (i. 2) strengthens the responding hearts of the returned exiles by assuring them that the love which God bestowed upon Jacob was not withheld from them. Besides the frequent mention of his name in conjunction with those of the other two Patriarchs, there are distinct references to events in the life of Jacob in four books of the N. T. In Rom. ix. 11-13, St. Paul alludes to the history of Jacob's birth to prove that the favour of God is independent of the order of natural descent. In Heb. xii. 16, and xi. 21, the transfer of the birthright and Jacob's dying benediction are referred to. His vision at Bethel, and his possession of land at Shechem are cited in St. John i. 51, and iv. 5, 12. And St. Stephen, in his speech (Acts vii. 12, 16), mentions the famine which was the means of restoring Jacob to his lost son in Egypt, and the burial of the patriarch in Shechem.

Such are the events of Jacob's life recorded in Scripture. Some of them require additional notice.

1. For the sale of his birthright to Jacob, Esau is branded in the N. T. as a "profane person" (Heb. xii. 16). The following sacred and important privileges have been mentioned as connected with primogeniture in patriarchal times, and as constituting the object of Jacob's desire. (a.) Superior rank in the family; see Gen. xlix. 3, 4. (b.) A double portion of the father's property; see Gen. xviii. 22. Ezra: see Deut. xxi. 17, and Gen. xlviii. 22. (c.) The priestly office in the patriarchal church; see Num. viii. 17-19. In favour of this, see Jerome *ad Evang. Ep.* lxxiii. §6; *Jarchi in Gen.* xxv.; Estius in *Hebr.* xii.; Shuckford's *Connexion*, bk. vii.; Blunt, *Undes. Coincid.* Pt. I. D. M. and against it, Vitringa, *Obs. Sac.*, and J. D. M. chaelis, *Mosaïsch. Recht*, ii. §64, cited by Rosenmüller in *Gen.* xxv. (d.) A conditional promise or adumbration of the heavenly inheritance; see Carwright in the *Crit. Sacr.* on Gen. xxv. (e.) The promise of the Seed in which all nations should be blessed, though not included in the birthright, may have been so regarded by the patriarchs as it was by their descendants, Rom. ix. 8, and Shuckford, *vi.*

The whole subject has been treated in separate essays by Vitringa in his *Observat.* Ser. Pt. I. 11.

§2; also by J. H. Hottinger, and by J. J. Schröder, cited by Winer.

2. With regard to Jacob's acquisition of his father's blessing, ch. xxvii., few persons will accept the excuse offered by Augustine, *Serm.* iv. §22, 23, for the deceit which he practised—that it was merely a figurative action, and that his personation of Esau was justified by his previous purchase of Esau's birthright. It is not however necessary, with the view of cherishing a Christian hatred of sin, to heap opprobrious epithets upon a fallible man whom the choice of God has rendered venerable in the eyes of believers. Waterland (iv. 208) speaks of the conduct of Jacob in language which is neither wanting in reverence nor likely to encourage the extenuation of guilt. "I do not know whether it be justifiable in every particular: I suspect that it is not. There were several very good and laudable circumstances in what Jacob and Rebekah did; but I do not take upon me to acquit them of all blame." And Blunt (*Undes. Coinc.*) observes that none "of the patriarchs can be set up as a model of Christian morals. They lived under a code of laws that were not absolutely good, perhaps not so good as the Levitical; for as this was but a preparation for the more perfect law of Christ, so possibly was the patriarchal but a preparation for the Law of Moses." The circumstances which led to this unhappy transaction, and the retribution which fell upon all parties concerned in it, have been carefully discussed by Benson, *Hulsean Lectures* (1822) on *Scripture Difficulties*, xvi. and xvii. See also Woodgate's *Historical Sermons*, ix.; and Maurice, *Patriarchs and Lawgivers*, v. On the fulfilment of the Prophecies concerning Esau and Jacob, and on Jacob's dying blessing, see Bp. Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, §§ iii. and iv.

3. Jacob's vision at Bethel is considered by Miegius in a treatise, *De Scalâ Jacobi* in the *Thesaurus novus Theologico-Philologicus*, i. 195. See also Augustine, *Serm.* cxxii. His stratagem with Laban's cattle is commented on by Jerome, *Quaest. in Gen.* Opp. iii. 352, and by Nitschmann, *De corâ Jacobi* in *Thes. nov. Theol.-Phil.* i. 201.

4. Jacob's polygamy is an instance of a patriarchal practice quite repugnant to Christian morality, but to be accounted for on the ground that the time had not then come for a full expression of the will of God on this subject. The mutual rights of husband and wife were recognised in the history of the Creation; but instances of polygamy are frequent among persons mentioned in the sacred records from Lamech (Gen. iv. 19) to Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, §2). In times when frequent wars increased the number of captives and orphans, and reduced nearly all service to slavery, there may have been some reason for extending the recognition and protection of the law to concubines or half-wives as Bilhah and Zilpah. And in the case of Jacob, it is right to bear in mind that it was not his original intention to marry both the daughters of Laban. (See on this subject Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xii. 47-54.)

5. Jacob's wrestling with the angel at Jabbok is the subject of Augustine's *Sermo* v.; compare with it *De Civitate Dei*, xvi. 39.

In Jacob may be traced a combination of the quiet patience of his father with the acquisitiveness which seems to have marked his mother's family; and in Esau, as in Ishmael, the migratory and independent character of Abraham was developed into

the enterprising habits of a warlike hunter-chief. Jacob, whose history occupies a larger space, leaves on the reader's mind a less favourable impression than either of the other patriarchs with whom he is joined in equal honour in the N. T. (Matt. viii. 11). But in considering his character we must bear in mind that we know not what limits were set in those days to the knowledge of God and the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit. A timid thoughtful boy would acquire no self-reliance in a secluded home. There was little scope for the exercise of intelligence, wide sympathy, generosity, frankness. Growing up a stranger to the great joys and great sorrows of natural life—deaths, and wedlock, and births; inured to caution and restraint in the presence of a more vigorous brother; secretly stimulated by a belief that God designed for him some superior blessing, Jacob was perhaps in a fair way to become a narrow, selfish, deceitful, disappointed man. But, after dwelling for more than half a lifetime in solitude, he is driven from home by the provoked hostility of his more powerful brother. Then in deep and bitter sorrow the outcast begins life afresh long after youth has passed, and finds himself brought first of all unexpectedly into that close personal communion with God which elevates the soul, and then into that enlarged intercourse with men which is capable of drawing out all the better feelings of human nature. An unseen world was opened. God revived and renewed to him that slumbering promise over which he had brooded for threescore years since he learned it in childhood from his mother. Angels conversed with him. Gradually he felt more and more the watchful care of an ever present spiritual Father. Face to face he wrestled with the Representative of the Almighty. And so, even though the moral consequences of his early transgressions hung about him, and saddened him with a deep knowledge of all the evil of treachery and domestic envy, and partial judgment, and filial disobedience, yet the increasing revelations of God enlightened the old age of the patriarch; and at last the timid "supplanter," the man of subtle devices, waiting for the salvation of Jehovah, dies the "soldier of God" uttering the messages of God to his remote posterity.

For reflections on various incidents in Jacob's life see Bp. Hall's *Contemplations*, Bk. iii. Many Rabbinical legends concerning him may be found in Eisenmenger's *Entd. Judenthum*, and in the *Jerusalem Tarjan*. In the Koran he is often mentioned in conjunction with the other two patriarchs (ch. 2, and elsewhere). [W. T. B.]

JACUBUS (Ἰακώβος: *Accubus*), 1 Esd. ix. 48. [AKKUB, 4.]

JA'DA (יָדָא: *Yadaé*, and at ver. 32 *Δαδαί*; Alex. *Ἰεδδαέ*), son of Onam, and brother of Shammai, in the genealogy of the sons of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah (1 Chr. ii. 28, 32). This genealogy is very corrupt in the LXX., especially in the Vatican Codex. [A. C. H.]

JA'DAU (יָדָא, but the *Keri* has יָדָא, i. e. *Yadai*: *Yadaí*; *Jeddu*), one of the Bene-Nebo who had taken a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 43).

JAD'DUA (יָדָדּוּא: *Yadová*; *Jeddoua*), son, and successor in the high-priesthood, of Jonathan or Johanan. He is the last of the high-priests mentioned in the O. T., and probably altogether

the latest name in the canon (Neh. xii. 11, 22), at least if 1 Chr. iii. 22-24 is admitted to be corrupt (see *Geneal. of our Lord*, 101, 107). His name marks distinctly the time when the latest additions were made to the book of Nehemiah and the canon of Scripture, and perhaps affords a clue to the age of Malachi the prophet. All that we learn concerning him in Scripture is the fact of his being the son of Jonathan, and high-priest. We gather also pretty certainly that he was priest in the reign of the last Persian king Darius, and that he was still high-priest after the Persian dynasty was overthrown, i. e. in the reign of Alexander the Great. For the expression "Darius the Persian" must have been used after the accession of the Grecian dynasty; and had another high-priest succeeded, his name would most likely have been mentioned. Thus far then the book of Nehemiah bears out the truth of Josephus's history, which makes Jaddua high-priest when Alexander invaded Judaea. But the story of his interview with Alexander [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 811 b] does not on that account deserve credit, nor his account of the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim during Jaddua's pontificate, at the instigation of Sanballat, both of which, as well as the accompanying circumstances, are probably derived from some apocryphal book of Alexandrian growth, since lost, in which chronology and history gave way to romance and Jewish vanity. Josephus seems to place the death of Jaddua after that of Alexander (*A. J.* xi. 8, §7). Eusebius assigns 20 years to Jaddua's pontificate (*Geneal. of our Lord*, 323 sqq.; Selden, *de Succ.*; Prideaux, &c.). [A. C. H.]

**JAD'DUA** (יָדוּא): 'Ιεδδούα; Alex. 'Ιεδδούκ: *Jeidua*, one of the chief of the people, i. e. of the laymen, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 21).

**JAD'ON** (יָדוֹן): Εὐάρων in both MSS.: *Jadon*, a man, who in company with the Gibeonites and the men of Mizpah assisted to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7). His title, "the Meronothite" (comp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 30), and the mention of Gibeonites, would seem to point to a place Meronoth, and that in the neighbourhood of Gibeon; but no such place has yet been traced.

Jadon (Ἰαδών) is the name attributed by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 8, §5) to the man of God from Judah, who withstood Jeroboam at the altar at Bethel—probably intending IDDO the seer. By Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chr. ix. 29) the name is given as *Jaddo*.

**JA'EL** (יָאֵל): Hex. Syr. *Anael*: 'Ιαήλ; Joseph. 'Ιάλη; *Jahel*, the wife of Heber the Kenite. Heber was the chief of a nomadic Arab clan, who had separated from the rest of his tribe, and had pitched his tent under the oaks, which had in consequence received the name of "oaks of the wanderers" (A. V. plain of Zaanaim, Judg. iv. 11), in the neighbourhood of Kedesh-Naphtali. [HEBER; KENITES.] The tribe of Heber had secured the quiet enjoyment of their pastures by adopting a neutral position in a troublous period. Their descent from Jethro secured them the favourable regard of the Israelites, and they were sufficiently important to conclude a formal peace with Jabin king of Hazor.

\* "Mantle" is here inaccurate, the word is **כַּסְיִתָּהּ**—with the definite article. But as the term is not found elsewhere, it is not possible to recognise

In the headlong route which followed the defeat of the Canaanites by Barak, Sisera, abandoning his chariot the more easily to avoid notice (comp. *Hebr.* II. v. 20), fled unattended, and in an opposite direction from that taken by his army, to the tent of the Kenite chieftainess. "The tent of Jael" is expressly mentioned either because the harem of Heber was in a separate tent (Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* iii. 22), or because the Kenite himself was absent at the time. In the sacred seclusion of this almost inviolable sanctuary, Sisera might well have felt himself absolutely secure from the incursions of the enemy (Calmet, *Fragm.* xxv.); and although he intended to take refuge among the Kenites, he would not have ventured so openly to violate all ideas of Oriental propriety by entering a woman's apartments (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* s. v. Haram), had he not received Jael's express, earnest, and respectful entreaty to do so. He accepted the invitation, and she flung a mantle\* over him as he lay wearily on the floor. When thirst prevented sleep, and he asked for water, she brought him buttermilk in her choicest vessel, thus ratifying with the semblance of officious zeal the sacred bond of Eastern hospitality. Wine would have been less suitable to quench his thirst, and may possibly have been eschewed by Heber's clan (Jer. xxxv. 2). Buttermilk, according to the quotations in Harmer, is still a favourite Arab beverage, and that this is the drink intended we infer from Judges v. 25, as well as from the direct statement of Josephus (γάλα βοτρυχίου ἕδνη, *Ant.* v. 5, §4), although there is no reason to suppose with Josephus and the Rabbis (D. Kimchi, Jarchi, &c.), that Jael purposely used it because of its soporific qualities (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 473). But anxiety still prevented Sisera from composing himself to rest, until he had exacted a promise from his protectress that she would faithfully preserve the secret of his concealment; till at last, with a feeling of perfect security, the weary and unfortunate general resigned himself to the deep sleep of misery and fatigue. Then it was that Jael took in her left hand one of the great wooden<sup>b</sup> pins (A. V. "nail") which fastened down the cords of the tent, and in her right hand the mallet (A. V. "a hammer") used to drive it into the ground, and creeping up to her sleeping and confiding guest, with one terrible blow dashed it through Sisera's temples deep into the earth. With one spasm of fruitless agony, with one contortion of sudden pain, "at her feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead" (Judg. v. 27). She then waited to meet the pursuing Barak, and led him into her tent that she might in his presence claim the glory of the deed! Many have supposed that by this act she fulfilled the saying of Deborah, that God would sell Sisera into the hand of a woman (Judg. iv. 9; Joseph. v. 5, §4); and hence they have supposed that Jael was actuated by some divine and hidden influence. But the Bible gives no hint of such an inspiration, and it is at least equally probable that Deborah merely intended to intimate the share of the honour which would be assigned by posterity to her own exertions. If therefore we eliminate the still more monstrous supposition of the Rabbis that Sisera was slain by Jael because he attempted to offer her violence—the murder will appear in all

what the *Somichah* was. Probably some part of the regular furniture of the tent.

<sup>b</sup> πάσσαλος, LXX.; but according to Josephus αἰθήρεον ἕλον

its hideous atrocity. A fugitive had asked, and received *dakheel* (or protection) at her hands,—he was miserable, defeated, weary,—he was the ally of her husband,—he was her invited and honoured guest,—he was in the sanctuary of the haram,—above all, he was confiding, defenceless, and asleep;—yet she broke her pledged faith, violated her solemn hospitality, and murdered a trustful and unprotected slumberer. Surely we require the clearest and most positive statement that Jael was instigated to such a murder by divine suggestion.

But it may be asked, "Has not the deed of Jael been praised by an inspired authority?" "Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be, blessed shall she be above women in the tent" (Judg. v. 24). Without stopping to ask when and where Deborah claims for herself any infallibility, or whether, in the passionate moment of patriotic triumph, she was likely to pause in such wild times to scrutinise the moral bearings of an act which had been so splendid a benefit to herself and her people, we may question whether any moral commendation is *directly* intended. What Deborah stated was a *fact*, viz., that the wives of the nomad Arabs would undoubtedly regard Jael as a public benefactress, and praise her as a popular heroine.

The suggestion of Gesenius (*Theo.* 608 b), Hollmann, and others, that the Jael alluded to in Judg. v. 6 is not the wife of Heber, but some unknown Israelitish judge, appears to us extremely unlikely, especially as the name Jael must almost certainly be the name of a woman (Prov. v. 19, A. V. "roe"). At the same time it must be admitted that the phrase "in the days of Jael" is one which we should hardly have expected. [F. W. F.]

**JA'GUR** (יָגוּר): 'Ασώρ; Alex. 'Ιαγούρ; *Jagur*), a town of Judah, one of those furthest to the south, on the frontier of Edom (Josh. xv. 21). Kabzeel, one of its companions in the list, recurs subsequently; but Jagur is not again met with, nor has the name been encountered in the imperfect explorations of that dreary region. The Jagur, quoted by Schwarz (p. 99) from the Talmud as one of the boundaries of the territory of Ashkelon, must have been farther to the N.W. [G.]

**JAHATH** (יָחַת): 'Ιέθ). 1. Son of Libn., the son of Gershom, the son of Levi (1 Chr. vi. 20, A. V.). He was ancestor to Asaph (ver. 43).

2. Head of a later house in the family of Gershom, being the eldest son of Shimei, the son of Laadan. The house of Jahath existed in David's time (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, 11). [A. C. H.]

3. ('Ιέθ; Alex. omits.) A man in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 2), son of Reaiah ben-Shobal. His sons were Ahumai and Lahad, the families of the Zorathites. If Reaiah and Haroeh are identical, Jahath was a descendant of Caleb ben-Hur. [HAROEEL]

4. (Alex. 'Ιαδθ.) A Levite, son of Shelomoth, the representative of the Kohathite family of IZHAR in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 22).

5. A Merarite Levite in the reign of Josiah, one of the overseers of the repairs to the Temple (2 Chr. xxxiv. 12).

**JAHAZ**, also **JAHAZA**, **JAHAZAH**, and **JAH'ZAH**. Under these four forms are given in the A. V. the name of a place which in the Hebrew appears as יָחַז and יָחַזָה, the ה being in some cases—as Num. and Deut.—the particle of motion,

but elsewhere an integral addition to the name. It has been uniformly so taken by the LXX., who have 'Ιασσά, and twice 'Ιασδ. JAHAZ is found Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20; Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 34. In the two latter only is it יָחַז without the final ה. The Samaritan Cod. has יָחַזָה: Vulg. *Jasa*).

At Jahaz the decisive battle was fought between the children of Israel and Sihon king of the Amorites, which ended in the overthrow of the latter and in the occupation by Israel of the whole pastoral country included between the Arnon and the Jabbok, the *Belka* of the modern Arabs (Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20). It was in the allotment of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18), though not mentioned in the catalogue of Num. xxxii.; and it was given with its suburbs to the Merarites Levites (1 Chr. vi. 78; and Josh. xxi. 36, though here omitted in the ordinary Hebrew text).

Jahazah occurs in the denunciations of Jeremiah and Isaiah on the inhabitants of the "plain country," i. e. the Mishor, the modern *Belka* (Jer. xlviii. 21, 34; Is. xv. 4); but beyond the fact that at this period it was in the hands of Moab we know nothing of its history.

From the terms of the narrative in Num. xxi. and Deut. ii., we should expect that Jahaz was in the extreme south part of the territory of Sihon, but yet north of the river Arnon (see Deut. ii. 24, 36; and the words in 31, "begin to possess"), and in exactly this position a site named *Jazaza* is mentioned by Schwarz (227), though by him only. But this does not agree with the statements of Eusebius (*Onom.* 'Ιασσά), who says it was existing in his day between Medeba and Δηβούς, by which he probably intends Dibon, which would place Jahaz considerably too far to the North. Like many others relating to the places East of the Dead Sea, this question must await further research. (See Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 266, 271.) [G.]

**JA'HAZA** (יָחַזָה), i. e. Yahtzah: Βασάν; Alex. 'Ιασσά; *Jassa*), Josh. xiii. 18. [JAHAZ.]

**JAH'HAZAH** (יָחַזָה): in Jer. 'Ρεφός, in both MSS.: *Jaser, Jasa*, Josh. xxi. 36 (though omitted in the Rec. Hebrew Text, and not recognizable in the LXX.), Jer. xlviii. 21. [JAHAZ.]

**JAHAZI'AH** (יָחַזִּיָּה), i. e. Yach'zeyah: 'Ιαζίας; *Jaasia*), son of Tikvah, apparently a priest; commemorated as one of the four who originally sided with Ezra in the matter of the foreign wives (Ezr. x. 15). In Esdras the name becomes EZECHIAS.

**JAHAZIEL** (יָחַזִּיָּהוּ). 1. ('Ιεζιάλ; *Jehoziel*.) One of the heroes of Benjamin who deserted the cause of Saul and joined David when he was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

2. *Jaziel* ('Οζιάλ), a priest in the reign of David, whose office it was, in conjunction with Benaiiah, to blow the trumpet at the ministrations before the ark, when David had brought it to Jerusalem (1 Chr. xvi. 6). [HIGH-PRIEST.]

3. ('Ιεζιάλ, 'Ιαζιάλ; and so Alex.) a Kohathite Levite, third son of Hebron. His house is mentioned in the enumeration of the Levites in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 19; xxiv. 23). [A. C. H.]

4. ('Οζιάλ; *Jahaziel*.) Son of Zechariah, a Levite of the Bene-Asaph, who was inspired by the Spirit of Jehovah to animate Jehoshaphat and the army of Judah in a moment of great danger, namely, when they were anticipating the invasion

of an enormous horde of Moabites, Ammonites, Mehunims, and other barbarians (2 Chr. xx. 14). Ps. lxxxiii. is entitled a Psalm of Assaph, and this, coupled with the mention of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and others, in hostility to Israel, has led some to connect it with the above event. [GEBAL.] But, however desirable, this is very uncertain.

5. ('Αζήλ: *Ezechiel*.) The "son of Jahaziel" was the chief of the Bene-Shecaniah who returned from Babylon with Ezra, according to the present state of the Hebrew text (Ezr. viii. 5). But according to the LXX., and the parallel passage in 1 Esd. (viii. 32), a name has escaped from the text, and it should read, "of the Bene-Zathoe (probably ZATTU), Shecaniah son of Jahaziel." In the latter place the name appears as JEZELUS.

JAH'DAI (יהדי): *i. e.* Yehdai: 'Ađđaf; Alex. 'Iadať: *Jahodđai*), a man who appears to be thrust abruptly into the genealogy of Caleb, as the father of six sons (1 Chr. ii. 47). Various suggestions regarding the name have been made: as that Gazez, the name preceding, should be Jahdai; that Jahdai was a concubine of Caleb, &c.: but these are mere groundless suppositions (see Burrington, i. 216; Bertheau, *ad loc.*).

JAH'DIEL (יהדיאל: 'Iedíal: *Jediel*), one of the heroes who were heads of the half-tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

JAH'DO (יהדו: Iedđaf, as if the name had originally been יהדי; comp. JAASAU, JADAU: *Jeddo*), a Gadite named in the genealogies of his tribe (1 Chr. v. 14) as the son of Buz and father of Jeshishai.

JAH'LEEL (יהלאל: 'Aχολή; Alex. 'Αλοήλ, Αλλήλ: *Jahelal*), the third of the three sons of Zebulun (Gen. xlv. 14; Num. xxvi. 26), founder of the family of the JAHLEELITES. Nothing is heard of him or of his descendants.

JAH'MAI (יהמי: 'Iamaf; Alex. 'Iemou: *Jemai*), a man of Issachar, one of the heads of the house of Tola (1 Chr. vii. 2).

JAH'ZAH (יהצה: 'Iasaf: *Jassa*), 1 Chr. vi. 78. [JAHAZ.]

JAH'ZEEL (יהצל: 'Asíal: *Jasiel*), the first of the four sons of Naphtali (Gen. xlv. 24), founder of the family of the JAHZEELITES ('יהצאל, Num. xxvi. 48). His name is once again mentioned (1 Chr. vii. 13) in the slightly different form of JAHZIEL.

JAHZERAH (יהצרה: 'Iezraf, 'Ezraf: *Jezras*), a priest, of the house of Immer; ancestor of Maasai (read Maaziah), one of the courses which returned (1 Chr. ix. 12). [JEHOIARIB.] In the duplicate passage in Neh. xi. 13 he is called יהצי, ATHASAI, and all the other names are much varied. [A. C. H.]

JAH'ZIEL (יהצאל: 'Iasíal: *Jasiel*), the first in which the name of the first of Naphtali's sons, elsewhere given JAHZEEL, appears in 1 Chr. vii. 13 only.

JATR (יטר: 'Iafp: *Jair*). 1. A man who

\* This verse would seem not to refer to the original conquest of these villages by Jair, as the A. V. represents, but rather to their recapture. The accurate

on his father's side was descended from Judah, and on his mother's from Manasseh. His father was Segub, son of Hezron the son of Pharez, by his third wife, the daughter of the great Machir, by his so great that his name is sometimes used as equivalent to that of Manasseh (1 Chr. ii. 21, 22). Thus on both sides he was a member of the most powerful family of each tribe. By Moses he is called the "son of Manasseh" (Num. xxxii. 41 Deut. iii. 14), and according to the Chronicler (1 Chr. ii. 23), he was one of the "sons of Machir the father of Gilead." This designation from his mother rather than from his father, perhaps arose from his having settled in the tribe of Manasseh, east of Jordan. During the conquest he performed one of the chief feats recorded. He took the whole of the tract of ARGOB (Deut. iii. 14), the naturally inaccessible Trachonitis, the modern *Lejah*—and in addition possessed himself of some nomad-villages in Gilead, which he called after his own name, HAVOTH-JAIR (Num. xxxii. 41; 1 Chr. ii. 23). None of his descendants are mentioned with certainty; but it is perhaps allowable to consider IRA THE JAIRITE as one of them. Possibly another was

2. "JAIR THE GILEADITE," who judged Israel for two and twenty years (Judg. x. 3-5). He had thirty sons who rode 30 asses (עורים), and possessed 30 "cities" (ערי) in the land of Gilead, which, like those of their namesake, were called Havoth-Jair. Possibly the original twenty-three formed part of these. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, §6) gives the name of Jair as 'Iaίρη; he declares him to have been of the tribe of Manasseh, and his burial place CAMON, to have been in Gilead. [HAVOTH JAIR.]

3. (A Benjamite, son of Kish and father of Mordcai (Esth. ii. 5). In the Apocrypha his name is given as JAIRUS.

4. (עיר), a totally different name from the preceding; 'Iafp, Alex. 'Ađeip; *Saltus*.) The father of Elhanan, one of the heroes of David's army, who killed Lachmi the brother of Goliath (1 Chr. xv. 5). In the original Hebrew text (*Cethib*) the name is Jaor (עור). In the parallel narrative of Samuel (2 Sam. xxi. 19) Jaare-Oregim is substituted for Jair. The arguments for each will be found under ELHANAN and JAARE-OREGIM.

In the N. Test., as in the Apocrypha, we encounter Jair under the Greek form of JAIRUS. [6.]

JATRITE, THE (יהיטרי: δ 'Iapir; Alex. δ 'Iaeipé: *Jairites*). IRA the Jairite was a priest (כהן, A. V. "chief ruler") to David (2 Sam. xx. 26). If "Priest" is to be taken here in its sacerdotal sense, IRA must have been a descendant of Aaron, in whose line however no Jair is mentioned. But this is not imperative [see PRIEST], and he may therefore have sprung from the great Jair of Manasseh, or some lesser person of the name.

JAIRUS. 1. ('Iaeipos), a ruler of a synagogue, probably in some town near the western shore of the sea of Galilee. He was the father of the maiden whom Jesus restored to life (Matt. ix. 18; Mark v. 22; Luke viii. 41). The name is probably the Grecised form of the Hebrew JAIR. [W. T. B.]

2. ('Iafpos.) Esth. xi. 2. [JAIR, 3.]

rendering is said to be, "And Geshur and Aram took the Havoth-Jair from them, with Kenath and her daughter-towns, sixty cities" (Bertheau, *Chronik*, 16)

**JAKAN** (יַקָּן: 'Ακάν; Alex. Οὐκάμ: Jacan), son of Ezer the Horite (1 Chr. i. 42). The name is identical with that more commonly expressed in the A. V. as JAAKAN. And see AKAN.

**JAKEH** (יָכֶה), and in some MSS. יָקֶה, which is followed by a MS. of the Targum in the Cambridge Univ. Libr., and was evidently the reading of the Vulgate where the whole clause is rendered symbolically—"Verba congregantis filii vomentis"). The A. V. of Prov. xxx. 1, following the authority of the Targum and Syriac, has represented this as the proper name of the father of Agur, whose sayings are collected in Prov. xxx., and such is the natural interpretation. But beyond this we have no clue to the existence of either Agur or Jakeh. Of course if Agur be Solomon, it follows that Jakeh was a name of David of some mystical significance. But for this there is not a shadow of support. Jarchi, punning on the two names, explains the clause, "the words of Solomon, who gathered understanding and vomited it," evidently having before him the reading יָקֶה, which he derived from יָקֶה, "to vomit." This explanation, it needs scarcely be said, is equally characterised by elegance and truth. Others, adopting the form יָקֶה, and connecting it with יָקֶה (or as Fürst gives it, יָקֶה), יִיקֶה'הָה, "obedience," apply it to

Solomon in his late repentance. But these and the like are the merest conjectures. If Jakeh be the name of a person, as there is every reason to believe, we know nothing more about him; if not, there is no limit to the symbolical meanings which may be extracted from the clause in which it occurs, and which change with the ever-shifting ground of the critic's point of view. That the passage was early corrupted is clear from the rendering of the LXX., who insert ch. xxx. 1-14 in the middle of ch. xxiv. The first clause they translate τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων οὐ φοβήθητι, καὶ δεξιόμενος αὐτοὺς μετανοεῖ—"My son, fear my words, and having received them, repent;" a meaning which at first sight seems hard to extract from the Hebrew, and which has therefore been abandoned as hopelessly corrupt. But a slight alteration of one or two letters and the vowel-points will, if it do no more, at least show how the LXX. arrived at their extraordinary translation. They must have read יָקֶה בְּנֵי יָקֶה וְאִשָּׁם, in which the letters of the last word are slightly transposed, in order to account for μετανοεῖ. In support of this alteration see Zech. xi. 5, where יָקֶה is rendered μετεμέλοντο.\* The Targum and Syriac point to different readings also, though not where Jakeh is concerned.

Hitzig (*die Sprüche Salomo's*), unable to find any other explanation, has recourse to an alteration of the text as violent as this is unauthorised. He proposes to read יָקֶה בְּנֵי יָקֶה, "the son of her whose obedience is Massa;" which, to say the least of it, is a very remarkable way of indicating "the queen of Massa." But in order to arrive at this reading he first adopts the rare word יָקֶה (which only occurs in the const. state in two passages, Gen. xlix. 10, and Prov. xxx. 17), to which he attaches the unusual form of the pronominal suffix,

and ekes out his explanation by the help of an elliptical and highly poetical construction, which is strangely out of place in the bald prose heading of the chapter. Yet to this theory Bertheau yields a coy assent ("nicht ohne Zögern," *die Spr. Sal. Einl.* p. xviii.); and thus Agur and Lemuel are brothers, both sons of a queen of Massa, the former being the reigning monarch (Prov. xxxi. 1). מַסָּא, *massá*, "prophecy" or "burden," is considered as a proper name and identical with the region named MASSA in Arabia, occupied by the descendants of a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 14; 1 Chr. i. 30), and mentioned in connexion with Dumah. This district Hitzig conjectures was the same which was conquered and occupied by the 500 Simeonites, whose predatory excursion in the reign of Hezekiah is narrated in 1 Chr. iv. 41-43. They are there said to have annihilated the Amalekites in Mount Seir, and to have seized their country. That this country was Massa, of which Lemuel was king, and that Agur was a descendant of the conquering Simeonites, is the opinion of Hitzig, approved by Bunsen. But the latter, retaining the received text, and considering Jakeh as a proper name, takes מַסָּא, *hammassá*, as if it were מַסָּא, *hammassá*, a gentile name, "the man of Massa," supporting this by a reference to Gen. xv. 2, where דַּמְמֶשֶׁךְ, *Dammesech*, is apparently used in the same manner (*Bibeleerik*, i. clxxviii.). There is good reason, however, to suspect that the word in question in the latter passage is an interpolation, or that the verse is in some way corrupt, as the rendering of the Chaldee and Syriac is not supported by the ordinary usages of Hebrew, though it is adopted by the A. V., and by Gesenius, Knobel, and others. In any case the instances are not analogous. [W. A. W.]

**JA'KIM** (יָקִים: 'Iakím, Alex. 'Iakéim: Jacim).

1. Head of the 12th course of priests in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 12). The Alex. LXX. gives the name Eliakim ('Ελιακιέμ). [JEHOIARIB; JACHIN.]

2. A Benjamite, one of the Beni-Shimhi (1 Chr. viii. 19). [A. C. H.]

**JA'LOH** (יָלוֹן: 'Ialón; Alex. 'Ialón: Jalon), one of the sons of Ezra; a person named in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17).

**JAM'BRES**. [See JANNES and JAMBRES.]

**JAM'BRI**. Shortly after the death of Judas Maccabaeus (B.C. 161), "the children of Jambri" are said to have made a predatory attack on a detachment of the Maccabaeae forces and to have suffered reprisals (1 Macc. ix. 36-41). The name does not occur elsewhere, and the variety of readings is considerable: 'Iambri, Cod. B; 'Iambret, Cod. A; alii, 'Aμβροί, 'Aμβρί; Syr. Ambrei. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1, §2) reads οἱ Ἀμαραιοὶ παῖδες, and it seems almost certain that the true reading is 'Aμβρί (-εί), a form which occurs elsewhere (1 K. xvi. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, §5, Ἀμαρῖνος; 1 Chr. xxvii. 18, Heb. עֲמֹרִי, Vulg. Amri; 1 Chr. ix. 4, Ἀμβραῖμ).

It has been conjectured (Drusius, Michaelis, Grimm, 1 Macc. ix. 36) that the original text was בני אמרִי, "the sons of the Amorites," and that the reference is to a family of the Amorites who had in early times occupied the town Medeba (ver. 36) on the borders of Reuben (Num. xxi. 30, 31). [B. F. W.]

\* This conjecture incidentally throws light on the LXX. of Prov. xiv. 15, ἔρχεται εἰς μετανοίας, φοῖ λατῶν, which they probably read יָקֶה לְאִשָּׁם, *Yakel quantum*.

JAMES (*Ἰάκωβος: Jacobus*),<sup>a</sup> the name of several persons mentioned in the N. T.

1. JAMES THE SON OF ZEBEDEE. This is the only one of the Apostles of whose life and death we can write with certainty. The little that we know of him we have on the authority of Scripture. All else that is reported is idle legend, with the possible exception of one tale, handed down by Clement of Alexandria to Eusebius, and by Eusebius to us. With this single exception the line of demarcation is drawn clear and sharp. There is no fear of confounding the St. James of the New Testament with the hero of Compostella.

Of St. James's early life we know nothing. We first hear of him A.D. 27, when he was called to be our Lord's disciple; and he disappears from view A.D. 44, when he suffered martyrdom at the hands of Herod Agrippa I. We proceed to thread together the several pieces of information which the inspired writers have given us respecting him during these seventeen years.

1. *His history.*—In the spring or summer of the year 27, Zebedee,<sup>b</sup> a fisherman, but possessed at least of competence (Mark i. 20), was out on the Sea of Galilee, with his two sons, James and John, and some boatmen, whom either he had hired for the occasion, or who more probably were his usual attendants. He was engaged in his customary occupation of fishing, and near him was another boat belonging to Simon and Andrew, with whom he and his sons were in partnership. Finding themselves unsuccessful, the occupants of both boats came ashore, and began to wash their nets. At this time the new Teacher, who had now been ministering about six months, and with whom Simon and Andrew, and in all probability John, were already well acquainted (John i. 41), appeared upon the beach. He requested leave of Simon and Andrew to address the crowds that flocked around him from their boat, which was lying at a convenient distance from the shore. The discourse being completed, and the crowds dispersing, JESUS desired Simon to put out into the deeper water, and to try another cast for fish. Though reluctant, Simon did as he was desired, through the awe which he already entertained for One who, he thought, might possibly be the promised Messiah (John i. 41, 42), and whom even now he addressed as "Rabbi" (*ἐπιστάτα*, Luke v. 5, the word used by this Evangelist for *ῥαββί*). Astonished at the success of his draught, he beckoned

to his partners in the other boat to come and help him and his brother in landing the fish caught. The same amazement communicated itself to the sons of Zebedee, and flashed conviction on the mind of all the four fishermen. They had doubted and mused before; now they believed. At His call they left all, and became, once and for ever, His disciples hereafter to catch men.

This is the call of St. James to the discipleship. It will be seen that we have regarded the events narrated by St. Matthew and St. Mark (Matt. fr. 18-22; Mark i. 16-20) as identical with those related by St. Luke (Luke v. 1-11), in accordance with the opinion of Hammond, Lightfoot, Maldenatus, Lardner, Trench, Wordsworth, &c.; not as distinct from them, as supposed by Alford, Groswell, &c.

For a full year we lose sight of St. James. He is then, in the spring of 28, called to the apostleship with his eleven brethren (Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 14; Luke vi. 13; Acts i. 13). In the list of the Apostles given us by St. Mark, and in the book of Acts, his name occurs next to that of Simon Peter; in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke it comes third. It is clear that in these lists the names are not placed at random. In all four, the names of Peter, Andrew, James, and John are placed first; and it is plain that these four Apostles were at the head of the twelve throughout. Thus we see that Peter, James, and John, alone were admitted to the miracle of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mark v. 37; Luke viii. 51). The same three Apostles alone were permitted to be present at the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 28). The same three alone were allowed to witness the Agony (Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33). And it is Peter, James, John, and Andrew who ask our Lord for an explanation of his dark sayings with regard to the end of the world and his second coming (Mark xiii. 3). It is worthy of notice that in all these places, with one exception (Luke ix. 28), the name of James is put before that of John, and that John is twice described as "the brother of James" (Mark v. 37; Matt. xvii. 1). This would appear to imply that at this time James, either from age or character, took a higher position than his brother. On the last occasion on which St. James is mentioned we find this position reversed. That the prominence of these three Apostles was founded on personal character (as put of every twelve persons there must be two or three

<sup>a</sup> The name itself will perhaps repay a few moments' consideration. As borne by the Apostles and their contemporaries in the N. T., it was of course JACOB, and it is somewhat remarkable that in them it reappears for the first time since the patriarch himself. In the unchangeable East St. James is still St. Jacob—*Mar Yakob*; but no sooner had the name left the shores of Palestine than it underwent a series of curious and interesting changes probably unparalleled in any other case. To the Greeks it became *Ἰάκωβος*, with the accent on the first syllable; to the Latins, *Jacobus*, doubtless similarly accented, since in Italian it is *Iacomo* or *Giacomo*. In Spain it assumed two forms, apparently of different origins:—*Iago*—in modern Spanish *Diego*, Portuguese, *Yago*—and *Xayme* or *Joyme*, pronounced *Hayme*, with a strong initial guttural. In France it became *Jacques*; but another form was *Jame*, which appears in the metrical life of St. Thomas à Becket by Garnier (A.D. 1170-74), quoted in Robertson's *Becket*, p. 139 note. From this last the transition to our James is easy. When it first

appeared in English, or through what channel, the writer has not been able to trace. Possibly it came from Scotland, where the name was a favourite one. It exists in Wycliffe's Bible (1381). In Russia, and It exists in Wycliffe's Bible (1381). In Russia, and in Germany and the countries more immediately related thereto, the name has retained its original form, and accordingly there alone there would seem to be no distinction between Jacob and James; which was the case even in mediæval Latin, where Jacob and Jacobus were always discriminated. Its modern dress, however, sits very lightly on the name; and we see in "Jacobite" and "Jacobin" how ready it is to throw it off, and, like a true Oriental, reveal its original form.

<sup>b</sup> An ecclesiastical tradition, of uncertain date places the residence of Zebedee and the birth of St. James at Japhia, now *Yafa*, near Nazareth. Hence that village is commonly known to the members of the Latin Church in that district as *San Giacomo* [JAPHIA.]

to take the lead), and that it was not an office held by them "quos Dominus, ordinis servandi causa, ceteris praeponit," as King James i. has said (*Præfat. Mon. in Apol. pro Jur. Fid.*), can scarcely be doubted (cf. Eusebius, ii. 14).

It would seem to have been at the time of the appointment of the twelve Apostles that the name of Boanerges [BOANERGES] was given to the sons of Zebedee. It might, however, like Simon's name of Peter, have been conferred before. This name plainly was not bestowed upon them because they heard the voice like thunder from the cloud (Jerome), nor because "divina eorum prædicatio magnam quandam et illustrem sonitum per terrarum orbem data erat" (Vict. Antioch.), nor *ὡς μεταλλοκρηκας και θεολογατάτους* (Theoph.), but it was, like the name given to Simon, at once descriptive and prophetic. The "Rockman" had a natural strength, which was described by his title, and he was to have a divine strength, predicted by the same title. In the same way the "Sons of Thunder" had a burning and impetuous spirit, which twice exhibits itself in its unchastened form (Luke ix. 54; Mark x. 37), and which, when moulded by the Spirit of God, taking different shapes, led St. James to be the first apostolic martyr, and St. John to become in an especial manner the Apostle of Love.

The first occasion on which this natural character manifests itself in St. James and his brother is at the commencement of our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem in the year 30. He was passing through Samaria; and now courting rather than avoiding publicity, he "sent messengers before his face" into a certain village, "to make ready for him" (Luke ix. 52), i. e. in all probability to announce him as the Messiah. The Samaritans, with their old jealousy strong upon them, refused to receive him, because he was going to Jerusalem instead of to Gerizim; and in exasperation James and John entreated their Master to follow the example of Elijah, and call down fire to consume them. The rebuke of their Lord is testified to by all the New Testament MSS. The words of the rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," rest on the authority of the *Codex Bezae*, and a few MSS. of minor value. The rest of the verse, "For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them," is an insertion without authority of MSS. (see Alford, *in loc.*).

At the end of the same journey a similar spirit appears again. As they went up to Jerusalem our Lord declared to his Apostles the circumstances of his coming Passion, and at the same time strengthened them by the promise that they should sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. These words seem to have made a great impression upon Salome, and she may have thought her two sons quite as fit as the sons of Jonas to be the chief ministers of their Lord in the mysterious kingdom which he was about to assume. She approached therefore, and besought, perhaps with a special reference in her mind to Peter and Andrew, that her

two sons might sit on the right hand and on the left in his kingdom, i. e. according to a Jewish form of expression (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 11, §9), that they might be next to the King in honour. The two brothers joined with her in the prayer (Mark x. 35). The Lord passed by their petition with a mild reproof, showing that the request had not arisen from an evil heart, but from a spirit which aimed too high. He told them that they should drink His cup and be baptised with His baptism of suffering, but turned their minds away at once from the thought of future pre-eminence: in His kingdom none of his Apostles were to be lords over the rest. The indignation felt by the ten would show that they regarded the petition of the two brothers as an attempt at infringing on their privileges as much as on those of Peter and Andrew.

From the time of the Agony in the Garden, A.D. 30, to the time of his martyrdom, A.D. 44, we know nothing of St. James, except that after the ascension he persevered in prayer with the other Apostles, and the women, and the Lord's brethren (Acts i. 13). In the year 44 Herod Agrippa I., son of Aristobulus, was ruler of all the dominions which at the death of his grandfather, Herod the Great, had been divided between Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, and Lysanias. He had received from Caligula, Trachonitis in the year 37, Galilee and Peraea in the year 40. On the accession of Claudius, in the year 41, he received from him Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. This sovereign was at once a supple statesman and a stern Jew (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, §7, xix. 5-8): a king with not a few grand and kingly qualities, at the same time eaten up with Jewish pride—the type of a lay Pharisee. "He was very ambitious to oblige the people with donations," and "he was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country, keeping himself entirely pure, and not allowing one day to pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice" (*Ant.* xix. 7, §3). Policy and inclination would alike lead such a monarch "to lay hands" (not "stretch forth his hands," A. V. Acts xii. 1) "on certain of the church;" and accordingly, when the passover of the year 44 had brought St. James and St. Peter to Jerusalem, he seized them both, considering doubtless that if he cut off the "Son of Thunder" and the "Rockman" the new sect would be more tractable or more weak under the presidency of James the Just, for whose character he probably had a lingering and sincere respect. James was apprehended first—his natural impetuosity of temper would seem to have urged him on even beyond Peter. And "Herod the king," the historian simply tells us, "killed James the brother of John with the sword" (Acts xii. 2). This is all that we know for certain of his death.<sup>4</sup> We may notice two things respecting it—first, that James is now described as the brother of John, whereas previously John had been described as the brother of James, showing that the reputation of John had increased, and that of James diminished, by the time that St. Luke wrote: and secondly, that he perished not by

\* The same form is common throughout the East. See Lane's *Arab. Nights*, vol. iii. p. 212, &c.

<sup>4</sup> The great Armenian convent at Jerusalem on the so-called Mount Zion is dedicated to "St. James the son of Zebedee." The church of the convent, or rather a small chapel on its north-east side, occupies the traditional site of his martyrdom. This, however, can hardly be the actual site (Williams, *Holy City*, ii.

558). Its most interesting possession is the chair of the Apostle, a venerable relic, the age of which is perhaps traceable as far back as the 4th century (Williams, 560). But as it would seem that it is believed to have belonged to "the first Bishop of Jerusalem," it is doubtful to which of the two Jameses the tradition would attach it.



stoning, but by the sword. The Jewish law laid down that if seducers to strange worship were few, they should be stoned; if many, that they should be beheaded. Either therefore Herod intended that James's death should be the beginning of a sanguinary persecution, or he merely followed the Roman custom of putting to death from preference (see Light-foot, *in loc.*).

The death of so prominent a champion left a huge gap in the ranks of the infant society, which was filled partly by St. James, the brother of our Lord, who now steps forth into greater prominence in Jerusalem, and partly by St. Paul, who had now been seven years a convert, and who shortly afterwards set out on his first apostolic journey.

II. *Chronological recapitulation.*—In the spring or summer of the year 27 James was called to be a disciple of Christ. In the spring of 28 he was appointed one of the Twelve Apostles, and at that time probably received, with his brother, the title of Boanerges. In the autumn of the same year he was admitted to the miraculous raising of Jairus's daughter. In the spring of the year 29 he witnessed the Transfiguration. Very early in the year 30 he urged his Lord to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritan village. About three months later in the same year, just before the final arrival in Jerusalem, he and his brother made their ambitious request through their mother Salome. On the night before the Crucifixion he was present at the Agony in the Garden. On the day of the Ascension he is mentioned as persevering with the rest of the Apostles and disciples in prayer. Shortly before the day of the Passover, in the year 44, he was put to death. Thus during fourteen out of the seventeen years that elapsed between his call and his death we do not even catch a glimpse of him.

III. *Tradition respecting him.*—Clement of Alexandria, in the seventh book of the *Hypotyposesis*, relates, concerning St. James's martyrdom, that the prosecutor was so moved by witnessing his bold confession that he declared himself a Christian on the spot: accused and accuser were therefore hurried off together, and on the road the latter begged St. James to grant him forgiveness; after a moment's hesitation, the Apostle kissed him, saying, "Peace be to thee!" and they were beheaded together. This tradition is preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 6). There is no internal evidence against it, and the external evidence is sufficient to make it credible, for Clement flourished as early as A.D. 195, and he states expressly that the account was given him by those who went before him.

For legends respecting his death and his connexion with Spain, see the Roman Breviary (*in Fest. S. Jac. Ap.*), in which the healing of a paralytic and the conversion of Hermogenes are attributed to him, and where it is asserted that he preached the Gospel in Spain, and that his remains were translated to Compostella. See also the fourth book of the Apostolical History written by Abdias, the (pseudo) first bishop of Babylon (*Abdiae, Babyloniae primi Episcopi ab Apostolis constituti. de historia certaminis Apostolici, Libri decem*, Paris, 1566); Isidore *De vitâ et obitu SS. utriusque Test. No. LXXIII.* (Hagonae, 1529); Pope Calixtus II.'s Four Sermons on St. James the Apostle (*Bibl. Patr. Magn. xv. p. 324*); Mariana, *De adventu Jacobi Apostoli Majoris in Hispaniam* (Col. Agripp. 1609); Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum ad Jul. 25, p. 325* (Antwerp, 1589); Bollandus,

*Acta Sanctorum ad Jul. 25, tom. vi. pp. 1-124* (Antwerp, 1729); Estius, *Comm. in Act. Ap. c. xii.; Annot. in difficiliora loca S. Script.* (Col. Agripp. 1622); Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles tom. i. p. 899* (Brussels, 1706). As there is no shadow of foundation for any of the legends here referred to we pass them by without further notice. Even Baronius shows himself ashamed of them. Estius gives them up as hopeless; and Tillemont rejects them with as much contempt as his position would allow him to show. Epiphanius, without giving or probably having any authority for or against his statement, reports that St. James died unmarried (*S. Epiph. Adv. Haer. ii. 4, p. 491*, Paris, 1622), and that, like his namesake, he lived the life of a Nazarite (*ibid. iii. 2, 13, p. 1045*).

2. JAMES THE SON OF ALPHEAUS, *Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13.*

3. JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD, *Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; Gal. i. 19.*

4. JAMES THE SON OF MARY, *Matt. xxvii. 56; Luke xxiv. 10.* Also called THE LITTLE, *Matt. xv. 40.*

5. JAMES THE BROTHER OF JUDE, *Jude 1.*

6. JAMES THE BROTHER (?) OF JUDE, *Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13.*

7. JAMES, *Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 7; Gal. ii. 9, 12.*

8. JAMES THE SERVANT OF GOD AND OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, *James i. 1.*

We reserve the question of the authorship of the Epistle for the present.

St. Paul identifies for us Nos. 3. and 7. (*see Gal. ii. 9 and 12 compared with i. 19*).

If we may translate 'Ιουδας Ἰακώβου, *Judas the brother*, rather than the son of James, we may conclude that 5. and 6. are identical. And that we may so translate it, is proved, if proof were needed, by Winer (*Grammar of the Idioms of the N. T.*, translated by Agnew and Ebbecke, New York, 1850, §§lxvi. and xxx.), by Hänlein (*Handbuch der Einl. in die Schriften des Neuen Test.*, Göttingen, 1809), by Arnaud (*Recherches Critiques sur l'Épître de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851).

We may identify 5. and 6. with 3., because we know that James the Lord's brother had a brother named Jude.

We may identify 4. with 3. because we know James the son of Mary had a brother named James, and so also had James the Lord's brother.

Thus there remain two only, James the son of Alphaeus (2.), and James the brother of the Lord (3.). Can we, or can we not, identify them?

This requires a longer consideration.

1. By comparing *Matt. xxvii. 56* and *Mark vi. 40*, with *John xix. 25*, we find that the Virgin Mary had a sister named like herself, Mary, who was the wife of Clopas, and who had two sons, James the Little, and Joses. It has been suggested that "Mary the wife of Clopas" in *John xix. 25* need not be the same person as "his mother's sister" (*Kitto, Lange, Davidson*), but the Greek will not admit of this construction without the addition of the omission of a *καί*. By referring to *Matt. xiii. 55* and *Mark vi. 3* we find that a James and a Joses, with two other brethren called Jude and Simon, and at least three (πάραι) sisters, were living with the Virgin Mary at Nazareth. By referring to *Luke vi. 16* and *Acts i. 13* we find that there were two brethren named James and Jude among the Apostles. It would certainly be natural to think

that we had here but one family of four brothers and three or more sisters, the children of Clopas and Mary, nephews and nieces of the Virgin Mary. There are difficulties, however, in the way of this conclusion. For, 1. the four brethren in Matt. xiii. 55 are described as the brothers (ἀδελφοί) of Jesus, not as His cousins; 2. they are found living as at their home with the Virgin Mary, which seems unnatural if she were their aunt, their mother being, as we know, still alive; 3. the James of Luke vi. 15 is described as the son not of Clopas, but of Alphaeus; 4. the "brethren of the Lord" (who are plainly James, Joses, Jude, and Simon) appear to be excluded from the Apostolic band by their declared unbelief in his Messiahship (John vii. 3-5) and by being formally distinguished from the disciples by the Gospel-writers (Matt. xii. 48; Mark vi. 33; John ii. 12; Acts i. 14); 5. James and Jude are not designated as the Lord's brethren in the lists of the Apostles; 6. Mary is designated as mother of James and Joses, whereas she would have been called mother of James and Jude, had James and Jude been Apostles, and Joses not an Apostle (Matt. xxvii. 46).

These are the six chief objections which may be made to the hypothesis of there being but one family of brethren named James, Joses, Jude, and Simon. The following answers may be given:—

*Objection 1.*—"They are called brethren." It is a sound rule of criticism that words are to be understood in their most simple and literal acceptation; but there is a limit to this rule. When greater difficulties are caused by adhering to the literal meaning of a word, than by interpreting it more liberally, it is the part of the critic to interpret more liberally, rather than to cling to the ordinary and literal meaning of a word. Now it is clearly not necessary to understand ἀδελφοί as "brothers" in the nearest sense of brotherhood. It need not mean more than relative (comp. LXX. Gen. xiii. 8, iv. 14, xx. 12, xxix. 12, xxxi. 23; Lev. xxv. 48; Deut. ii. 8; Job xix. 13, xlii. 11; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 5, §47; *Isocr. Paneg.* 20; *Plat. Phaed.* 57, *Crit.* 16; see also Cic. *ad Att.* 15; *Tac. Ann.* iii. 38; *Quint. Curt.* vi. 10, §34; comp. Suicer and Schleusner in *loc.*). But perhaps the circumstances of the case would lead us to translate it brethren? On the contrary, such a translation appears to produce very grave difficulties. For, first, it introduces two sets of four first-cousins, bearing the same names of James, Joses, Jude, and Simon, who appear upon the stage without anything to show which is the son of Clopas, and which his cousin; and secondly, it drives us to take our choice between three doubtful and improbable hypotheses as to the parentage of this second set of James, Joses, Jude, and Simon. There are three such hypotheses:—(a.) The Eastern hypothesis, that they were the children of Joseph by a former wife. This notion originated in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (*Orig. in Matt.* xiii. 55, *Op.* tom. iii. p. 462, E. ed. Delarue), and was adopted by St. Epiphanius, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, and handed on to the later Greek Church (*Epiph. Haer.* xxvii. *Op.* tom. iii. p. 115; *Hil. in Matt.* i., *St. Ambr. Op.* tom. ii. p. 260, Ed. Ben.). (b.) The Helvidian hypothesis, put forward at first by Bonosus, Helvidius, and Jovinian, and revived by Strauss and Herder in Germany, and by Davidson and Alford in England, that James, Joses, Jude, and Mary, and the three sisters, were children of Joseph and Mary. This notion is opposed, whether rightly or wrongly, to the general sentiment of the Chris-

tian body in all ages of the Church; like the other two hypotheses, it creates two sets of cousins with the same name: it seems to be scarcely compatible with our Lord's recommending His mother to the care of St. John at His own death (see Jerome, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 10); for if, as has been suggested, though with great improbability, her sons might at that time have been unbelievers (*Blom. Disp. Theol.* p. 67, *Lugd. Bat.*; Neander, *Planting*, &c., iv. 1), JESUS would have known that that unbelief was only to continue for a few days. That the πρωτότοκος υἱός of Luke ii. 7, and the εἰς οὐ ἔτεκε of Matt. i. 25, imply the birth of after children, is not now often urged (see Pearson, *On the Creed*, i. 304, ii. 220). (c.) The Levirate hypothesis may be passed by. It was a mere attempt made in the eleventh century to reconcile the Greek and Latin traditions by supposing that Joseph and Clopas were brothers, and that Joseph raised up seed to his dead brother (Theoph. in *Matt.* xiii. 55; *Op.* tom. i. p. 71, E. ed. Venet. 1764).

*Objection 2.*—"The four brothers and their sisters are always found living and moving about with the Virgin Mary." If they were the children of Clopas, the Virgin Mary was their aunt. Her own husband would appear without doubt to have died at some time between A.D. 8 and A.D. 26. Nor have we any reason for believing Clopas to have been alive during our Lord's ministry. (We need not pause here to prove that the Cleophas of Luke xxiv. is an entirely different person and name from Clopas.) What difficulty is there in supposing that the two widowed sisters should have lived together, the more so as one of them had but one son, and he was often taken from her by his ministerial duties? And would it not be most natural that two families of first cousins thus living together should be popularly looked upon as one family, and spoken of as brothers and sisters instead of cousins? It is noticeable that St. Mary is nowhere called the mother of the four brothers.

*Objection 3.*—"James the Apostle is said to be the son of Alphaeus, not of Clopas." But Alphaeus and Clopas are the same name rendered into the Greek language in two different but ordinary and recognized ways, from the Aramaic אֶפְיָא or אֶפְיָא. (See Mill, *Accounts of Our Lord's Brethren vindicated*, &c., p. 236, who compares the two forms Clovis and Aloysius; Arnaud, *Recherches*, &c.)

*Objection 4.*—Dean Alford considers John vii. 5, compared with vi. 67-70, to decide that none of the brothers of the Lord were of the number of the Twelve (*Proleg. to Ep. of James*, G. T. iv. 88, and *Comm. in loc.*). If this verse, as he states, makes "the crowning difficulty" to the hypothesis of the identity of James the son of Alphaeus, the Apostle, with James the brother of the Lord, the difficulties are not too formidable to be overcome. Many of the disciples having left JESUS, St. Peter bursts out in the name of the Twelve with a warm expression of faith and love; and after that—very likely (see Greswell's *Harmony*) full six months afterwards—the Evangelist states that "neither did His brethren believe on Him." Does it follow from hence that all His brethren disbelieved? Let us compare other passages in Scripture. St. Matthew and St. Mark state that the thieves railed on our Lord upon the Cross. Are we therefore to disbelieve St. Luke, who says that one of the thieves was penitent, and did not rail? (Luke xliii. 39, 40). St. Luke and St. John say that the soldiers offered vinegar. Are

we to believe that all did so? or, as St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us, that only one did it? (Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 29; Mark xv. 36; Matt. xxvii. 48). St. Matthew tells us that "his disciples" had indignation when Mary poured the ointment on the Lord's head. Are we to suppose this true of all? or of Judas Iscariot, and perhaps some of others, according to John xii. 4 and Mark xiv. 4? It is not at all necessary to suppose that St. John is here speaking of all the brethren. If Jesus, Simon, and the three sisters disbelieved, it would be quite sufficient ground for the statement of the Evangelist. The same may be said of Matt. xii. 47, Mark iii. 32, where it is reported to Him that His mother and His brethren, designated by St. Mark (iii. 21) as *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, were standing without. Nor does it necessarily follow that the disbelief of the brethren was of such a nature that James and Jude, Apostles though they were, and vouched for half a year before by the warm-tempered Peter, could have had no share in it. It might have been similar to that feeling of unfaithful restlessness which perhaps moved St. John Baptist to send his disciples to make their inquiry of the Lord, (see Grotius *in loc.*, and Lardner, vi. p. 497, Lond. 1788). With regard to John i. 12, Acts i. 14, we may say that "his brethren" are no more excluded from the disciples in the first passage, and from the Apostles in the second, by being mentioned parallel with them, than "the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (1 Cor. ix. 5), excludes Peter from the Apostolic band.

*Objection 5.*—"If the title of brethren of the Lord had belonged to James and Jude, they would have been designated by it in the list of the Apostles." One omission of a title is so slight a ground for an argument that we may pass this by.

*Objection 6.*—That Mary the wife of Clopas should be designated by the title of Mary the mother of James and Jesus, to the exclusion of Jude, if James and Jude were Apostles, appears to Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to N. T.*, iii. 295, London, 1851) and to Dean Alford (*Proleg. to Ep. of James*, G. T., iv. 90) extremely improbable. There is no improbability in it, if Jesus was, as would seem likely, an elder brother of Jude, and next in order to James.

II. We have hitherto argued that the hypothesis which most naturally accounts for the facts of Holy Scripture is that of the identity of James the Little, the Apostle, with James the Lord's brother. We have also argued that the six main objections to this view are not valid, inasmuch as they may either be altogether met, or at best throw us back on other hypotheses which create greater difficulties than that under consideration. We proceed to point out some further confirmations of our original hypothesis.

1. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, in a list of twelve persons, in which the name of James twice occurred, with its distinguishing patronymic, should describe one of the last persons on his list as brother to "James," without any further designation to distinguish him, unless he meant the James whom he had just before named. The James whom he had just before named is the son of Alphaeus; and the person designated by his relationship to him is Jude. We have reason therefore for regarding Jude as the brother of the son of Alphaeus; on other grounds (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3) we have reason for regarding him as the brother of the Lord: therefore we have reason for regarding the son of Alphaeus as the brother of the Lord.

2. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, after having recognized only two Jameses throughout his Gospel and down to the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and having in that chapter narrated the death of one of them (James the son of Zebedee), should go on in the same and following chapters to speak of "James," meaning thereby not the other James, with whom alone his readers are acquainted, but a different James not yet mentioned by him. Alford's example of Philip the Evangelist (*Proleg. to the Ep. of James*, p. 89) is in no manner of way to the point, except as a contrast. St. Luke introduces Philip the Evangelist, Acts vi. 5, and after recounting the death of Stephen his colleague, continues the history of the same Philip.

3. James is represented throughout the Acts as exercising great authority among, or even over, Apostles (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18); and in St. Paul's Epistles he is placed before even Cephas and John, and declared to be a pillar of the Church with them (Gal. ii. 9-12). It is more likely that an Apostle would hold such a position, than one who had not been a believer till after the Resurrection.

4. St. Paul says (Gal. i. 19), "Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother" (*Ἄτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*). This passage, though seeming to assert distinctly that James the Lord's brother was an Apostle, and therefore identical with the son of Alphaeus, cannot be taken as a direct statement to that effect, for it is possible that *ἀπόστολος* may be used in the looser sense, though this is not agreeable with the line of definition which St. Paul is here maintaining, viz. that he had received his commission from God, and not from the Twelve (see Thourdike, i. p. 5, Oxf. 1844). And again, *εἰ μὴ* may qualify the whole sentence, and not only the word *ἀπόστολος* (Mayerhoff, *Hist. krit. Einleit. in die Petrin. Schr.* p. 52, Hamb. 1833; Neander, Michaelis, Winer, Alford). Still this is not often, if ever, the case, when *εἰ μὴ* follows *ἔτερον* (Schneckenburger, *Adnot. ad Epist. Jac. perpet.* p. 144, Stuttg. 1832; see also Winer, *Grammatik*, 5th ed., p. 647, and Meyer, *com. in loc.*); and if St. Paul had not intended to include St. James among the Apostles, we should rather have expected the singular *ἀπόστολος* than the plural *τῶν ἀποστόλων* (Arnaud, *Recherches*, &c.). The more natural interpretation of the verse would appear to be that which includes James among the Twelve, identifying him with the son of Alphaeus. But, as we have said, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. Compare, however, this verse with Acts ix. 27, and the probability is increased by several degrees. St. Luke there asserts that Barnabas brought Paul to the Apostles, *πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους*. St. Paul, as we have seen, asserts that during that visit to Jerusalem he saw James the Lord's brother. Peter and James, then, were the two Apostles to whom Barnabas brought Paul. Of course, it may be said here also that *ἀπόστολος* is used in its lax sense; but it appears to be a more natural conclusion that James the Lord's brother was one of the Twelve Apostles, being identical with James the son of Alphaeus, or James the Little.

III. We must now turn for a short time from Scripture to the early testimony of uninspired writers. Here, as among modern writers, we find the same three hypotheses which we have already mentioned:—

For the identity of James the Lord's brother with James the Apostle, the son of Alphaeus, we find Papias of Hierapolis, a contemporary of the Apostles (see Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* i. 16, 43, 230, Oxon, 1846) St. Clement of Alexandria (*Hypotyposeis*, Bk. vii. apud Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 1), St. Chrysostom (in Gal. i. 19).

Parallel with this opinion there existed another in favour of the hypothesis that James was the son of Joseph by a former marriage, and therefore not identical with the son of Alphaeus. This is first found in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (see Origen, in *Matt.* xiii. 55), in the Protevangelium of James, and the Pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions of the third century (Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.* tom. i. p. 228; *Const. Apost.* vi. 12). It is adopted by Eusebius (*Comm. in Esai.* xvii. 6; *H. E.* i. 12, ii. 1). Perhaps it is Origen's opinion (see *Comm. in Joh.* ii. 12). St. Epiphanius, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, we have already mentioned as being on the same side. So are Victorinus (Vict. Phil. in Gal. apud Maii *Script. vet. nov. coll.* Romae, 1828) and Gregory Nyssen (*Op.* tom. ii. p. 844, D. ed. Par. 1618), and it became the recognised belief of the Greek Church.

Meantime the hypothesis maintaining the identity of the two was maintained; and being warmly defended by St. Jerome (in *Matt.* xii. 49), and supported by St. Augustine (*Contra Faust.* xxii. 35, &c.), it became the recognised belief of the Western Church.

The third hypothesis was unknown until it was put forward by Bonosus in Macedonia, and by Helvidius and Jovinian in Italy, as an opinion which seemed to them conformable with Scripture. Their followers were called Antidicomarianites. The fact of their having a name given them shows that their numbers must have been considerable; they date from the latter part of the fourth century.

English theological writers have been divided between the first and second of these views, with, however, a preference on the whole for the first hypothesis. See, for example, Lardner, vi. 495, Lond. 1788; Pearson, *Minor Works*, i. 350, Oxf. 1844, and *On the Creed*, i. 308, ii. 224, Oxf. 1833; Thorndike, i. 5, Oxf. 1844; Horne's *Introd. to H. S.* iv. 427, Lond. 1834, &c. On the same side are Lightfoot, Witsius, Lampe, Baumgarten, Semler, Gabler, Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Guericke, Schneckenburger, Meier, Steiger, Gieseler, Theile, Lange. Taylor (*Op.* tom. v. p. 20, Lond. 1849), Wilson (*Op.* tom. vi. p. 673, Oxf. 1859), Cave (*Life of St. James*) maintain the second hypothesis, with Vossius, Basnage, Valesius, &c. The third is held by Dr. Davidson (*Intr. N. T.* vol. iii.) and by Dean Alford (*Greek Test.* iv. 87).

The chief treatises on the subject are Dr. Mill's *Accounts of our Lord's brethren vindicated*, Cambridge, 1843; Alford, as above referred to; Lange's Article in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Stuttgart, 1856; Neander's *Pflanzung und Leitung*; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist. Jac. perpetua*, Stuttgart, 1832; Arnaud's *Recherches Critiques sur l'Épître de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851; Schaff's *Das Verhältniss des Jacobus Bruders des Herrn und Jacobus Alphäi*, Berlin, 1842; Gabler's *De Ja-*

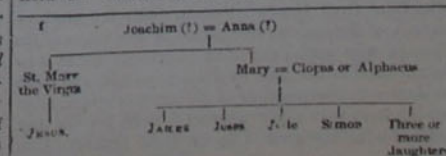
*cobo, epistolae eidem ascriptae auctori*, Altorf, 1787.

Had we not identified James the son of Alphaeus with the brother of the Lord we should have but little to write of him. When we had said that his name appears twice in the catalogue of the Twelve Apostles, our history of him would be complete. In like manner the early history of the Lord's brother would be confined to the fact that he lived and moved from place to place with his brothers and sisters, and with the Virgin Mary; and, except the appearance of the risen Lord to him, we should have nothing more to recount of him until after the death of James the son of Zebedee, in the year 44, or at least, till St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, in the year 40. Of James the Little, who would probably be distinct from each of the above (for an argument against the identity of the Jameses is the doubt of the identity of Alphaeus and Clopas), we should know nothing, except that he had a mother named Mary, who was the sister of the Virgin Mary and the wife of Clopas.

JAMES THE LITTLE, THE SON OF ALPHAEUS, THE BROTHER OF THE LORD.—Of James' father  $\alpha\lambda\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , rendered by St. Matthew and St. Mark *Alphaeus* ( $\alpha\lambda\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ), and by St. John *Clopas* ( $\kappa\lambda\omega\pi\alpha\delta\varsigma$ ), we know nothing, except that he married Mary, the sister of the Virgin Mary, and had by her four sons and three or more daughters. He appears to have died before the commencement of our Lord's ministry, and after his death it would seem that his wife and her sister, a widow like herself, and in poor circumstances, lived together in one house, generally at Nazareth (*Matt.* xiii. 55), but sometimes also at Capernaum (*John* ii. 12) and Jerusalem (*Acts* i. 14). It is probable that these cousins, or, as they were usually called, brothers and sisters, of the Lord were older than Himself; as on one occasion we find them, with His mother, indignantly declaring that He was beside Himself, and going out to "lay hold on Him" and compel Him to moderate His zeal in preaching, at least sufficiently "to eat bread" (*Mark* iii. 20, 21, 31). This looks like the conduct of elders towards one younger than themselves.

Of James individually we know nothing till the spring of the year 28, when we find him, together with his younger brother Jude, called to the Apostolate. It has been noticed that in all the four lists of the Apostles James holds the same place, heading perhaps the third class, consisting of himself, Jude, Simon, and Iscariot; as Philip heads the second class, consisting of himself, Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew; and Simon Peter the first, consisting of himself, Andrew, James, and John (*Alford*, in *Matt.* x. 2). The fact of Jude being described by reference to James ( $\text{Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου}$ ) shows the name and reputation which he had, either at the time of the calling of the Apostles or at the time when St. Luke wrote.

It is not likely (though far from impossible) that James and Jude took part with their brothers and sisters, and the Virgin Mary, in trying "to lay hold on" Jesus in the autumn of the same year



\* The author of the article on the "Brethren of our Lord" takes a different view from the one given above (see p. 231).

(Mark iii 21); and it is likely, though not certain, that it is of the other brothers and sisters, without these two, that St. John says, "Neither did His brethren believe on Him" (John vii. 5), in the autumn of A.D. 29.

We hear no more of James till after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. At some time in the forty days that intervened between the Resurrection and the Ascension the Lord appeared to him. This is not related by the Evangelists, but it is mentioned by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7); and there never has been any doubt that it was to this James rather than to the son of Zebedee that the manifestation was vouchsafed. We may conjecture that it was for the purpose of strengthening him for the high position which he was soon to assume in Jerusalem, and of giving him the instructions on "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3), which were necessary for his guidance, that the Lord thus showed Himself to James. We cannot fix the date of this appearance. It was probably only a few days before the Ascension; after which we find James, Jude, and the rest of the Apostles, together with the Virgin Mary, Simon, and Jesus, in Jerusalem, awaiting in faith and prayer the outpouring of the Pentecostal gift.

Again we lose sight of James for ten years, and when he appears once more it is in a far higher position than any that he has yet held. In the year 37 occurred the conversion of Saul. Three years after his conversion he paid his first visit to Jerusalem, but the Christians recollected what they had suffered at his hands, and feared to have anything to do with him. Barnabas, at this time of far higher reputation than himself, took him by the hand, and introduced him to Peter and James (Acts ix. 27; Gal. i. 18, 19), and by their authority he was admitted into the society of the Christians, and allowed to associate freely with them during the fifteen days of his stay. Here we find James on a level with Peter, and with him deciding on the admission of St. Paul into fellowship with the Church at Jerusalem; and from henceforth we always find him equal, or in his own department superior, to the very chiefest Apostles, Peter, John, and Paul. For by this time he had been appointed (at what exact date we know not) to preside over the infant Church in its most important centre, in a position equivalent to that of Bishop. This pre-eminence is evident throughout the after history of the Apostles, whether we read it in the Acts, in the Epistles, or in Ecclesiastical writers. Thus in the year 44, when Peter is released from prison, he desires that information of his escape may be given to "James, and to the brethren" (Acts xii. 17). In the year 49 he presides at the Apostolic Council, and delivers the judgment of the Assembly, with the expression *ὁ δὸς ἔργα κτίσας* (Acts xv. 13, 19; see St. Chrys. *in loc.*). In the same year (or perhaps in the year 51, on his fourth visit to Jerusalem) St. Paul recognises James as one of the pillars of the Church, together with Cephas and John (Gal. ii. 9), and places his name before them both. Shortly afterwards it is "certain who came from James," that is, from the mother-church of Jerusalem, designated by the name of its Bishop, who lead Peter into conversation at Antioch. And in the year 57 Paul pays a formal visit to James in the presence of all his presbyters, after having been previously welcomed with joy the day before by the brethren in an unofficial manner (Acts xxi. 18).

Entirely accordant with these notices or Scripture is the universal testimony of Christian antiquity to the high office held by James in the Church of Jerusalem. That he was formally appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord himself, as reported by Epiphanius (Hæres. lxxviii.); Chrysostom (*Hom. xi. in 1 Cor. vii.*); Proclus of Constantinople (*De Trad. Div. Liturg.*); and Photius (*Ep. 157*) is not likely. Eusebius follows elsewhere that he was appointed by the Lord (H. E. ii. 23). Clement of Alexandria is the first author who speaks of his Episcopate (Hypotyposes, Bk. vi. ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 1), and he alludes to it as a thing of which the chief Apostles, Peter, James, and John, might well have been ambitious. The same Clement reports that the Lord, after His resurrection, delivered the gift of knowledge to James the Just, to John, and Peter, who delivered it to the rest of the Apostles, and they to the Seventy. This at least shows the estimation in which James was held. But the author to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of the life and death of James is Hegesippus (*i. e. Joseph*), a Christian of Jewish origin, who lived in the middle of the second century. His narrative gives us such an insight into the position of St. James in the Church of Jerusalem that it is best to let him relate it in his own words:—

*Tradition respecting James, as given by Hegesippus.*—"With the Apostles James, the brother of the Lord, succeeds to the charge of the Church—that James, who has been called Just from the time of the Lord to our own days, for there was many of the name of James. He was holy from his mother's womb, he drank not wine or strong drink, nor did he eat animal food; a razor was not upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil; he did not use the bath. He alone might go into the holy place; for he wore no woollen clothes, but linen. And alone he used to go into the temple, and there he was commonly found upon his knees, praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew dry and thin [generally translated bare] like a camel's, from his constantly bending them in prayer, and entreating forgiveness for the people. On account therefore of his exceeding righteousness he was called 'Just,' and 'Oblias,' which means in Greek 'the bulwark of the people,' and 'righteousness,' as the prophets declare of him. Some of the seven sects then that I have mentioned enquired of him, 'What is the door of Jesus?' And he said that this man was the Saviour, wherefore some believed that Jesus is the Christ. Now the forementioned sects did not believe in the Resurrection, nor in the coming of one who shall recompense every man according to his works; but all who became believers believed through James. When many therefore of the rulers, believed, there was a disturbance among the Jews, and Scribes, and Pharisees, saying, 'There is a risk that the whole people will expect Jesus to be the Christ.' They came together therefore to James, and said, 'We pray thee, stop the people, for they have gone astray after Jesus as though he were the Christ.' We pray thee to persuade all that come to the Passover concerning Jesus: for we all give heed to thee, for we and all the people testify to thee that thou art just, and acceptest not the person of man. Persuade the people therefore not to go astray about Jesus. for the whole people and all of us give heed to thee. Stand therefore on the gable of the temple.

that thou mayest be visible, and that thy words may be heard by all the people; for all the tribes and even the Gentiles are come together for the Passover.' Therefore the forementioned Scribes and Pharisees placed James upon the gable of the temple, and cried out to him, and said, 'O Just one, to whom we ought all to give heed, seeing that the people are going astray after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the door of Jesus?' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why ask ye me about Jesus the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come on the clouds of heaven.' And many were convinced and gave glory on the testimony of James, crying Hosannah to the Son of David. Whereupon the same Scribes and Pharisees said to each other, 'We have done ill in bringing forward such a witness to Jesus; but let us go up, and throw him down, that they may be terrified, and not believe on him.' And they cried out, saying, 'Oh! oh! even the Just is gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just man, for he is displeasing to us; therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their deeds.' They went up therefore, and threw down the Just one, and said to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned round, and knelt down, and cried, 'I beseech thee, Lord God Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And whilst they were stoning him, one of the priests, of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites to whom Jeremiah the prophet bears testimony, cried out and said, 'Stop! What are you about? The Just one is praying for you!' Then one of them, who was a fuller, took the club with which he pressed the clothes, and brought it down on the head of the Just one. And so he bore his witness. And they buried him on the spot by the temple, and the column still remains by the temple. This man was a true witness to Jews and Greeks that JESUS is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian commenced the siege" (Euseb. ii. 23, and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* p. 208, Oxf. 1846).

For the difficulties which occur in this extract, reference may be made to Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae* (vol. i. p. 228), and to Canon Stanley's *Apostolical Age* (p. 319, Oxf. 1847). It represents St. James to us in his life and in his death more vividly than any modern words could picture him. We see him, a married man perhaps (1 Cor. ix. 5), but in all other respects a rigid and ascetic follower after righteousness, keeping the Nazarite rule, like Anna the prophetess (Luke ii. 37), serving the Lord in the temple "with fastings and prayers night and day," regarded by the Jews themselves as one who had attained to the sanctity of the priesthood, though not of the priestly family or tribe (unless indeed we argue from this that Clopas did belong to the tribe of Levi, and draw thence another argument for the identity of James the son of Clopas and James the Lord's brother), and as the very type

\* The monument—part excavation, part edifice—which is now commonly known as the "Tomb of St. James," is on the east side of the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat, and therefore at a considerable distance from the spot on which the Apostle was killed, which the narrative of Hegesippus would seem to fix as somewhere under the south-east corner of the wall of the *Haram*, or perhaps further down the slope nearer the "Fountain of the Virgin." [EN-ROEHL.] It cannot at any rate be said to stand "by the Temple." The

of what a righteous or just man ought to be. If any man could have converted the Jews as a nation to Christianity, it would have been James.

Josephus' narrative of his death is apparently somewhat different. He says that in the interval between the death of Festus and the coming of Albinus, Ananus the high-priest assembled the Sanhedrim, and "brought before it James the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, and having charged them with breaking the laws, delivered them over to be stoned." But if we are to reconcile this statement with that of Hegesippus, we must suppose that they were not actually stoned on this occasion. The historian adds that the better part of the citizens disliked what was done, and complained of Ananus to Agrippa and Albinus, whereupon Albinus threatened to punish him for having assembled the Sanhedrim without his consent, and Agrippa deprived him of the high-priesthood (*Ant.* xx. 9). The words "brother of him who is called Christ," are judged by Le Clerc, Lardner, &c., to be spurious.

Epiphanius gives the same account that Hegesippus does in somewhat different words, having evidently copied it for the most part from him. He adds a few particulars which are probably mere assertions or conclusions of his own (*Haeres.* xxix. 4, and lxxviii. 13). He considers James to have been the son of Joseph by a former wife, and calculates that he must have been 96 years old at the time of his death; and adds, on the authority, as he says, of Eusebius, Clement, and others, that he wore the *πέταλον* on his forehead, in which he probably confounds him with St. John (Polycr. apud Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24. But see Cotta, *De lam. pont. App. Joan. Jac. et Marci*, Tub. 1755).

Gregory of Tours reports that he was buried, not where he fell, but on the Mount of Olives, in a tomb in which he had already buried Zacharias and Simeon (*De glor. Mart.* i. 27). Eusebius tells us that his chair was preserved down to his time; on which see Heinichen's *Excursus* (*Exc. xi. ad Euseb. H. E.* vii. 19, vol. iv. p. 957, ed. Burton).

We must add a strange Talmudic legend, which appears to relate to James. It is found in the Midrash Koheleth, or Commentary on Ecclesiastes, and also in the Tract Abodah Zarah of the Jerusalem Talmud. It is as follows: "R. Eliezer, the son of Dama, was bitten by a serpent; and there came to him Jacob, a man of Caphar Secama, to heal him by the name of Jesu the son of Pandera; but R. Ismael suffered him not, saying, 'That is not allowed thee, son of Dama.' He answered, 'Suffer me, and I will produce an authority against thee that it is lawful; but he could not produce the authority before he expired. And what was the authority?—This: 'Which if a man do, he shall live in them' (Lev. xviii. 5). But it is not said that he shall die in them." The son of Pandera is the name that the Jews have always given to our Lord, when representing Him as a magician. The same name is given in Epiphanius (*Haeres.*

tradition about the monument in question is that St. James took refuge there after the capture of Christ, and remained, eating and drinking nothing, until our Lord appeared to him on the day of His resurrection (See Quaresmius, &c., quoted in Tobler, *Siloah*, &c., 299.) The legend of his death there seems to be first mentioned by Maundeville (A.D. 1320: see *Early Trav.* 176). By the old travellers it is often called the "Church of St. James."

(lxxviii.) to the grandfather of Joseph, and by John Damascene (*De Fide Orth.* iv. 15) to the grandfather of Joachim, the supposed father of the Virgin Mary. For the identification of James of Secama (a place in Upper Galilee) with James the Just, see Mill (*Historic. Criticism of the Gospel*, p. 318, Camb. 1840). The passage quoted by Origen and Eusebius from Josephus, in which the latter speaks of the death of James as being one of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, seems to be spurious (*Orig. in Matt.* xiii. 55; *Euseb. H. E.* ii. 23).

It is possible that there may be a reference to James in Heb. xiii. 7 (see Theodoret *in loc.*), which would fix his death at some time previous to the writing of that Epistle. His apprehension by Ananias was probably about the year 62 or 63 (Lardner, Pearson, Mill, Whitby, Le Clerc, Tillemont). There is nothing to fix the date of his martyrdom as narrated by Hegesippus, except that it must have been shortly before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem. We may conjecture that he was between 70 and 80 years old.<sup>b</sup> [F. M.]

### JAMES, THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF.

*I. Its Genuineness and Canonicity.*—In the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius makes his well-known division of the books, or pretended books, of the New Testament into four classes. Under the head of *ὁμολογούμενα* he places the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, the First Epistle of St. John, and the First Epistle of St. Peter. In the class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα* he places the Epistle of St. James, the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude. Amongst the *νόθα* he enumerates the Acts of St. Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of St. Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Gospel to the Hebrews. The *αἰρετικά* consist of the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others, the Acts of Andrew, John, and others. The *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, amongst which he places the Epistle of St. James, are, he says, *γνώριμα ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς*, whether the expression means that they were acknowledged by, or merely that they were known to, the majority (*H. E.* iii. 25). Elsewhere he refers the Epistle to the class of *νόθα*, for this is the meaning of *νοθεύεται μὲν*, which was apparently misunderstood by St. Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.*); but he bears witness that it was publicly read in most churches as genuine (*H. E.* ii. 23), and as such accepts it himself. This then was the state of the question in the time of Eusebius; the Epistle was accepted as canonical, and as the writing of James, the brother of the Lord, by the majority, but not universally. Origen bears the same testimony as Eusebius (*tom. iv. p. 306*), and probably like him, himself accepted the Epistle as genuine (*tom. iv. p. 535, &c.*). It is found in the Syriac version, and appears to be referred to by Clement of Rome (*ad Cor. x.*), Hermas (*lib. ii., Mand. xii. 5*), Irenaeus (*Adv. Hæres. 16, 2*), and is quoted by almost all the Fathers of the 4th century, *e. g.* Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom (see Davidson, *Intr. to N. T.*, iii. p. 338). In 397 the Council of Carthage accepted it as canonical, and from that time there has been no further question of its genuineness on the score of external testimony. But at the time of the Reformation the question of its authenticity was again

raised, and now upon the ground of internal evidence. Erasmus and Cardinal Cajetan in the Church of Rome, Cyril Lucar in the Greek Church, Luther and the Magdeburg Centurions among Protestants, all objected to it. Luther seems to have withdrawn his expression that it was "a right strawy Epistle," compared with the Gospel of St. John and the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, after that expression had been two years before the world. The chief objection on internal grounds in a supposed opposition between St. Paul and St. James, on the doctrine of Justification, concerning which we shall presently make some remarks. At present we need only say that it is easy to account for the non-universal reception of the Epistle in the Early Church, by the fact that it was meant only for Jewish believers, and was not likely therefore to circulate widely among Gentile Christians, for whose spiritual necessities it was primarily not adapted; and that the objection on internal grounds proves nothing except against the objectors, for it really rests on a mistake.

*II. Its Author.*—The author of the Epistle must be either James the son of Zebedee, according to the subscription of the Syriac version; or James the son of Alphaeus, according to Dr. Davidson's view (*Intr. to N. T.* iii. p. 312); or James the brother of the Lord, which is the general opinion (see *Euseb. H. E.* ii. 23; *Alford, G. T.* iv. p. 28); or an unknown James (Luther). The likelihood of this last hypothesis falls to the ground when the canonical character of the Epistle is admitted. James the son of Zebedee could not have written it, because the date of his death, only seven years after the martyrdom of Stephen, does not give time for the growth of a sufficient number of Jewish Christians *ἐν τῇ διασπορῇ*. Internal evidence (see Stanley, *Apost. Age*, p. 292) points unmistakably to James the Just as the writer, and we have already identified James the Just with the son of Alphaeus.

The Jewish Christians, whether residing at Jerusalem or living scattered among the Gentiles, and only visiting that city from time to time, were the especial charge of James. To them he addressed this Epistle; not to the unbelieving Jews (Luther, Macknight, Hug, &c.), but only to believers in Christ, as is undoubtedly proved by i. 1, ii. 1, ii. 7, v. 7. The rich men of v. 1, may be the unbelieving Jews (Stanley, p. 299), but it does not follow that the Epistle was written to them. It is usual for an orator to denounce in the second person. It was written from Jerusalem, which St. James does not seem to have ever left. The time at which he wrote it has been fixed as late as 62, and as early as 45. Those who see in its writer a desire to counteract the effects of a misconception of St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by faith, in ii. 14-26 (Wiesinger), and those who see a reference to the immediate destruction of Jerusalem in v. 1 (Macknight), and an allusion to the name Christians in ii. 7 (De Wette), argue in favour of the later date. The earlier date is advocated by Schneckenburger, Neander, Thiersch, Davidson, Stanley, and Alford; chiefly on the ground that the Epistle could not have been written by St. James after the Council in Jerusalem, without some allusion to what was there decided, and because the Gentile Christian does not yet appear to be recognised.

<sup>b</sup> It is almost unnecessary to say that the Jacobite churches of the East—consisting of the Armenians, the Copts, and other Monophysite or Katchian bodies

—do not derive their title from St. James, but from a later person of the same name, Jacob Barabaras, who died Bishop of Edessa in 588.

III. *Its object.*—The main object of the Epistle is not to teach doctrine but to improve morality. St. James is the moral teacher of the N. T.; not in such sense a moral teacher as not to be at the same time a maintainer and teacher of Christian doctrine, but yet mainly in this Epistle a moral teacher. There are two ways of explaining this characteristic of the Epistle. Some commentators and writers see in St. James a man who had not realised the essential principles and peculiarities of Christianity, but was in a transition state, half-Jew and half-Christian. Schneckenburger thinks that Christianity had not penetrated his spiritual life. Neander is of much the same opinion (*Pflanzung und Leitung*, p. 579). And the same notion may perhaps be traced in Prof. Stanley and Dean Alford. But there is another and much more natural way of accounting for the fact. St. James was writing for a special class of persons, and knew what that class especially needed; and therefore, under the guidance of God's Spirit, he adapted his instructions to their capacities and wants. Those for whom he wrote were, as we have said, the Jewish Christians whether in Jerusalem or abroad. St. James, living in the centre of Judaism, saw what were the chief sins and vices of his countrymen; and, fearing that his flock might share in them, he lifted up his voice to warn them against the contagion from which they not only might, but did in part, suffer. This was his main object; but there is another closely connected with it. As Christians, his readers were exposed to trials which they did not bear with the patience and faith that would have become them. Here then are the two objects of the Epistle—1. to warn against the sins to which as Jews they were most liable; 2. to console and exhort them under the sufferings to which as Christians they were most exposed. The warnings and consolations are mixed together, for the writer does not seem to have set himself down to compose an essay or a letter of which he had previously arranged the heads; but, like one of the old prophets, to have poured out what was uppermost in his thoughts, or closest to his heart, without waiting to connect his matter, or to throw bridges across from subject to subject. While, in the purity of his Greek and the vigour of his thoughts, we mark a man of education, in the abruptness of his transitions and the unpolished roughness of his style we may trace one of the family of the Davideans, who disarmed Domitian by the simplicity of their minds and by exhibiting their hands hard with toil (Hegesipp. *apud Euseb.* iii. 20).

The Jewish vices against which he warns them are—Formalism, which made the service (*θηρακεια*) of God consist in washings and outward ceremonies, whereas he reminds them (i. 27) that it consists rather in Active Love and Purity (see Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, Aph. 23; note also Active Love = Bp. Butler's "Benevolence," and Purity = Bp. Butler's "Temperance"); Fanaticism, which under the cloak of religious zeal was tearing Jerusalem to pieces (i. 20); Fatalism, which threw its sins on God (i. 13); Meanness, which crouched before the rich (ii. 2); Falsehood, which had made words and oaths playthings (iii. 2-12); Partizanship (iii. 14); Evil-speaking (iv. 11); Boasting (iv. 16); Oppression (v. 4). The great lesson which he teaches them, as Christians, is Patience—Patience in trial (i. 2); Patience in good works (i. 22-25); Patience under provocations (iii. 17); Patience under oppression (v. 7); Patience under persecution (v.

10); and the ground of their Patience is, that the Coming of the Lord draweth nigh, which is to right all wrongs (v. 8).

IV. There are two points in the Epistle which demand a somewhat more lengthened notice. These are (a.) ii. 14-26, which has been represented as a formal opposition to St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by Faith, and (b.) v. 14, 15, which is quoted as the authority for the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

(a) Justification being an act not of man but of GOD, both the phrases "Justification by Faith" and "Justification by Works" are inexact. Justification must either be by Grace, or of Reward. Therefore our question is, Did or did not St. James hold Justification by Grace? If he did, there is no contradiction between the Apostles. Now there is not one word in St. James to the effect that a man can earn his justification by works; and this would be necessary in order to prove that he held Justification of Reward. Still St. Paul does use the expression "Justified by faith" (Rom. v. 1), and St. James the expression, "Justified by works, not by faith only." And here is an apparent opposition. But, if we consider the meaning of the two Apostles, we see at once that there is no contradiction either intended or possible. St. Paul was opposing the Judaizing party, which claimed to earn acceptance by good works, whether the works of the Mosaic law, or works of piety done by themselves. In opposition to these, St. Paul lays down the great truth that acceptance cannot be earned by man at all, but is the free gift of GOD to the Christian man, for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ, appropriated by each individual, and made his own by the instrumentality of faith.—St. James, on the other hand, was opposing the old Jewish tenet that to be a child of Abraham was all in all; that godliness was not necessary, so that the belief was correct. This presumptuous confidence had transferred itself, with perhaps double force, to the Christianized Jews. They had said, "Lord, Lord," and that was enough, without doing His Father's will. They had recognised the Messiah: what more was wanted? They had faith: what more was required of them? It is plain that their "faith" was a totally different thing from the "faith" of St. Paul. St. Paul tells us again and again that his "faith" is a "faith that worketh by love;" but the very characteristic of the "faith" which St. James is attacking, and the very reason why he attacked it, was that it did not work by love, but was a bare assent of the head, not influencing the heart, a faith such as devils can have, and tremble. St. James tells us that "*fides informis*" is not sufficient on the part of man for Justification; St. Paul tells us that "*fides formata*" is sufficient; and the reason why *fides informis* will not justify us is, according to St. James, because it lacks that special quality, the addition of which constitutes it *fides formata*. See on this subject Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica et Exarum Censurae*; Taylor's *Sermon on "Faith working by Love,"* vol. viii. p. 284, Lond. 1850; and, as a corrective of Bull's view, Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, iv. v. vi.

(b) With respect to v. 14, 15, it is enough to say that the ceremony of Extreme Unction and the ceremony described by St. James differ both in their subject and in their object. The subject of Extreme Unction is a sick man who is about to die; and its object is not his cure. The subject of the ceremony described by St. James is a sick man



who is not about to die; and its object is his cure, together with the spiritual benefit of absolution. St. James is plainly giving directions with respect to the manner of administering one of those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit with which the Church was endowed only in the Apostolic age and the age immediately succeeding the Apostles.

The following editions, &c., of St. James' Epistle may be mentioned as worthy of notice. The edition of Benson and Michaelis, Halae Magdeburgicae, 1746; Semler's *Paraphrasis*, Halae, 1781; Mori *Prælectiones in Jacobi et Petri Epistolas*, Lipsiae, 1794; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist. Jac. perpetua*, Stuttg. 1832; Davidson's *Introduction to the New Test.* vol. iii. p. 296, seq., Lond. 1851; Alford's *Greek Test.* vol. iv. p. 274, Lond. 1859.

The following spurious works have been attributed to St. James:—1. The *Protevangeliūm*. 2. *Historia de Nativitate Mariae*. 3. *De miraculis infantiae Domini nostri*, &c. Of these, the *Protevangeliūm* is worth a passing notice, not for its contents, which are a mere parody on the early chapters of St. Luke, transferring the events which occurred at our Lord's Birth to the birth of St. Mary his mother, but because it appears to have been known so early in the Church. It is possible that Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 78), and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. viii.) refer to it. Origen speaks of it (*in Matt.* xiii. 55); Gregory Nyssen (*Op.* p. 346, ed. Paris), Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxix.), John Damascene (*Orat.* i. ii. *in Nativ. Mariae*), Photius (*Orat. in Nativ. Mariae*), and others allude to it. It was first published in Latin in 1552, in Greek in 1564. The oldest MS. of it now existing is of the 10th century. (See Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, tom. i. pp. 45, 108, 159, 337, Lips. 1852. [F. M.]

**JAMIN** (יָמִין: 'Iamein, 'Iameim, 'Iamin: *Jamin*).  
1. Second son of Simeon (Gen. xvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15; 1 Chr. iv. 24), founder of the family (*mishpachah*) of the Jaminites (Num. xxvi. 12).

2. (Alex. 'IaBeiv.) A man of Judah, of the great house of Hezron; second son of Ram the Jerahmeelite (1 Chr. ii. 27).

3. One of the Levites who under Ezra and Nehemiah read and expounded the law to the people (Neh. viii. 7). By the LXX. the greater part of the names in this passage are omitted.

**JAMINITES**, THE (יְמִינִיָּה: δ' Iaminí: *familia Jachinitarum*), the descendants of JAMIN the son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

**JAM'LECH** (יָמֵלֵךְ: 'Iemoloch; Alex. 'Amalhik: *Jemlech*), one of the chief men (אֲנָשֵׁי יְמִין, A. V. "princes") of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 34), probably in the time of Hezekiah (see ver. 41).

**JAM'NIA** ('Iavnía, 'Iavnēia; and so Josephus: *Jannia*), 1 Macc. iv. 15; v. 58; x. 69; xv. 40. [JABNEEL.]

**JAM'NITES**, THE (οἱ ἐν 'Iavnēia, οἱ 'Iavnītai: *Jannitae*), 2 Macc. xii. 8, 9, 40. [JABNEEL.]

**JAN'NA** ('Iavná), son of Joseph, and father of Melchi, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 24). It is perhaps only a variation of Joannas or John. [A. C. H.]

**JANNES** and **JAMBRES** (Ἰάννης, Ἰαμβρῆς), the names of two Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. (St. Paul alone) of the sacred writers mentions them by name, and says no more than that they "withstood Moses," and that their folly in doing so became manifest (2 Tim. iii. 8, 9). It appears from the Jewish commentators that these names were held to be those of the magicians who opposed Moses and Aaron, spoken of in Exodus (or perhaps their leaders), of whom we there read that they first imitated the wonders wrought by Moses and Aaron, but, afterwards failing, confessed that the power of God was with those whom they had withstood (chap. vii. 11, where the Targum of Jonathan inserts these names, 22, viii. 18, 19). With this St. Paul's words perfectly agree.

Jambres is written in some codices Μαμβρη: both forms, the latter being slightly varied, are found in the Jewish commentaries (מַמְבְּרִים); the former appears to be the earlier form. We have been unable to discover an Egyptian name resembling Jambres or Mambres. The termination is like that of many Egyptian compounds ending with RA, "the sun;" as Men-kau-ra, Menchepri (Manetho, ivth Dyn.).

Jannes appears to be a transcription of the Egyptian name AĀN, probably pronounced Ian. It was the nomen of two kings: one of the xith Dynasty, the father or ancestor of Sesertesen I. of the xiii.; the other, according to our arrangement, fourth or fifth king of the xvth Dyn., called by Manetho 'Iavnas or 'Iavnas (Jos.) or Σανν (Afr.). See *Horae Aegyptiacae*, pp. 174, 5. There is also a king bearing the name Annu, whom we assign to the iind Dyn. (*Hor. Aeg.* p. 101). The signification of AĀN is doubtful: the cognate word AĀnt means a valley or plain. The earlier king AĀn may be assigned to the twenty-first century B.C.: the later one we hold to be probably the second predecessor of Joseph's Pharaoh. This shows that a name which may be reasonably supposed to be the original of Jannes, was in use at or near the period of the sojourn in Egypt. The names of the ancient Egyptians were extremely numerous and very fluctuating in use: generally the most prevalent at any time were those of kings then reigning or not long dead.

Our result as to the name of Jannes throws light upon a curious question raised by the supposition that St. Paul took the names of the magicians from a prevalent tradition of the Jews. This conjecture is as old as the time of Theodoret, who makes the supposed tradition oral. (Τὰ μέντοι τοῦτων ἰσχυροτάτα οὐκ ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμῶσθαι δὲ τῶν ἀπόστολων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδασκαλίας: *ad loc.*). This opinion would be of little importance were it not for the circumstance that these names were known to the Greeks and that these names were known to the Romans at too early a period for us to suppose that their information was derived from St. Paul's mention (see Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 1; Apul. *Apol.* p. 24, Bipont.; Numerius ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evom.* ix. 8). It has therefore been generally supposed that St. Paul took these names from Jewish tradition. It seems, however, inconsistent with the character of an inspired record for a baseless or incorrect current tradition to be cited; it is therefore satisfactory to find there is good reason for thinking these names to be authentic. Whether Jannes and Jambres were mentioned in some long-lost book relating to the early history of the Israelites, or whether there were a veritable oral tradition respecting them can-

not now be determined. The former is the more probable supposition—if, as we believe, the names are correct—since oral tradition is rarely exact in minute particulars.

The conjecture of Majus (*Observ. Sacr.* ii. 42, 1077, ap. Winer, *Rechnert. s. v.*) that Jannes and Jambres are merely meaningless words put for lost proper names is scarcely worth refuting. The words are not sufficiently similar to give a colour to the idea, and there is no known instance of the kind in the Bible.

The Rabbins state that Jannes and Jambres were sons of Balaam, and among various forms of their names give Johannes and Ambrosius. There was an apocryphal work called *Jannes and Mambres*, condemned by Pope Gelasius.

The Arabs mention the names of several magicians who opposed Moses; among them is none resembling Jannes and Jambres (D'Herbelot, art. Moussa Ben Amrau).

There are several dissertations on this subject (J. Grotius, *Diss. de Janno et Jambre*, Hafn. 1707; J. G. Michaelis, *Id.* Hal. 1747; Zentgrav, *Id.* Argent, 1669; Lightfoot, *Sermon on Jannes and Jambres*, &c.).

There is a question of considerable interest as to these Egyptian magicians which we cannot here discuss:—Is their temporary success attributable to pure imposture? The passages relating to them in the Bible would lead us to reply affirmatively, as we have already said in speaking of ancient Egyptian magic. [EGYPT.] [R. S. P.]

JANO'AH (יְנוֹחַ; ἡ Ἀνωάχ; Alex. Ἰανώχ; *Janoë*), a place apparently in the north of Galilee, or the "land of Naphtali"—one of those taken by Tiglath-Pileser in his first incursion into Palestine (2 K. xv. 29). No trace of it appears elsewhere. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* "Ianon"), and even by Reland (*Pal.* 826), it is confounded with Janohah, in the centre of the country. [G.]

JANOHAH (יְנוּחָה; i. e. Yanochah; Ἰανωκά, but in next verse Μαχώ; Alex. Ἰανώ; *Janoë*), a place on the boundary of Ephraim (possibly that between it and Manasseh). It is named between Taanath-Shiloh and Ataroth, the enumeration proceeding from west to east (Josh. xvi. 6, 7). Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, "Iano") gives it as twelve miles east of Neapolis. A little less than that distance from *Nablás*, and about S.E. in direction, two miles from *Akrabeh*, is the village of *Yanún*, doubtless identical with the ancient Janohah. It seems to have been first visited in modern times by Van de Velde (ii. 303, May 8, 1852; see also Rob. iii. 297). It is in a valley descending sharply eastward towards the Jordan. The modern village is very small, but the ancient ruins "extensive and interesting." "I have not seen," says V., "any of Israel's ancient cities in such a condition: entire houses and walls exist, covered with immense heaps of earth." But there are also ruins on the hill N.E. of *Yanún*, called *Khirbet Y.*, which may be the site of the original place (Rob. 297). [G.]

JANUM (יָנוּם), following the *Keri* of the Masorets, but in the original text, *Cetib*, it is יָנוּם, *Janim*; Ἰεμαίν; Alex. Ἀνούμα; *Janum*), a town of Judah in the mountain district, apparently not far from Hebron, and named between Eshean and Beth-tappuah (Josh. xv. 53). It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome (see *Onomast.* "Ianon"),

nor does it appear to have been yet met with by any modern investigator. [G.]

JAPHETH (יָפֶֿֿֿֿֿֿֿ; Ἰάφεθ; *Japheth*), one of the three sons of Noah. From the order in which their names invariably occur (Gen. v. 32, vi. 10) we should naturally infer that Japheth was the youngest, but we learn from ix. 24 that Ham held that position, and the precedence of Japheth before this one of the three is indicated in the order of the names in x. 2, 6. It has been generally supposed from x. 21 that Japheth was the eldest; but it should be observed that the word *gaddol* in that passage is better connected with "brother," as in the Vulg. "*fratre Japhet majore*." Not only does the usage of the Hebrew language discountenance the other construction, but the sense of the passage requires that the age of Shem rather than of Japheth should be there specified. We infer therefore that Japheth was the second son of Noah. The origin of the name is referred by the sacred writer to the root *pathah* (פָּתַח), "to extend," as predictive of the wide spread of his descendants over the northern and western regions of the world (Gen. ix. 27). The name has also been referred to the root *yaphah* (יָפָה), "to be fair," as significant of the light complexion of the Japhetic race; (Gesenius, *Theos.* p. 1138; Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 22). From the resemblance of the name to the mythological *Iapetus*, some writers have sought to establish a connexion between them. *Iapetus* was regarded by the Greeks as the ancestor of the human race. The descendants of Japheth occupied the "isles of the Gentiles" (Gen. x. 5), i. e. the coast-lands of the Mediterranean Sea in Europe and Asia Minor, whence they spread northwards over the whole continent of Europe and a considerable portion of Asia. [W. L. B.]

JAPHIA (יָפִיָּה; Φαγγαί; Alex. Ἰαφαγαί; *Japhie*). The boundary of Zebulun ascended from Daberath to Japhia, and thence passed to Gath-hepher (Josh. xix. 12). Daberath appears to be on the slopes of Mount Tabor, and Gath-hepher may possibly be *el-Meshhad*, 2 miles N. of Nazareth. Six miles W. of the former, and 2 miles S. of Nazareth, is *Yafa*,\* which is not unlikely to be identical with Japhia (Rob. ii. 343-4): at least this is much more probable than Chaifa (Sycaminopolis) in the bay of Akka—the suggestion of Eusebius (*Onomast.* "Iapheth"), and endorsed by Reland (*Pal.* 826)—an identification which is neither etymologically nor topographically admissible. *Yafa* may also be the same with the *Ἰαφά* which was occupied by Josephus during his struggle with the Romans—"a very large village of Lower Galilee, fortified with walls and full of people" (*Vita*, §45; comp. 37, and *B. J.* ii. 20, §6), of whom 15,000 were killed and 2130 taken prisoners by the Romans (*B. J.* iii. 7, §31); though if *Jefat* be Jotapata this can hardly be, as the two are more than ten miles apart, and he expressly says that they were neighbours to each other.

A tradition, which first appears in Sir John Maundeville, makes *Yafa* the birthplace of Zebedee and of the Apostles James and John, his sons. Hence it is called by the Latin monks of

\* It should be remarked that *Yāfa*, יָפָה, is the modern representative of both יָפִיָּה, i. e. Jappa, and יָפִיָּה, Japhia, two names originally very distinct.

Nazareth "San Giacomo." See Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, ii. 843; and *Early Trav.* 186: Maundeville calls it the "Castle of Saffra." So too Von Harff, A.D. 1498:—"Saffra, eyn casteel van wyliche Alpheus und Sebedeus geboren waren" (*Pilgerfahrt*, 195). [G.]

**JAPHIA** (יָפִיָּא; 'Iefhā; Alex. 'Iaφίε: *Japhia*). 1. King of Lachish at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites (Josh. x. 3); one of the five "kings of the Amorites" who entered into a confederacy against Joshua, and who were defeated at Beth-horon, and lost their lives at Makkedah. The king of Lachish is mentioned more than once in this narrative (ver. 5, 23), but his name occurs only as above.

2. ('Iefiés, 'Iaφίε; Alex. 'Aφίε: *Japhia*). One of the sons of David, tenth of the fourteen born to him by his wives after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chr. iii. 7, xiv. 6). In the Hebrew form of this name there are no variations. The Peshito has Nephia, and, in 1 Chr. iii., Nepheg. In the list given by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 3, §3) it is not recognizable: it may be 'Hναφην, or it may be 'Ienaé. There do not appear to be any traditions concerning Japhia. The genealogy is given under DAVID, p. 409. [G.]

**JAPHLET** (יָפִלֶת; 'Iaφλήτ; Alex. 'Iaφαλήτ: *Jephlat*), a descendant of Asher through Beriah; his youngest son; named as the father of three Bene-Japhlet (1 Chr. vii. 32, 33).

**JAPHLETI** (יָפִלֶתִי = "the Japhletite:" 'Απταλίμ; Alex. τοῦ 'Iεφαλθί: *Jephleti*). The "boundary of the Japhletite" is one of the landmarks on the south boundary-line of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 3), west of Beth-horon the lower, and between it and Ataroth. Who "the Japhletite" was who is thus perpetuated we cannot ascertain. Possibly the name preserves the memory of some ancient tribe who at a remote age dwelt on these hills, just as the former presence of other tribes in the neighbourhood may be inferred from the names of Zemaraim, Ophni (the Ophnite), Cephar ha-Ammonai, and others. [BENJAMIN, p. 188 note.] We can hardly suppose any connexion with JAPHLET of the remote Asher. No trace of the name has yet been discovered in the district. [G.]

**JAPHO** (יָפֹה; 'Ióπη: *Joppe*). This word occurs in the A. V. but once, Josh. xix. 46. It is the accurate representation of the Hebrew word which on its other occurrences is rendered in the better known form of JOPPA (2 Chr. ii. 16; Ezr. iii. 7; Jon. i. 3).

In its modern garb it is *Yáfa* (يَافَا), which is also the Arabic name of JAPHIA, a very different word in Hebrew. [JOPPA; JOPPE.]

**JARAH** (יָרָה; and in some MSS. יַעֲרָה; 'Iaḏá: *Jara*), a man among the descendants of Saul; son of Micah, and great-grandson of Meribbaal, or Mephibosheth (1 Chr. ix. 42, comp. 40). In the parallel list of ch. viii. the name is materially altered to JEHOADAH.

**JAREB** (יָרֵב; 'Iapeím, as if יָרֵב, in both Hos. v. 13 and x. 6; though Theodoret gives 'Iapeíβ in the former passage, and 'Iapeím in the latter; and Jerome has *Jarib* for the Greek equivalent of the

LXX.) is either to be explained as the proper name of a country or person, as a noun in apposition, or as a verb from a root יָרַב, *ráb*, "to contend, plead." All these senses are represented in the A. V. and frequently the case, the least preferable has been inserted in the text. Had Jareb been the proper name of the king of Assyria, as it would be if that rendering were correct, the word preceding (*melec*, "king") would have required the article. R. D. Kimchi saw this difficulty, and therefore explained Jareb as the name of some city of Assyria, or as another name of the country itself. The

Syriac gives יָרֵב, *yôrób*, as the name of a country, which is applied by Ephrem Syrus to Egypt, reference being made to Hoshea king of Israel, who had sent to So the king of Egypt for assistance in his conspiracy against Shalmanezar (2 K. xvii. 4). So also the 'Iapeíβ or 'Iapeím of Theodoret is Egypt. The clause in which it occurs is supposed by many to refer to Judah, in order to make the parallelism complete; and with this in view Jerome interprets it of Ahaz, who sent to Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xvi. 8) to aid him against the combined forces of Syria and Israel. But there is no reason to suppose that the two clauses do not both refer to Ephraim, and the allusion would then be explained by Jerome, to Pul, who was subsided by Menahem (2 K. xv. 19), and Judah would be indirectly included. The rendering of the Vulgate, "avenger" ("ad regem ultorem"), which follows Symmachus, as well as those of Aquila (*δυσήμενον*) and Theodotion, "judge," are justified by Jerome by a reference to Jerubbaal, the name of Gideon, which he renders "ulciscatur se Baal," or "judicet eum Baal," "let Baal avenge himself," or "let Baal judge him." The Targumist evidently looked upon it as a verb, the appropriate future Hiphil of יָרַב, *ráb*, and translated the clause, "and sent to the king that he might come to avenge them." If it be a Hebrew word, it is most probably a noun formed from the above-mentioned root, like יָרֵב, *yáríb* (Is. xlix. 25; Ps. xxxv. 1), and is applied to the land of Assyria, or to its king, not in the sense in which it is understood in the Targum, but as indicating their determined hostility to Israel, and their generally aggressive character. Cocceius had this idea before him when he translated "rex adversarius." Michalski (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.*), dissatisfied with the usual explanations, looked for the true meaning of Jareb

in the Syriac root יָרַב, *iréb*, "to be great" and for "king Jareb" substituted "the great king," a title frequently applied to the kings of Assyria. If it were the proper name of a place, he says it would denote that of a castle or palace in which the kings of Assyria resided. But of this there can be no proof, the name has not descended to us, and it is better to take it in a symbolical sense as indicating the hostile character of Assyria. That it is rather to be applied to the country than to the king may be inferred from its standing in parallelism with Asshur. Such is the opinion of Fürst (*Handb. s. v.*), who illustrates the symbolical usage by a comparison with Rahab as applied to

\* As an instance of the contrary, see Νεβρώδ for Nimrod.

† In another place he gives "Jarib; *divisio vel uiciscens*" (*de nom. Hebr.*).

At the same time he hazards a conjecture that it may have been an old Assyrian word, adopted into the Hebrew language, and so modified as to express an intelligible idea, while retaining something of its original form. Hitzig (*die 12 kl. Proph.*) goes further, and finds in a mixed dialect, akin to the Assyrian, a verb *jarbam*, which denotes "to struggle or fight," and *jarbech*, the Aethiopic for "a hero or bold warrior;" but it would be desirable to have more evidence on the point.

Two mystical interpretations, alluded to by Jerome as current among commentators in his time, are remarkable for the singularly opposite conclusions at which they arrived; the one referring the word to the devil, the other to Christ. Livetus (quoted by Glassius, *Philol. Sacr.* iv. tr. 3) was of opinion that the title Jareb or "avenger" was assumed by the powerful king of Assyria, as that of "Defender of the Faith" by our own monarchs. [W. A. W.]

JAR'ED (יָרֵד), *i. e.* Jered, as the name is given in A. V. of Chron., but in pause יָרֵד, from which the present form may have been derived, though more probably from the Vulgate: *Ἰάρεδ*, Alex. also *Ἰάπερ*; N. T. *Ἰάρεδ* and *Ἰάπεθ*; Joseph. *Ἰαρέδης* (*Jared*), one of the antediluvian patriarchs, the fifth from Adam; son of Mahalaleel, and father of Enoch (*Gen.* v. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20; *Luke* iii. 37). In the lists of Chronicles the name is given in the A. V. JERED.

JARESI'AH (יְרֵשִׁיָּה) *'Iapasia*: *Jersia*, a Benjamite, one of the Bene-Jeroham; a chief man of his tribe, but of whom nothing is recorded (*1 Chr.* viii. 27).

JAR'HA (יָרְחָה) *'Iaxhā*: *Jeraa*, the Egyptian servant of Sheshan, about the time of Eli, to whom his master gave his daughter and heir in marriage, and who thus became the founder of a chief house of the Jerahmeelites, which continued at least to the time of king Hezekiah, and from which sprung several illustrious persons\* such as Zabad in the reign of David, and Azariah in the reign of Joash (*1 Chr.* ii. 31, *sqq.*). [AZARIAH 13; ZABAD.] It is a matter of somewhat curious inquiry what was the name of Jarha's wife. In ver. 31 we read "the children of Sheshan, Ahlai," and in ver. 34, "Sheshan had no sons but daughters." In ver. 35, Sheshan's daughter "bare him Attai," whose grandson was Zabad; and in ch. xi. 41, "Zabad the son of Ahlai." Hence some have imagined that Jarha on his marriage with Sheshan's daughter had the name of Ahlai (interpreted a "brother-to-me") given him by Sheshan, to signify his adoption into Israel. Others that Ahlai and Attai are merely clerical variations of the same name. Others that Ahlai was a son of Sheshan, born after the marriage of his daughter. But the view which the A. V. adopts, as appears by their rendering בְּנֵי יָרְחָה in ver. 31, the *children* of Sheshan, instead of *sons*, is undoubtedly the right one, viz. that Ahlai is the name of Sheshan's daughter. Her descendants were called after her, just as Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were always called "the sons of Zeruih," and as Abigail stands at the head of Amasa's pedigree, *1 Chr.* ii. 17. It may be no-

\*aced as an undesigned coincidence that Jarha the Egyptian was living with Sheshan, a Jerahmeelite, and that the Jerahmeelites had their possessions on the side of Judah nearest to Egypt, *1 Sam.* xxvii. 10; comp. *2 Sam.* xxiii. 20, 21; *Josh.* xv. 21; *1 Chr.* iv. 18. [JERAHMEEL; JEHUDIAH.] The etymology of Jarha's name is quite unknown (*Gesen. Thes.*; *Fürst, Concord.* &c.; *Burrington's Geneal.*, *Beeston, Geneal.*; *Hervey's Geneal.*, p. 34; *Bertheau*, on *1 Chr.* ii. 24, &c.). [A. C. H.]

JARIB (יָרִיב) *'Iarib*; Alex. *'Iapeib*: *Jarib*.

1. Named in the list of *1 Chr.* iv. 24 only, as a son of Simeon. He occupies the same place as JACHIN in the parallel lists of *Gen.* xlvii., *Ex.* vi., and *NUM.* xxvi., and the name is possibly a corruption from that (see *Burrington*, i. 55).

2. One of the "chief men" (רָאשִׁים, "heads") who accompanied Ezra on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (*Ezr.* viii. 16), whether Levite or layman is not clear. In *1 Esdras* the name is given as JORIBAS.

3. A priest of the house of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to put her away (*Ezr.* x. 18). In *1 Esdras* the name is JORIBAS.

4. (*'Iarib*; Alex. *'Iaxarib*; *1 Macc.* xiv. 29) A contraction or corruption of the name JOARIB, which occurs correctly in ch. ii. 1.

JAR'IMOTH (*'Iarimōth*: *Larimoth*), *1 Esd.* ix. 28. [JEREMOTH.]

JAR'MUTH (יָרִמּוּת) *Jarimuth*. 1. (*'Iepimōth*; Alex. *'Irimōth*.) A town in the Shefelah or low country of Judah, named with Adullam, Socoh, and others (*Josh.* xv. 35). Its king, PIRAM, was one of the five who conspired to punish Gibeon for having made alliance with Israel (*Josh.* x. 3, 5), and who were routed at Bethhoron and put to death by Joshua at Makkedah (23). In this narrative, and also in the catalogue of the "royal cities" destroyed by Joshua, Jarmuth is named next to Hebron, which, however, was quite in the mountains. In *Neh.* xi. 29 it is named as having been the residence of some of the children of Judah after the return from captivity. Eusebius and Jerome either knew two places of this name, or an error has crept into the text of the *Onomasticon*; for under "Jarimuth" they state it to be near Eshtaol, 4 miles from Eleutheropolis; while under "Jirmus" they give it as 10 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road going up to Jerusalem. A site named *Yarmūk*, with a contiguous eminence called *Tell-Ermūd*, was visited by Robinson (ii. 17), and Van de Velde (ii. 193; *Memoir*, 324). It is about 1½ mile from *Beit-netif*, which again is some 8 miles from *Beit-givrin*, on the left of the road to Jerusalem. *Shuceikeh* (the ancient Socoh) lies on a neighbouring hill. We have yet to discover the principles on which the topographical divisions of the ancient Hebrews were made. Was the Shefelah—the "low country"—a district which took its designation from the plain which formed its major portion, but which extended over some of the hill-country? In the hill-country Jarmuth is undoubtedly situated, though specified as in the plain. *Yarmūk* has been last visited by Tobler (*3tte Wanderung*, 120, 462, 3).

2. (*'Iepimōth*; Alex. *'Iepimōth*.) A city of Issachar, allotted with its suburbs to the Gershonite Levites (*Joab*, xxi. 29). In the specification of the

\* Bertheau's remark, that none of the persons named in this long genealogy recur elsewhere, is singularly misplaced.

boundaries of Issachar, no mention is made of Jarmuth (see Josh. xix. 17-23), but a REMETH is mentioned there (20); and in the duplicate list of Levitical cities (1 Chr. vi. 73) RAMOTH occupies the place of Jarmuth. The two names are modifications of the same root, and might without difficulty be interchanged. This Jarmuth does not appear to have been yet identified. [RAMOTH.] [G.]

JARO'AH (יָרוֹחַ): 'Idat; Alex. 'Aḏat; Jarā), a chief man of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 14).

JA'SAEL (Ἰασαῆλος; Alex. 'Aσαῆλος: Azabus), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [SHEAL.]

JA'SHEN (יָשֵׁן: 'Asān: Jāsen). Bene-Jashen—"sons of Jashen"—are named in the catalogue of the heroes of David's guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. 32. In the Hebrew, as accented by the Masorets, the words have no necessary connexion with the names preceding or following them; but in the A. V. they are attached to the latter—"of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan." The passage has every appearance of being imperfect, and accordingly, in the parallel list in Chronicles, it stands, "the sons of Hashem the Gizonite" (1 Chr. xi. 34). Kennicott has examined it at length (*Dissertation*, 198-203), and, on grounds which cannot here be stated, has shown good cause for believing that a name has escaped, and that the genuine text was, "of the Bene-Hashem, Gouni; Jonathan ben-Shamha." In the list given by Jerome in his *Questiones Hebraicae*, Jashen and Jonathan are both omitted.

JA'SHER, BOOK OF (יְשֵׁר הַיְדֵבָר), or, as the margin of the A. V. gives it, "the book of the upright," a record alluded to in two passages only of the O. T. (Josh. x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18), and consequently the subject of much dispute. The former passage is omitted in the LXX., while in the latter, the expression is rendered βιβλίον τοῦ εὐθούς: the Vulgate has *liber justorum* in both instances. The Peshito Syriac in Josh. has "the book of praises or hymns," reading יְשֵׁר הַיְדֵבָר for יְשֵׁר הַיְדֵבָר, and a similar transposition will account for the rendering of the same version in Sam., "the book of Ashir." The Targum interprets it "the book of the law," and this is followed by Jarchi, who gives, as the passage alluded to in Joshua, the prophecy of Jacob with regard to the future greatness of Ephraim (Gen. xlviii. 19), which was fulfilled when the sun stood still at Joshua's bidding. The same Rabbi, in his commentary on Samuel, refers to Genesis "the book of the upright, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," to explain the allusion to the book of Jasher; and Jerome, while discussing the etymology of Israel, which he interprets as "rectus Dei," incidentally mentions the fact that Genesis was called "the book of the just" (liber Genesis appellatur εὐθέων, id est, justorum), from its containing the histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel (*Comm. in Jes.* xlv. 2). The Talmudists attribute this tradition to R. Johanan. R. Eliezer thought that by the book of Jasher was signified the book of Deuteronomy from the expressions in Deut. vi. 18, xxxiii. 7, the latter being quoted in proof of the skill of the Hebrews in archery. In the opinion of R. Samuel ben Nachman, the book of Judges was alluded to as the book of Jasher (*Aboda*

Zava, c. ii.); and that it was the book of the twelve minor prophets was held by some Hebrew writers, quoted without name by Sixtus Senensis (*Bibl. Sanct.* lib. ii.). R. Levi ben Gershom recognises, though he does not follow, the tradition given by Jarchi, while Kimchi and Abarbanel adopt the rendering of the Targum. This diversity of opinions proves, if it prove nothing more, that no book was known to have survived which could lay claim to the title of the book of Jasher.

Josephus, in relating the miracle narrated in Joshua x., appeals for confirmation of his account to certain documents deposited in the Temple (*Ant.* v. 1, §17), and his words are supposed to contain a covert allusion to the book of Jasher as the source of his authority. But in his treatise against Apion (*B. L.*) he says the Jews did not possess myriads of books, discordant and contradictory, but twenty-two only; from which Abicht concludes that the books of Scripture were the sacred books hinted at in the former passage, while Masius understood as in the former passage, while Masius understood by the same the Annals which were written by the prophets or by the royal scribes. Theodoret (*Quaest.* xiv. in *Jesum Nave*) explains the words in Josh. x. 13, which he quotes as τὸ βιβλίον τὸ εὐθές (prob. an error for εὐθές, as he has in *Quaest.* in *2 Reg.*), as referring to the ancient record from which the compiler of the book of Joshua derived the materials of his history, and applies the passage in 2 Sam. ii. 18 to prove that other documents, written by the prophets, were made use of in the composition of the historical books. Jerome, or rather the author of the *Questiones Hebraicae*, understood by the book of Jasher the books of Samuel themselves, inasmuch as they contained the history of the just prophets, Samuel, Gad, and Nathan. Another opinion, quoted by Sixtus Senensis, but on no authority, that it was the book of eternal predestination, is scarcely worth more than the bare mention.

That the book of Jasher was one of the writings which perished in the captivity was held by R. Levi ben Gershom, though he gives the traditional explanation above mentioned. His opinion has been adopted by Junius, Hottinger (*Theol. Phil.* ii. 1, §2), and many other modern writers (Welfli *Bibl. Heb.* ii. 223). What the nature of the book may have been can only be inferred from the two passages in which it is mentioned and their context, and, this being the case, there is clearly wide room for conjecture. The theory of Masius (quoted by Abicht) was, that in ancient times whatever was worthy of being recorded for the instruction of posterity, was written in the form of Annals or records learned men, and that among these Annals or records was the book of Jasher, so called from the trustworthiness and methodical arrangement of the narrative, or because it contained the relation of the deeds of the people of Israel, who are elsewhere spoken of under the symbolical name *Jeshurun*. Of the later hypothesis Fürst approves (*Handb.* s. v.). Sanctius (*Comm.* ad 2 Reg. i.) conjectured that it was a collection of pious hymns written by different authors and sung on various occasions, and that from this collection the Psalter was compiled. That it was written in verse may reasonably be inferred from the only specimens extant, which exhibit unmistakable signs of metrical rhythm, but that it took its name from this circumstance is not supported by etymology. Lowth, indeed (*Præf.* pp.

\* Dr. Donaldson had overlooked this passage when he asserted that his own analysis of the word "Israel"

had hitherto escaped the notice of all commentators (*Jasher*, p. 23).

353, 307), imagined that it was a collection of national songs, so called because it probably commenced with יָשָׁרִים, *az yashar*, "then sang, &c.,"

like the song of Moses in Ex. xv. 1; his view of the question was that of the Syrian and Arabic translators, and was adopted by Herder. But, granting that the form of the book was poetical, a difficulty still remains as to its subject. That the book of Jasher contained the deeds of national heroes of all ages embalmed in verse, among which David's lament over Saul and Jonathan had an appropriate place, was the opinion of Calovius. A fragment of a similar kind is thought to appear in Num. xxi. 14. Gesenius conjectured that it was an anthology of ancient songs, which acquired its name, "the book of the just or upright," from being written in praise of upright men. He quotes, but does not approve, the theory of Illgen that, like the Hamasa of the Arabs, it celebrated the achievements of illustrious warriors, and from this derived the title of "the book of valour." But the idea of warlike valour is entirely foreign to the root *yashar*. Dupin contended from 2 Sam. i. 18, that the contents of the book were of a military nature; but Montanus, regarding rather the etymology, considered it a collection of political and moral precepts. Abicht, taking the lament of David as a sample of the whole, maintained that the fragment quoted in the book of Joshua was part of a funeral ode composed upon the death of that hero, and narrating his achievements. At the same time he does not conceive it necessary to suppose that one book only is alluded to in both instances. It must be admitted, however, that there is very slight ground for any conclusion beyond that which affects the form, and that nothing can be confidently asserted with regard to the contents.

But, though conjecture might almost be thought to have exhausted itself on a subject so barren of premises, a scholar of our own day has not despaired of being able, not only to decide what the book of Jasher was in itself, but of reconstructing it from the fragments which, according to his theory, he traces throughout the several books of the O. T. In the preface to his *Jasher*, or *Fragmenta Archætypæ Carminum Hebræorum in Masoretico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tessellata*, Dr. Donaldson advances a scheme for the restoration of this ancient record, in accordance with his own idea of its scope and contents. Assuming that, during the tranquil and prosperous reign of Solomon, an unwonted impulse was given to Hebrew literature, and that the worshippers of Jehovah were desirous of possessing something on which their faith might rest, the book of "Jasher," or "uprightness," he asserts, was written, or rather compiled, to meet this want. Its object was to show that in the beginning man was upright, but had by carnal wisdom forsaken the spiritual law; that the Israelites had been chosen to preserve and transmit this law of uprightness; that David had been made king for his religious integrity, leaving the kingdom to his son Solomon, in whose reign, after the dedication of the Temple, the prosperity of the chosen people reached its culminating point. The compiler of the book was probably Nathan the prophet, assisted perhaps by Gad the seer. It was thus "the first offspring of the prophetic schools, and ministered spiritual food to the greater prophets." Rejecting, therefore, the authority of the Masoretic text, as founded entirely on tradition, and adhering to his

own theory of the origin and subject of the book of Jasher, Dr. Donaldson proceeds to show that it contains the religious marrow of Holy Scripture. In such a case, of course, absolute proof is not to be looked for, and it would be impossible here to discuss what measure of probability should be assigned to a scheme elaborated with considerable ingenuity. Whatever ancient fragments in the sacred books of the Hebrews exhibit the nature of uprightness, celebrate the victories of the true Israelites, predict their prosperity, or promise future blessedness, have, according to this theory, a claim to be considered among the relics of the book of Jasher. Following such a principle of selection, the fragments fall into seven groups. The first part, the object of which is to show that man was created upright (יָשָׁר, *yashar*), but fell into sin by carnal wisdom, contains two fragments, an Elohist and a Jehovistic, both poetical, the latter being the more full. The first of these includes Gen. i. 27, 28, vi. 1, 2, 4, 5, viii. 21, vi. 6, 3; the other is made up of Gen. ii. 7-9, 15-18, 25, iii. 1-19, 21, 23, 24. The second part, consisting of four fragments, shows how the descendants of Abraham, as being upright (יְשָׁרִים, *yesharim*), were adopted by God, while the neighbouring nations were rejected. Fragment (1) Gen. ix. 18-27; fragment (2) Gen. iv. 2-8, 8-16; fragment (3) Gen. xvi. 1-4, 15, 16, xvii. 9-16, 18-26, xxi. 1-14, 20, 21; fragment (4) Gen. xxv. 20-34, xxvii. 1-10, 14, 18-20, 25-40, iv. 18, 19, xxvi. 34, xxxvi. 2, iv. 23, 24, xxxvi. 8, xxviii. 9, xxvi. 35, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1-4, 11-19, xxix. 1, &c., 24, 29, xxxv. 22-26, xxxiv. 25-29, xxxv. 9-14, 15, xxxii. 31. In the third part is related under the figure of the deluge how the Israelites escaped from Egypt, wandered forty years in the wilderness, and finally, in the reign of Solomon, built a temple to Jehovah. The passages in which this is found are Gen. vi. 5-14, vii. 6, 11, 12, viii. 6, 7, viii. 8, 12, v. 29, viii. 4; 1 K. vi. viii. 43; Deut. vi. 18; Ps. v. 8. The three fragments of the fourth part contain the divine laws to be observed by the upright people, and are found (1) Deut. v. 1-22; (2) vi. 1-5; Lev. xix. 18; Deut. x. 12-21, xi. 1-5, 7-9; (3) viii. 1-3, vi. 6-18, 20-25. The blessings of the upright and their admonitions are the subject of the fifth part, which contains the songs of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), Balaam (Num. xxiii. xxiv.), and Moses (Deut. xxxii. xxxiii.). The wonderful victories and deliverances of Israel are celebrated in the sixth part, in the triumphal songs of Moses and Miriam (Ex. xv. 1-19), of Joshua (Josh. x. 12-13), and of Deborah (Judg. v. 1-20). The seventh is a collection of various hymns composed in the reigns of David and Solomon, and contains David's song of triumph over Goliath (1 Sam. ii. 1-10); his lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19-27), and for Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34); his psalm of thanksgiving (Ps. xviii.; 2 Sam. xxii.); his triumphal ode on the conquest of the Edomites (Ps. lx.), and his prophecy of Messiah's kingdom (2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7), together with Solomon's epithalamium (Ps. xlv.), and the hymn sung at the dedication of the Temple (Ps. lxxvii.).

Among the many strange results of this arrangement, Shem, Ham, and Japhet are no longer the sons of Noah, who is Israel under a figure, but of Adam; and the circumstances of Noah's life related in Gen. ix. 18-27 are transferred to the latter. Cain and Abel are the sons of Shem, Abraham is

the son of Abel, and Esau becomes Lamech the son of Methuselah.

There are also extant under the title of "the Book of Jasher," two Rabbinical works, one a moral treatise, written in A.D. 1394 by R. Shabbatai Carmuz Levita, of which a copy in MS. exists in the Vatican Library; the other, by R. Tham, treats of the laws of the Jews in eighteen chapters, and was printed in Italy in 1544, and at Cracow in 1586. An anonymous work, printed at Venice and Prague in 1625, and said to have made its first appearance at Naples, was believed by some Jews to be the record alluded to in Joshua. It contains the historical narratives of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, with many fabulous additions. R. Jacob translated it into German, and printed his version at Frankfort on the Maine in 1674. It is said in the preface to the 1st ed. to have been discovered at the destruction of Jerusalem, by Sidrus, one of the officers of Titus, who, while searching a house for the purpose of plunder, found in a secret chamber a vessel containing the books of the Law, the Prophets, and Hagiographa, with many others, which a venerable man was reading. Sidrus took the old man under his protection and built for him a house at Seville, where the books were safely deposited. The book in question is probably the production of a Spanish Jew of the 13th century (Abicht, *De libr. Recti*, in *Theol. Nov. Theol. Phil.* i. 525-534). A clumsy forgery in English, which first appeared in 1751 under the title of "the Book of Jasher," deserves notice solely for the unmerited success with which it was palmed off upon the public. It professed to be a translation from the Hebrew into English by Aleuin of Britain, who discovered it in Persia during his pilgrimage. It was reprinted at Bristol in 1827, and was again published in 1833, in each case accompanied by a fictitious commendatory note by Wicliffe. [W. A. W.]

**JASHOBE'AM** (יִשְׁבְּעָם; 'Iεσεβαδά: *Jesbaam*). Possibly one and the same follower of David, bearing this name, is described as a Hachmonite (1 Chr. xi. 11), a Korhite (1 Chr. xii. 6), and son of Zabdiel (1 Chr. xxvii. 2). He came to David at Ziklag. His distinguishing exploit was that he slew 300 (or 800, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8) men at one time. He is named first among the chief of the mighty men of David (1 Chr. xi. 11); and he was set over the first of the twelve monthly courses of 24,000 men who served the king (xxvii. 2). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, his name seems to be erroneously transcribed, יִשְׁבַּת (A. V. "that sat in the seat,"), instead of יִשְׁבְּעָם; and in the same place "Adino the Ezrite" are possibly a corruption either of עוֹרֵר אֶת־חַיְתוֹ, "he lift up his spear" (1 Chr. xi. 11), or, as Gesenius conjectures, of יַעֲרֵנּוּ הָעֵצִים, which he translates, "he shook it, even his spear." [EZNITE.] [W. T. B.]

**JASHUB** (יָשׁוּב; in the *Cetib* of 1 Chr. vii. 1 it is יִשְׁיב; in the Samaritan Cod. of Num. xxvi. ירשב: 'Iασοβ: *Jasub*). 1. The third son of Issachar, and founder of the family of the Jashubites (Num. xxvi. 24; 1 Chr. vii. 1). In the list of Gen. xlvii, the name is given (possibly in a contracted or erroneous form, Gesen. *Theol.* 583) as Jon; but in the Samaritan Codex—followed by the LXX.—Jashub.

2. One of the sons of Bani, a layman in the time

of Ezra who had to put a way his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 29). In Esdras the name is JASUBUR.

**JASHU'BI-LE'HEM** (יִשְׁבִּי לְהֵם; in some copies יִשְׁבִּי; καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτοῦ, in both MSS.: *et qui reversi sunt in Lahem*), a person or a place named among the descendants of Shalah, the son of Judah by Bath-shua the Canaanitess (1 Chr. iv. 22). The name does not occur again. It is probably a place, and we should infer from its connexion with Maresha and Chozeba—if Chozeba be Chezib or Achzib—that it lay on the western side of the tribe, in or near the Shetlah. The Jewish explanations of this and the following verse are very curious. They may be seen in Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr.* on this passage, and, in a slightly different form, in the Targum on the Chronicles (ed. Wilkins, 29, 30). The mention of Moab gives the key to the whole. Chozeba is Elimelech; Joash and Sarnph are Malchim and Chilion, who "had the dominion in Moab" from marrying the two Meabite damsels: Jashubi-Lahem is Naomi and Ruth, who returned (Jashubi, from שׁוּב, "to return") to bread, or to Beth-lehem, after the famine: and the "ancient words" point to the book of Ruth as the source of the whole. [G.]

**JASH'UBITES, THE** (הַיִּשְׁבִּי; Samaritan. הַיִּשְׁבִּי: δ' Iασουβι: *familia Jasubitans*). The family founded by Jashub the son of Issachar (Num. xxvi. 24). [JASHUB, 1.]

**JASIEL** (יַעֲשִׂיאל; 'Iεσσαίηλ; Alex. 'Eσσαιήλ *Jasiel*), the last named on the increased list of David's heroes in 1 Chr. xi. 47. He is described as the MESOBAITE. Nothing more is known of him.

**JA'SON** (Ἰάσων), a common Greek name which was frequently adopted by Hellenizing Jews as the equivalent of *Jesus, Joshua* (Ἰησοῦς; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1),<sup>a</sup> probably with some reference to its supposed connexion with ἰασθαι (i. e. the *Healer*). A parallel change occurs in Alcimus (Eliakim); while *Nicolaus, Dositheus, Menelaus, &c.*, were direct translations of Hebrew names.

1. **JASON THE SON OF ELEAZER** (cf. *Ecclus.* i. 27, Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σιμὸν Ἐλεάζαρ, Cod. A.) was one of the commissioners sent by Judas Maccabaeus to conclude a treaty with the Romans B.C. 103 (1 Macc. viii. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, §6).

2. **JASON THE FATHER OF ANTI-PATER**, who was an envoy to Rome at a later period (1 Macc. xii. 16, xiv. 22), is probably the same person as No. 1.

3. **JASON OF CYRENE**, a Jewish historian who wrote "in five books" a history of the Jewish war of liberation, which supplied the chief materials for the second book of the Maccabees. [2 MACCABEES.] His name and the place of his residence seem to mark Jason as a Hellenistic Jew, and it is probable on internal grounds that his history was written in Greek. This narrative included the wars under Antiochus Eupator, and he must therefore have written after B.C. 162; but nothing more is known of him than can be gathered from 2 Macc. ii. 19-23.

4. **JASON THE HIGH-PRIEST**, the second son of Simon II., and brother of Onias III., who succeeded in obtaining the high-priesthood from Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 175 B.C.) to the exclusion of

<sup>a</sup> Jason and Jesus occur together as Jewish names in the history of Aristaeus (Hody, *De text. p. 101*).

his elder brother (2 Macc. iv. 7-26, 4 Macc. iv. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1). He laboured in every way to introduce Greek customs among the people, and that with great success (2 Macc. iv.; Joseph. *l. c.*). In order to give permanence to the changes which he designed, he established a gymnasium at Jerusalem, and even the priests neglected their sacred functions to take part in the games (2 Macc. iv. 9, 14), and at last he went so far as to send a deputation to the Tyrian games in honour of Hercules. [HERCULES.] After three years (cir. B.C. 172) he was in turn supplanted in the king's favour by his own emissary Menelaus [MENE LAUS], who obtained the office of High-priest from Antiochus by the offer of a larger bribe, and was forced to take refuge among the Ammonites (2 Macc. iv. 26). On a report of the death of Antiochus (c. 170 B.C.) he made a violent attempt to recover his power (2 Macc. v. 5-7), but was repulsed, and again fled to the Ammonites. Afterwards he was compelled to retire to Egypt, and thence to Sparta, whither he went in the hope of receiving protection "in virtue of his being connected with them by race" (2 Macc. v. 9; comp. 1 Macc. xii. 7; Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 456), and there "perished in a strange land" (2 Macc. i. c.; cf. Dan. xii. 30 ff.; 1 Macc. i. 12 ff.). [B. F. W.]

5. JASON THE THESSALONIAN, who entertained Paul and Silas, and was in consequence attacked by the Jewish mob (Acts xvii. 5, 6, 7, 9). He is probably the same as the Jason mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21, as a companion of the apostle, and one of his kinsmen or fellow-tribesmen. Lightfoot conjectured that Jason and Secundus (Acts xx. 4) were the same. [W. A. W.]

JASPER (ἰάσπις; *iaspis*; *jaspis*), a precious stone frequently noticed in Scripture. It was the last of the twelve inserted in the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 20, xxxix. 13), and the first of the twelve used in the foundations of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 19): the difference in the order seems to show that no emblematical importance was attached to that feature. It was the stone employed in the superstructure (*ἐνδόμησις*) of the wall of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 18). It further appears among the stones which adorned the king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii. 13). Lastly, it is the emblematical image of the glory of the Divine Being (Rev. iv. 3). The characteristics of the stone, as far as they are specified in Scripture (Rev. xxi. 11), are that it was "most precious," and "like crystal" (*κρυσταλλίζων*; not exactly "clear as crystal," as in A. V., but of a crystal hue; the term is applied to it in this sense by Dioscorides (v. 160; *λίθος ἰάσπις, ὃ μὲν τίς ἐστι σμαραγδίζων, ὃ δὲ κρυσταλλώδης*); we may also infer from Rev. iv. 3, that it was a stone of brilliant and transparent light. The stone which we name "jasper" does not accord with this description: it is an opaque species of quartz, of a red, yellow, green, or mixed brownish-yellow hue, sometimes striped and sometimes spotted, in no respect presenting the characteristics of the crystal. The only feature in the stone which at all accords with the Scriptural account is that it admits of a high polish, and this appears to be indicated in the Hebrew name. With regard to the Hebrew term, the LXX. and Vulg. render it by the "onyx" and "beryl" respectively, and represent the jasper by the term *yachalom* (A. V. "emerald"). There can be no doubt that the *basomai* would more adequately answer to the

description in the book of Revelation, and unless that beautiful and valuable stone is represented by the Hebrew *yashpheh* and the Greek *ἰάσπις*, it does not appear at all in the passages quoted; for the term rendered "diamond" in Ex. xxviii. 18 really refers to the emerald. We are disposed to think, therefore, that though the names *yashpheh*, *ἰάσπις*, and *jasper* are identical, the stones may have been different, and that the *diamond* is meant. [W. L. B.]

JASUBUS (Ἰασούβος; *Jasub*), 1 Esd. ix. 30. [JASHUB, 2.]

JA'TAL (Ἰάταρ, both MSS.: *Azer*), 1 Esd. v. 28; but whence was the form in A. V. adopted? [ATER, 1.]

JATH'NIEL (Ἰαθνηὴλ; *Ierouh'el*; Alex. *Na-thana'*; *Jathano'el*), a Kohite Levite, and a door-keeper (A. V. "porter") to the house of Jehovah, i. e. the tabernacle; the fourth of the family of Meshelemiah (1 Chr. xxvi. 2).

JAT'TIR (Ἰαττήρ), in Josh. xv. 48; elsewhere Ἰαττήρ; *Iethér*, *Ailáw*, *Gethór*, *Iethár*; Alex. *Iethér*, *Eieθér*; *Jether*), a town of Judah in the mountain district (Josh. xv. 48), one of the group containing Socho, Eshtemoa, &c.; it was among the nine cities which with their suburbs were allotted out of Judah to the priests (xxi. 14; 1 Chr. vi. 57), and was one of the places in the south in which David used to haunt in his freebooting days, and to his friends in which, he sent gifts from the spoil of the enemies of Jehovah (1 Sam. xxx. 27). By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, *Jether*) it is spoken of as a very large place in the middle of Daroma, near Malatha, and 20 miles from Eleutheropolis. It is named by Hap-Parchi, the Jewish traveller; but the passage is defective, and little can be gathered from it (Zunz in *Asher's Benj. Tudela*, ii. 442). By Robinson (i. 494, 5) it is identified with *Attir*, 6 miles N. of Molada, and 10 miles S. of Hebron, and having the probable sites of Socho, Eshtemoa, and other southern towns within short distances. This identification may be accepted, notwithstanding the discrepancy in the distance of *Attir* from Eleutheropolis (if *Beit-Jibrin* be Eleutheropolis)—which is by road nearer 30 than 20 Roman miles. We may suspect an error in the text of the *Onomast.*, often very corrupt; or Eusebius may have confounded *Attir* with *Jutta*, which does lie exactly 20 miles from *B. Jibrin*. And it is by no means absolutely proved that *B. Jibrin* is Eleutheropolis. Robinson notices that it is not usual for the *Jod* with which *Jattir* commences to change into the *Ain* of *Attir* (*Bib. Res.* i. 494 note).

The two Ithrite heroes of David's guard were probably from *Jattir*, living memorials to him of his early difficulties. [G.]

JAVAN (Ἰάβαν; *Iabán*; *Javan*). 1. A son of Japheth, and the father of Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim (Gen. x. 2, 4). The name appears in Is. lxxvi. 19, where it is coupled with Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, and more particularly with Tubal and the "isles afar off," as representatives of the Gentile world: again in Ez. xxvii. 13, where it is coupled with Tubal and Meshech, as carrying on considerable commerce with the Tyrians, who imported from these countries slaves and brazen vessels: in Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2, in reference to the Macedonian empire: and lastly in Zech. ix.



13, in reference to the Graeco-Syrian empire. From a comparison of these various passages there can be no doubt that Javan was regarded as the representative of the Greek race: the similarity of the name to that branch of the Hellenic family with which the Orientals were best acquainted, viz. the Ionians, particularly in the older form in which their name appears (*Ἰάων*), is too close to be regarded as accidental: and the occurrence of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions of the time of Sargon (about B.C. 709), in the form of *Yawan* or *Yuman*, as descriptive of the isle of Cyprus, where the Assyrians first came in contact with the power of the Greeks, further shows that its use was not confined to the Hebrews, but was widely spread throughout the East. The name was probably introduced into Asia by the Phoenicians, to whom the Ionians were naturally better known than any other of the Hellenic races, on account of their commercial activity and the high prosperity of their towns on the western coast of Asia Minor. The extension of the name westward to the general body of the Greeks, as they became known to the Hebrews through the Phoenicians, was but a natural process, analogous to that which we have already had to notice in the case of Chittim. It can hardly be imagined that the early Hebrews themselves had any actual acquaintance with the Greeks: it is, however, worth mentioning as illustrative of the communication which existed between the Greeks and the East, that among the artists who contributed to the ornamentation of Esarhaddon's palaces the names of several Greek artists appear in one of the inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 483). At a later period the Hebrews must have gained considerable knowledge of the Greeks through the Egyptians. Psammetichus (B.C. 664-610) employed Ionians and Carians as mercenaries, and showed them so much favour that the war-caste of Egypt forsook him in a body: the Greeks were settled near Bubastis, in a part of the country with which the Jews were familiar (*Herod.* ii. 154). The same policy was followed by the succeeding monarchs, especially Amasis (571-525), who gave the Greeks Naucratis as a commercial emporium. It is tolerably certain that any information which the Hebrews acquired in relation to the Greeks must have been through the indirect means to which we have adverted: the Greeks themselves were very slightly acquainted with the southern coast of Syria until the invasion of Alexander the Great. The earliest notices of Palestine occur in the works of Hecataeus (B.C. 549-486), who mentions only the two towns Canytis and Cadytus; the next are in Herodotus, who describes the country as Syria Palaestina, and notices incidentally the towns Ascalon, Azotus, Ecbatana (Batanaea?), and Cadytis, the same as the Canytis of Hecataeus, probably Gaza. These towns were on the border of Egypt, with the exception of the uncertain Ecbatana; and it is therefore highly probable that no Greek had, down to this late period, travelled through Palestine.

2. A town in the southern part of Arabia (*Yemen*), whither the Phoenicians traded (*Ez.* xxvii. 19): the connexion with Uzal decides in favour of this place rather than Greece, as in the *Vulg.* The same place may be noticed in Joel iii. 6: the parallelism to the Sabaeans in ver. 8, and the fact that the Phoenicians *bought* instead of *selling* slaves to the Greeks (*Ez.* xxvii. 13), are in favour of this view.

[W. L. B.]

JAVELIN. [ARMS.]

JA'ZAR (יָזָר: יָזָר; Alex. 'Iaζήρ; 1 Macc. v. 8. [JAAZER.]

JA'ZER (Num. xxxii. 1, 3; Josh. xii. 39, 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; 1 Chr. vi. 81, xxvi. 31; Is. xlvii. 8, 9; Jer. xlvi. 32). [JAAZER.]

JA'ZIZ (יָזִיז: יָזִיז; Alex. 'Iaζίζ; Jaziz), a Hagarite who had charge of the "flocks," i. e. the sheep and goats (צֹאֵן), of king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 31), which were probably pastured on the east of Jordan, in the nomad country where the forefathers of Jaziz had for ages roamed (*comp.* v. 19-22).

JEARIM, MOUNT (יְרֵמִי: יְרֵמִי; πλάτῃς Jearim; Alex. 'Iarpm: *Mons Jarim*), a place named in specifying the northern boundary of Judah (*Josh.* xv. 10). The boundary ran from Mount Seir to "the shoulder of Mount Jearim, which is Cesalon"—that is, Cesalon was the landmark on the mountain. *Kesla* stands, 7 miles due west of Jerusalem, "as a high point on the north slope of the lofty ridge between *Wady Ghuráb* and *W. Ismail*. The latter of these is the south-western continuation of *W. Beit Hanina*, and the former runs parallel to and northward of it, and they are separated by this ridge, which is probably Mount Jearim" (*Rob.* ii. 154). If Jearim be taken as Hebrew it signifies "forests." Forests in our sense of the word there are none: but we have the testimony of the late traveller that "such thorough woods, both for loneliness and obscurity, he had not seen since he left Germany" (*Tobler, Wanderung*, 1857, p. 17). Kirjath-Jearim (if that be *Kuriet el-Enab*) is only 2½ miles off to the northward, separated by the deep and wide hollow of *Wady Ghuráb*. [*CESALON.*]

JEAT'ERAI (יְעִתְרַי: יְעִתְרַי; *Jehrai*), a Gershonite Levite, son of Zerah (1 Chr. vi. 21); apparently the head of his family at the time that the service of the Tabernacle was instituted by David (*comp.* ver. 31). In the reversed genealogy of the descendants of Gershom, Zerah's son is stated as ETHNI (אֶתְנִי, ver. 41). The two names have quite similarity enough to allow of the one being a corruption of the other, though the fact is not ascertainable.

JEBERECHIAH (יְבֵרְכִיָּהוּ, with the final *h*).

*Bapaxias*: *Barachias*), father of a certain Zechariah, in the reign of Ahaz, mentioned *Is.* viii. 2. As this form occurs nowhere else, and both the LXX. and *Vulgate* have *Berechiah*, it is probably only an accidental corruption. Possibly a *v* was in some copy by mistake attached to the preceding *ב*, so as to make it plural, and thence was transferred to the following word, *Berechiah*. *Berechiah* and *Zechariah* are both common names among the priests (*Zech.* i. 1). These are not the *Zacharias* and *Barachias* mentioned as father and son, *Matt.* xxiii. 35, as it is certain that *Zechariah*, the son of Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash, is there meant. They may however be of the same family; and if *Berechiah* was the father of the house, not of the individuals, the same person might be meant in *Is.* viii. 2 and *Matt.* xxiii. 35. It is singular that *Josephus* (*B. J.* iv. 5, §4) mentions another *Zacharias*, son of Baruch, who was slain by the Jews in the Temple shortly before the last siege of Jerusalem began. (See *Whiston's* note, *ad loc.*) [A. C. H.]

**JEBUS** (יְבוּס): 'Iebōs: *Jebus*), one of the names of Jerusalem, the city of the Jebusites, also called JERUSALEM. It occurs only twice: first in connexion with the journey of the Levite and his unhappy concubine from Bethlehem to Gibeah (Judg. xix. 10, 11); and secondly, in the narrative of the capture of the place by David in 1 Chr. xi. 4, 5. In 2 Sam. v. 6-9 the name Jerusalem is employed. By Gesenius (*Theol.* 189, יְבוּס) and Fürst (*Handb.* 477) Jebus is interpreted to mean a place dry or down-trodden like a threshing-floor; an interpretation which by Ewald (iii. 155) and Stanley (*S. & P.* 177) is taken to prove that Jebus must have been the south-western hill, the "dry rock" of the modern Zion, and "not the Mount Moriah, the city of Solomon, in whose centre arose the perennial spring." But in the great uncertainty which attends these ancient names, this is, to say the least, very doubtful. Jebus was the city of the Jebusites. Either the name of the town is derived from the name of the tribe, or the reverse. If the former, then the interpretation just quoted falls to the ground. If the latter, then the origin of the name of Jebus is thrown back to the very beginning of the Canaanite race—so far at any rate as to make its connexion with a Hebrew root extremely uncertain. [G.]

**JEB'USI** הַיְבוּסִי = "the Jebusite." 'Iebōsal, 'Iebōs: *Jebusaeus*), the name employed for the city of JEBUS, only in the ancient document describing the landmarks and the towns of the allotment of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16, 28). In the first and last place the explanatory words, "which is Jerusalem," are added. In the first, however, our translators have given it as "the Jebusite."

A parallel to this mode of designating the town by its inhabitants is found in this very list in Zemaraim (xviii. 22), Avim (23), Ophni (24), and Japhletite (xvi. 3), &c. [G.]

**JEBUSITE, JEB'USITES, THE.** Although these two forms are indiscriminately employed in the A. V., yet in the original the name, whether applied to individuals or to the nation, is never found in the plural; always singular. The usual form is הַיְבוּסִי; but in a few places—viz., 2 Sam. v. 6, xxiv. 16, 18; 1 Chr. xxi. 18 only—it is הַיְבוּסִים. Without the article, יְבוּסִי, it occurs in 2 Sam. v. 8; 1 Chr. xi. 6; Zech. ix. 7. In the two first of these the force is much increased by removing the article introduced in the A. V., and reading "and smiteth a Jebusite." We do not hear of a progenitor to the tribe, but the name which would have been his had he existed has attached itself to the city in which we meet with the Jebusites in historic times. [JEBUS.] The LXX. give the name 'Iebōsaaios: Vulg. *Jebusaeus*.  
1. According to the table in Genesis x. "the Jebusite" is the third son of Canaan. His place in the list is between Heth and the Amorites (Gen. x. 16; 1 Chr. i. 14), a position which the tribe maintained long after (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3); and the same connexion is traceable in the

words of Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45), who addresses Jerusalem as the fruit of the union of an Amorite with a Hittite. But in the formula, by which the Promised Land is so often designated, the Jebusites are uniformly placed last, which may have arisen from their small number, or their quiet disposition. See Gen. xv. 21; Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xii. 8, xxiv. 11; 1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. viii. 7; Ezr. ix. 1; Neh. ix. 8.

2. Our first glimpse of the actual people is in the invaluable report of the spies—"the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountain" (Num. xiii. 29). This was forty years before the entrance into Palestine, but no change in their *habitat* had been made in the interval; for when Jabin organised his rising against Joshua he sent amongst others "to the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountain" (Josh. xi. 3). A mountain-tribe they were, and a mountain-tribe they remained. "Jebus, which is Jerusalem," lost its king in the slaughter of Bethhoron (Josh. x. 1, 5, 26; comp. xii. 10)—was sacked and burnt by the men of Judah (Judg. i. 21), and its citadel finally scaled and occupied by David (2 Sam. v. 6); but still the Jebusites who inhabited Jerusalem, the "inhabitants of the land," could not be expelled from their mountain-seat, but continued to dwell with the children of Judah and Benjamin to a very late date (Josh. xv. 8, 63; Judg. i. 21, xix. 11). This obstinacy is characteristic of mountaineers, and the few traits we possess of the Jebusites show them as a warlike people. Before the expedition under Jabin, Adoni-Zedek, the king of Jerusalem, had himself headed the attack on the Gibeonites, which ended in the slaughter of Bethhoron, and cost him his life on that eventful evening under the trees at Makkedah. That they were established in the strongest natural fortress of the country in itself says much for their courage and power, and when they lost it, it was through bravado rather than from any cowardice on their part. [JERUSALEM.]

After this they emerge from the darkness but once, in the person of Araunah<sup>b</sup> the Jebusite, "Araunah the king" (אַרְוֹנָה הַמֶּלֶךְ), who appears before us in true kingly dignity in his well-known transaction with David (2 Sam. xxiv. 23; 1 Chr. xix. 23). The picture presented us in these well-known passages is a very interesting one. We see the fallen Jebusite king and his four sons on their threshing-floor on the bald top of Moriah, treading out their wheat (דָּשָׁ: A. V. "threshing") by driving the oxen with the heavy sledges (כְּרִיִּים, A. V. "threshing instruments") over the corn, round the central heap. We see Araunah on the approach of David fall on his face on the ground, and we hear him ask, "Why is my lord the king come to his slave?" followed by his willing surrender of all his property. But this reveals no traits peculiar to the Jebusites, or characteristic of them more than of their contemporaries in Israel, or in the other nations of Canaan. The early judges and kings of Israel threshed wheat in the wine-

<sup>a</sup> In ver. 5 the king of Jerusalem is styled one of the "five kings of the Amorites." But the LXX. (both MSS.) have τῶν 'Iebōsaaios of the Jebusites.

<sup>b</sup> By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 13, §9) Araunah is said to have been one of David's chief friends (ἐν τοῖς μέγιστα ἑταίροις), and to have been expressly spared by

him when the citadel was taken. If there is any truth in this, David no doubt made his friendship during his wanderings, when he also acquired that of Uriah the Hittite, Ahimelech, Sibbechai, and others of his associates who belonged to the old nations.

press (Judg. vi. 11), followed the herd out of the field (1 Sam. xi. 5), and were taken from the sheep-shears (2 Sam. vii. 8), and the pressing courtesy of Araunah is closely paralleled by that of Ephron the Hittite in his negotiation with Abraham.

We are not favoured with further traits of the Jebusites, nor with any clue to their religion or rites.

Two names of individual Jebusites are preserved. In ADONIZEDEK the only remarkable thing is its Hebrew form, in which it means "Lord of justice."

That of ARAUNAH is much more uncertain—so much so as to lead to the belief that we possess it more nearly in its original shape. In the short narrative of Samuel alone it is given in three forms—"the Avannah" (ver. 16); Araneah (18); Arannah, or Araunah (20, 21). In Chronicles it is Arnan, while by the LXX. it is Ὀρνᾶ, and by Josephus Ὀρόννα. [ARAUNAH; ORNAN.]

In the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles the ashes of Barnabas, after his martyrdom in Cyprus, are said to have been buried in a cave, "where the race of the Jebusites formerly dwelt;" and previously to this is mentioned the arrival in the island of a "pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero" (Act. Apost. Apocr. pp. 72, 73, ed. Tisch.). [G.]

JECAMIAH (יְקַמְיָהוּ, i. e. Jekamiah, as the name is elsewhere given: Ἰεκεμία, Alex. Ἰεκενία: *Jecemia*), one of a batch of seven, including Salathiel and Pedaiah, who were introduced into the royal line, on the failure of it in the person of Jehoiachin (1 Chr. iii. 18). They were all apparently sons of Neri, of the line of Nathan, since Salathiel certainly was so (Luke iii. 27). [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, p. 675a.] [A. C. H.]

JECHOLIAH (יְכֹלְיָהוּ), with the final ū: Ἰεχολία, Alex. Ἰέχεμα; Joseph. Ἀχιάλας: *Jechelia*, wife of Amaziah king of Judah, and mother of Azariah or Uzziah his successor (2 K. xv. 2). Both this queen and Jehoaddan, the mother of her husband, are specified as "of Jerusalem." In the A. V. of Chronicles her name is given as JECOLIAH.

JECHONIAS (Ἰεχωνίας: *Jechonias*). 1. The Greek form of the name of king JECHONIAH, followed by our translators in the books rendered from the Greek, viz., Esth. xi. 4; Bar. i. 3, 9; Matt. i. 11, 12.

2. 1 Esd. viii. 92. [SHECHANIAH.]

JECOLIAH (יְכֹלְיָהוּ): Ἰεχολία: *Jechelia*, 2 Chr. xxvi. 3. In the original the name differs from its form in the parallel passage in Kings, only in not having the final ā. [JECOLIAH.]

JECONIAH (יְכֹנְיָהוּ); excepting once, יְכִנְיָהוּ, with the final ū, Jer. xxiv. 1; and once in *Cetib*, יְכֹנְיָהוּ, Jer. xxvii. 20: Ἰεχωνίας: *Jechonias*), an altered form of the name of JEHOIACHIN, last but one of the kings of Judah, which is found in the following passages:—1 Chr. iii. 16, 17; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 1; Esth. ii. 6. It is still further abbreviated to CONIAH. See also JECNONIAS and JOACIM.

JECONIAS (Ἰεχωνίας: *Jechonias*), 1 Esd. i. 9. [CONANIAH.]

JEDAJAH (יְדֵיָהוּ): Ἰωδαῖ, Ἰεδουῖ, Ἰαδιᾶ: *Jadaia*, *Jedei*). 1. Head of the second course of

priests, as they were divided in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). Some of them survived to return to Jerusalem after the Babylonian captivity, as appears from Ezr. ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39—"the children of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, 973." The addition "of the house of Jeshua" indicates that there were two priestly families of the name of Jedaiah, actually the case. If these sons of Jedaiah had for their head JESHUA, the high-priest in the time of Zerubbabel, as the Jewish tradition says they had (Lewis's *Orij. Heb.* bk. ii. ch. vii.), this may be the reason why, in 1 Chr. ix. 10, and Neh. xi. 10, the course of Jedaiah is named before that of Joiarib, though Joiarib's was the first course. But perhaps Jeshua was another priest descended from Jedaiah, from whom this branch sprung. It is certainly a corrupt reading in Neh. xi. 10 which makes Jedaiah son of Joiarib. 1 Chr. ix. 10 preserves the true text. In Esdras the name is JEDDU.

2. A priest in the time of Jeshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 10, 14). [A. C. H.]

JEDAJAH (יְדֵיָהוּ): Ἰεδιᾶ; Alex. Ἰεδιᾶ, Ἰεδιᾶ, *Jedaia*, *Jedaia*). This is a different name from the last, though the two are identical in the A. V.

1. A man named in the genealogies of Simeon a forefather of Ziza, one of the chiefs of the tribe, apparently in the time of king Hezekiah (1 Chr. iv. 37).

2. Son of Harumaph; a man who did his part in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

JEDDU (Ἰεδδού: *Jeddu*), 1 Esd. v. 14 [JEDAJAH, 1.]

JEDEUS (Ἰεδαῖος: *Jeddeus*), 1 Esd. ix. 16 [ADAJAH, 5.]

JEDIAEL (יְדִיעֵל): Ἰεδιήλ; *Jadiel*). 1. Chief patriarch of the tribe of Benjamin, from whom sprung many Benjamite houses of fathers, numbering 17,200 mighty men of valour, in the days of David (1 Chr. vii. 6, 11). It is usually assumed that Jediael is the same as Adiel (Gen. xvi. 21; Num. xxvi. 38; 1 Chr. viii. 1). But though this may be so, it cannot be affirmed with certainty. [BECHER; BELA.] Jediael might be a later descendant of Benjamin not mentioned in the Pentateuch, but who, from the fruitfulness of his house and the decadence of elder branches, rose to the first rank.

2. Second son of Meshelemiah, a Levite, of the sons of Ebiasaph the son of Korah. One of the doorkeepers of the temple in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 1, 2). [A. C. H.]

3. Son of Shimri; one of the heroes of David's guard in the enlarged catalogue of Chronicles (1 Chr. xi. 45). In the absence of further information we cannot decide whether or not he is the same person as

4. (Ἰωδιήλ; Alex. Ἰεδιήλ), one of the chiefs (lit. "heads") of the thousands of Manasseh who joined David on his march from Apek to Zidon when he left the Philistine army on the eve of the battle of Beberon, and helped him in his revenge on the raiding Amalekites (1 Chr. xii. 20; comp. 1 Sam. xxx., xxx.).

JEDI DAH (יְדִיָּהוּ): Ἰεδιᾶ, Ἰεδουῖ, Ἰαδιᾶ: *Jediᾶ*, *Jedei*). 1. Head of the second course of

good king Josiah (2 K. xxii. 1). She was a native of Bozkath near Lachish, the daughter of a certain Adaiah. By Josephus (*Ant.* x. 4, §1) her name is given as 'Ιεδίς.

**JEDID'AH** (יְדִידְיָהּ, "darling of Jehovah:" יְדִידְיָהּ; Alex. 'Ειδιδά: *Amabilis Domino*), the name bestowed, through Nathan the prophet, on David's son Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25).

Bathsheba's first child had died—"Jehovah struck it" (ver. 15). A second son was born, and David is in allusion to the state of his external affairs, or to his own restored peace of mind—called his name Shelômôh ("Peaceful"); and Jehovah loved the child, i. e. allowed him to live. And David sent by the hand of Nathan, to obtain through him some oracle or token of the Divine favour on the babe, and the babe's name was called JEDID-JAH. It is then added that this was done "because of Jehovah." The clue to the meaning of these last words, and indeed of the whole circumstance, seems to reside in the fact that "Jedid" and "David" are both derived from the same root, or from two very closely related (see Gesen. *Thes.* 565a—"יָדָה, idem quod יָדָה"). To us these plays on words have little or no significance; but to the old Hebrews, as to the modern Orientals, they were full of meaning. To David himself, the "darling" of his family and his people, no more happy omen, no more precious seal of his restoration to the Divine favour after his late fall, could have been afforded, than this announcement by the prophet, that the name of his child was to combine his own name with that of Jehovah—JEDID-JAH, "darling of Jehovah."

The practice of bestowing a second name on children, in addition to that given immediately on birth—such second name having a religious bearing, as Noor-ed-Din, Saleh-ed-Din (Saladin), &c.—still exists in the East. [G.]

**JEDUTHUN** (יְדוּתָן), except in 1 Chr. xvi. 38; Neh. xi. 17; Ps. xxx. title; and lxxvii. title, where it is יְדִידְיָהּ, i. e. Jedithun; 'Ιδουθών and 'Ιδουθόν, or -ούμ; *Idithun*), a Levite, of the family of Merari, who was associated with Heman the Kohathite, and Asaph the Gershonite, in the conduct of the musical service of the tabernacle, in the time of David; according to what is said 1 Chr. xxiii. 6, that David divided the Levites "into courses among the sons of Levi, namely, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari." The proof of his being a Merarite depends upon his identification with Ethan in 1 Chr. xv. 17, who, we learn from that passage as well as from the genealogy in vi. 44 (A. V.), was a Merarite [HEMAN]. But it may be added that the very circumstance of Ethan being a Merarite, which Jeduthun must have been (since the only reason of there being three musical chiefs was to have one for each division of the Levites), is a strong additional proof of this identity. Another proof may be found in the mention of Hosah (xvi. 38, 42), as a son of Jeduthun and a gatekeeper, compared with xxvi. 10, where we read that Hosah was of the children of Merari. Assuming then that, as regards 1 Chr. vi. 44, xv. 17, 19, יְדִידְיָהּ is a mere clerical variation for יְדוּתָן—which a comparison of xv. 17, 19 with xvi. 41, 42, xxv. 1, 3, 6,

2 Chr. xxxv. 15, makes almost certain—we have Jeduthun's descent as son of Kishi, or Kushnah, from Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi, being the fourteenth generation from Levi inclusive. His office was generally to preside over the music of the temple service, consisting of the *nebel*, or nablium, the *cinno*, or harp, and the cymbals, together with the human voice (the trumpets being confined to the priests). But his peculiar part, as well as that of his two colleagues Heman and Asaph, was "to sound with cymbals of brass," while the others played on the nablium and the harp. This appointment to the office was by election of the chiefs of the Levites (שָׂרִים) at David's command, each of the three divisions probably choosing one. The first occasion of Jeduthun's ministering was when David brought up the ark to Jerusalem. He then took his place in the procession, and played on the cymbals. But when the division of the Levitical services took place, owing to the tabernacle being at Gibeon and the ark at Jerusalem, while Asaph and his brethren were appointed to minister before the ark, it fell to Jeduthun and Heman to be located with Zadok the priest, to give thanks "before the tabernacle of the Lord in the high place that was at Gibeon," still by playing the cymbals in accompaniment to the other musical instruments (comp. Ps. cl. 5). In the account of Josiah's Passover in 2 Chr. xxxv. reference is made to the singing as conducted in accordance with the arrangements made by David, and by Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun *the king's seer* (חֵזֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ). [HEMAN.] Perhaps the phrase rather means the king's adviser in matters connected with the musical service. The sons of Jeduthun were employed (1 Chr. xxv.) partly in music, viz. six of them, who prophesied with the harp—Gedaliah, head of the 2nd ward, Zeri, or Lzi, of the 4th, Jeshaiiah of the 8th, Shimei of the 10th,<sup>b</sup> Hashabiah of the 12th, and Mattithiah of the 14th; and partly as gatekeepers (A. V. "porters") (xvi. 42), viz. Obed-Edom and Hosah (v. 38), which last had thirteen sons and brothers (xxvi. 11). The triple division of the Levitical musicians seems to have lasted as long as the temple, and each to have been called after their respective leaders. At the dedication of Solomon's temple "the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun" performed their proper part. In the reign of Hezekiah, again, we find the sons of Asaph, the sons of Heman, and the sons of Jeduthun, taking their part in purifying the temple (2 Chr. xxix. 13, 14) they are mentioned, we have seen, in Josiah's reign, and so late as in Nehemiah's time we still find descendants of Jeduthun employed about the singing (Neh. xi. 17; 1 Chr. ix. 16). His name stands at the head of the 39th, 62nd, and 77th Psalms, indicating probably that they were to be sung by his choir. [A. C. H.]

**JEE'LI** (Ἰεηλί; Alex. 'Ιεηλί: *Celi*), 1 Esd. v. 33. [JAALAH.]

**JEEIUS** (Ἰεήλος (*Ie'hlou*); Alex. 'Ιεήλο *Jehelus*), 1 Esd. viii. 92. [JEIHEL.]

\* The reason why "son of Jeduthun" is especially attached to the name of Obed-Edom in this verse, is to distinguish him from the other Obed-Edom the Gittite (2 Sam. vi. 10 mentioned in the

same verse, who was probably a Kohathite (Josh. xxi. 24).

<sup>b</sup> Omitted in ver. 3, but necessary to make up the 6 sons.

**JEEZER** (יֵעֶזֶר: Ἀχιέζερ: *Hiezer*), the form assumed in the list in Numbers (xxvi. 30) by the name of a descendant of Manasseh, eldest son of Gilead, and founder of one of the chief families of the tribe. [JEEZERITES.] In parallel lists the name is given as ABI-EZER, and the family as the ABIEZERITES—the house of Gideon. Whether this change has arisen from the accidental addition or omission of a letter, or is an intentional variation, akin to that in the case of Abiel and Jehiel, cannot be ascertained. The LXX. perhaps read יֵעֶזֶר.

**JEEZERITES, THE** (יֵעֶזֶרִיתִים: Ἀχιέζεροι: *familia Hiezeritarum*), the family of the foregoing (Num. xxvi. 30).

**JEGAR SAHADUTHA** (יֵגַר שְׁהַדוּתָא: "heap of testimony": *βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας: tumulus testis*), the Aramaean name given by Laban the Syrian to the heap of stones which he erected as a memorial of the compact between Jacob and himself, while Jacob commemorated the same by setting up a pillar (Gen. xxxi. 47), as was his custom on several other occasions. Galeed, a "witness heap," which is given as the Hebrew equivalent, does not exactly represent Jegar-sahadutha. The LXX. have preserved the distinction accurately in rendering the latter by *βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας*, and the former by *β. μαρτύς*. The Vulgate, oddly enough, has transposed the two, and translated Galeed by "acervus testimonii," and Jegar Sahadutha by "tumulus testis." But in the mind of the writer they were evidently all but identical, and the manner in which he has adapted the name to the circumstances narrated, and to the locality which was the scene of the transaction, is a curious instance of a tendency on the part of the Hebrews, of which there are many examples in the O. T.,<sup>a</sup> so to modify an already existing name that it might convey to a Hebrew an intelligible idea, and at the same time preserve essentially its original form. There is every reason to believe that the name Gilead is derived from a root which points to the natural features of the region to which it is applied, and to which it was in all probability attached before the meeting of Jacob and Laban, or at any rate before the time at which the historian was writing. In fact it is so used in verses 23 and 25 of this chapter. The memorial heap erected by Laban marked a crisis in Jacob's life which severed him from all further intercourse with his Syrian kindred, and henceforth his wanderings were mainly confined to the land which his descendants were to inherit. Such a crisis, so commemorated, was thought by the historian of sufficient importance to have left its impress upon the whole region, and in Galeed, "the witness heap," was found the original name of the mountainous district Gilead.

A similar etymology is given for MIZPEH in the parenthetical clause consisting of the latter part of vers. 48 and 49, which is not unlikely to have been suggested, though it is not so stated—by the similarity between מִצְפָּה, *mizpeh*, and מַצְבָּה, *matzébáh*, the "standing stone" or "statue" which Jacob set up to be his memorial of the transaction, as the heap of stones was Laban's. On this pillar or standing stone he swore by Jehovah, the "fear of

<sup>a</sup> The double account of the origin of Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 31, xxvi. 33), the explanation of Zoar (Gen. xix. 20, 22) and of the name of Moses (Ex. ii. 10), are illustrations of this; and there are many

his father Isaac," as Laban over his heap invoked the God of Abraham, and Nahor, the God of their father Terah; each marking, by the most solemn form of adjuration he could employ, his own sense of the grave nature of the compact. [W. A. W.]

**JEHAL'ELEEL** (יְהִיֵּלֵל: Ἰαλεήλ: Alex. Ἰαλλεήλ: *Jaleleel*). Four men of the Bene-Jehalleel are introduced abruptly into the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 16). The name is identical with that rendered in the A. V. JEAL-ELEEL. Neither form is however quite correct.

**JEHAL'ELEL** (יְהִיֵּלֵל: Ἰαλεήλ: Alex. Ἰαλλήλ: *Jaaleel*), a Merarite Levite, whose son Azariah took part in the restoration of the temple in Hezekiah's time (2 Chr. xxix. 12).

**JEHDEI'AH** (יְהִדְיָה: i. e. Yechde-yah) 1. (Ἰεδία; Alex. Ἰαδαία, *Apadela: Jedia*). The representative of the Bene-Shubael, —descendant of Gershom, son of Moses—in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 20). But in xxvi. 24, a man of the name of Shebuel or Shubael, is recorded as the head of the house; unless in this passage the family itself, and not an individual, be intended.

2. (Ἰαδίας: *Jadias*). A Meronothite who had charge of the she-asses—the riding and breeding stock—of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 30).

**JEHEZ'EKEL** (יְהֵזְקֵל: Ἰεζεχία: *Jezeh*), a priest to whom was given by David the duty of the twentieth of the twenty-four courses in the service of the house of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxiv. 18).

The name in the original is almost exactly similar to EZEKIEL.

**JEHI'AH** (יְהִיָּה: Ἰεῖα; Alex. Ἰεῖα: *Jehiel*). He and Obed-edom were "doorkeepers for the ark" (שַׁעְרִים), the word elsewhere expressed by "porters" at the time of its establishment in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 24). The name does not recur, but it is possible it may be exchanged for the similar JEHIEL or JEIEL in xvi. 5.

**JEHI'EL** (יְהִיֵּל: *Jahiel*). 1. (Ἰεῖλ) One of the Levites appointed by David to assist in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20, xvi. 4).

2. One of the sons of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, who was put to death by his brother Jehoram shortly after his becoming king (2 Chr. xxi. 2).

3. (Ἰεῖλ.) One of the rulers of the house of God at the time of the reforms of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 8). [SYELUS.]

4. (Ἰεῖλ.) A Gershonite Levite, head of the Bene-Laadan in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 8), who had charge of the treasures (xxix. 8). His family—JEHIEL, i. e. Jehielite, or as we should say now Jehielites—is mentioned, xxvi. 21.

5. (Ἰεῖλ, Alex. Ἰερίηλ.) Son of Hachmoni, a Hachmonite, named in the list of David's officers (1 Chr. xxvii. 32) as "with (וְ) the king's sons," whatever that may mean. The mention of Ahithophel (33) seems to fix the date of this list before the revolt. In Jerome's *Quaestiones* on *braicae* on this passage, Jehiel is said to be David's son Chileab or Daniel; and "Achamoni," interpreted

such. This tendency is not peculiar to the Hebrew. It exists in every language, but has not yet been recognised in the case of Hebrew

as *Sapientissimus*, is taken as an *alias* of David himself.

6. (In the original text, **יְהוּאֵל**, Jehuel—the A. V. follows the alteration of the Keri: 'יעהל.) A Levite of the Bene-Heman, who took part in the restorations of king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 14).

7. Another Levite at the same period (2 Chr. xxxi. 13), one of the "overseers" (**פְּקִידִים**) of the articles offered to Jehovah. His parentage is not mentioned.

8. (יעהל, Alex. 'יעהל.) Father of Obadiah, who headed 218 men of the Bene-Joab in the return from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 9). In Esdras the name is JEZELUS, and the number of his clan is stated at 212.

9. (יעהל, Alex. 'יעהל: *Jehiel*.) One of the Bene-Elam, father of Shechaniah, who encouraged Ezra to put away the foreign wives of the people (Ezr. x. 2). In Esdras it is JEELUS.

10. (יעהל, Alex. 'יעהל: *Jehiel*.) A member of the same family, who had himself to part with his wife (Ezr. x. 26). [HIEREELUS.]

11. (יעהל, Alex. 'יעהל: *Jehiel*.) A priest, one of the Bene-Harim, who also had to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 21). [HIEREEL.]

**JEHIEL**,\* a perfectly distinct name from the last, though the same in the A. V. 1. (**יְהִיֵּאל**); so the Keri, but the *Cetib* has **יְעוּאֵל**, i. e. Jeuel: יעהל: Alex. 'יעהל: *Jehiel*), a man described as Abi-Gibeon—father of Gibeon; a forefather of king Saul (1 Chr. ix. 35). In viii. 29 the name is omitted. The presence of the stubborn letter *Ain* in Jehiel forbids our identifying it with Abiel in 1 Sam. ix. 1, as some have been tempted to do.

2. (Here the name is as given in No. 1). One of the sons of Hotham the Aroerite; a member of the guard of David, included in the extended list of 1 Chr. xi. 44.

**JEHIELI** (**יְהִיֵּאֵל**: 'Iaiohēl; Alex. 'Aiohēl: *Jehieli*), according to the A. V. a Gershonite Levite of the family of LAADAN. The Bene-Jehieli had charge of the treasures of the house of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxvi. 21, 22). In other lists it is given as **JEHIEL**. The name appears to be strictly a πατρωνυμικ—Jehielite.

**JEHIZKIAH** (**יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ**), i. e. Yechizki-yahu; same name as Hezekiah: 'Ezekias: *Ezechias*), son of Shallum, one of the heads of the tribe of Ephraim in the time of Ahaz, who at the instance of Oded the prophet, nobly withstood the attempt to bring into Samaria a large number of captives and much booty, which the Israelite army under king Pekah had taken in the campaign against Judah. By the exertions of Jehizkiah and his fellows the captives were clothed, fed, and tended, and returned to Jericho en route for Judah (2 Chr. xxviii. 12; comp. 8, 13, 15).

**JEH'ADAH** (**יְהוֹאָדָה**), i. e. Jehoaddah: 'Iadā; Alex. 'Ieoadā: *Joadā*), one of the descendants of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 36); great grandson to Meribbaal, i. e. Mephibosheth. In the duplicate genealogy (ix. 42) the name is changed to JARAH.

**JEHOD'DAN** (**יְהוֹדָן**); bat in Kings the original text has **יְהוֹדָן**; and so the LXX. 'Ie-

\* Here our translators represent *Ain* by H, unless they simply follow the Vulgate. Comp. JEKUSI, MEKUSI.

αω μ, Alex. 'Ioadēlu, 'Ioadān: *Joadin, Joadan*) "Jehoaddan of Jerusalem" was queen to king Joash, and mother of Amaziah of Judah (2 K. xiv. 2; 2 Chr. xxv. 1).

**JEHO'AHAZ** (**יְהוֹאָחָז**: 'Iodhaç). 1. The son and successor of Jehu, reigned 17 years B.C. 856-840 over Israel in Samaria. His inglorious history is given in 2 K. xiii. 1-9. Throughout his reign (ver. 22) he was kept in subjection by Hazael king of Damascus, who, following up the successes which he had previously achieved against Jehu, compelled Jehoahaz to reduce his army to 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 infantry. Jehoahaz maintained the idolatry of Jeroboam; but in the extremity of his humiliation he besought Jehovah: and Jehovah gave Israel a deliverer—probably either Jehoash (vv. 23 and 25), or Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 24, 25) (see Keil, *Commentary on Kings*). The prophet Elisha survived Jehoahaz; and Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 557) is disposed to place in his reign the incursions of the Syrians mentioned in 2 K. v. 2, vi. 8, and of the Ammonites mentioned in Amos i. 13.

2. Jehoahaz, otherwise called SHALLUM, the fourth (acc. to 1 Chr. iii. 15), or third, if Zedekiah's age be correctly stated (2 Chr. xxxvi. 11), son of Josiah, whom he succeeded as king of Judah. He was chosen by the people in preference to his elder (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 31 and 36) brother, B.C. 610, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. His anointing (ver. 30) was probably some additional ceremony, or it is mentioned with peculiar emphasis, as if to make up for his want of the ordinary title to the throne. He is described by his contemporaries as an evil-doer (2 K. xxiii. 32) and an oppressor (Ez. xix. 3), and such is his traditional character in Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5, §2); but his deposition seems to have been lamented by the people (Jer. xxii. 10, and Ez. xix. 1). Pharaoh-necho on his return from Carchemish, perhaps resenting the election of Jehoahaz, sent to Jerusalem to depose him, and to fetch him to Riblah. There he was cast into chains, and from thence he was taken into Egypt, where he died (see Prideaux, *Connection*, anno 610; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 719; Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Jerem.* xxii. 11).

3. The name given (2 Chr. xxi. 17, where, however, the LXX. has 'Oxocias) during his father's lifetime (Bertheau) to the youngest son of Jehoram king of Judah. As king he is known by the name of AHAZIAH, which is written Azariah in the present Hebrew text of 2 Chr. xxii. 6, perhaps through a transcriber's error. [W. T. B.]

**JEHO'ASH** (**יְהוֹאָשׁ**: 'Ioads: *Joas*), the original uncontracted form of the name which is more commonly found compressed into JOASH. The two forms appear to be used quite indiscriminately, sometimes both occur in one verse (e. g. 2 K. xiii. 10, xiv. 17).

1. The eighth king of Judah; son of AHAZIAH (2 K. xi. 21, xii. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 18, xiv. 13). [JOASH, 1.]

2. The twelfth king of Israel; son of JEHOAHAZ (2 K. xiii. 10, 25, xiv. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17). [JOASH, 2.]

**JEHOHANAN** (**יְהוֹחָנָן**) = "Jehovah's gift," answering to Theodore: 'Iowan: *Johanan*), a name much in use, both in this form and in the contracted shape of JOHANAN in the later periods.

of Jewish history. It has come down to us as JOHN, and indeed is rendered by Josephus *Ἰωαννῆς* (*Ant.* viii. 15, §2).

1. (*Ἰωρᾶβαν*; Alex. *Ἰωρᾶν*). A Levite, one of the doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") to the house of Jehovah, i. e. the Tabernacle, according to the appointment of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 3; comp. xxv. 1). He was the sixth of the seven sons of Meshelemiah; a Korhite, that is descended from Korah, the founder of that great Kohathite house. He is also said (ver. 1) to have been of the Bene-Asaph; but Asaph is a contraction for Ebiasaph, as is seen from the genealogy in ix. 19. The well known Asaph too was not a Kohathite but a Gershonite.

2. One of the principal men of Judah, under king Jehoshaphat; he commanded 280,000 men, apparently in and about Jerusalem (2 Chr. xvii. 15; comp. 13 and 19). He is named second on the list, and is entitled *יְהוֹיָכִן*, "the captain," a title also given to Adnah in the preceding verse, though there rendered "the chief." He is probably the same person as

3. Father of Ishmael, one of the "captains (*יְהוֹשִׁעַ*, as before) of hundreds"—evidently residing in or near Jerusalem—whom Jehoiada the priest took into his confidence about the restoration of the line of Judah (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

4. One of the Bene-Bebai, a lay Israelite who was forced by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (*Ezr.* x. 28). In *Esdras* the name is JOHANNES.

5. A priest (*Neh.* xii. 13); the representative of the house of Amariah (comp. 2), during the high-priesthood of Joiakim (ver. 12), that is to say in the generation after the first return from captivity.

6. (*Vat.* LXX. omits.) A priest who took part in the musical service of thanksgiving, at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (*Neh.* xii. 42). In two other cases this name is given in the A. V. as JOHANAN.

JEHOIACHIN (*יְהוֹיָכִן*) = "appointed of Jehovah;" once only, *Ez.* i. 2, contracted to *יְיָכִין*: in Kings *Ἰωαχίμ*, Chron. *Ἰεχοῖας*, Jer. and *Ez.* *Ἰωακίμ*; Alex. *Ἰωακίμ* throughout; Joseph. *Ἰωαχίμος*: *Jochin*). Elsewhere the name is altered to JECONIAH, and CONIAH. See also JECHONIAS, JOIAKIM, and JOACIM.

Son of Jehoiakim and Nechushta, and for three months and ten days king of Judah, after the death of his father, being the nineteenth king from David, or twentieth, counting Jehoahaz. According to 2 K. xxiv. 8, Jehoiachin was eighteen years old at his accession; but 2 Chr. xxxvi. 9, as well as 1 *Esd.* i. 43, has the far more probable reading eight years,\* which fixes his birth to the time of his father's captivity, according to Matt. i. 11.

Jehoiachin came to the throne at a time when Egypt was still prostrate in consequence of the victory at Carchemish, and when the Jews had been for three or four years harassed and distressed by the inroads of the armed bands of Chaldeans, Ammonites, and Moabites, sent against them by Nebuchadnezzar in consequence of Jehoiakim's rebellion. [JEHOIAKIM.] Jerusalem at this time, therefore, was quite defenceless, and unable to offer any resistance to the regular army which Nebu-

chadnezzar sent to besiege it in the 8th year of his reign, and which he seems to have joined in person after the siege was commenced (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). In a very short time, apparently, and without any losses from famine or fighting which would indicate a serious resistance, Jehoiachin rendered at discretion; and he, and the queen-mother, and all his servants, captains, and officers, came out and gave themselves up to Nebuchadnezzar, who carried them, with the harem and the eunuchs, to Babylon (*Jer.* xxix. 2; *Ezek.* xvii. 12, xix. 9). All the king's treasures, and all the treasure of the temple, were seized, and all the vessels of the temple, which the king of Babylon had left when he pillaged it in the fourth of Jehoiakim, were now either cut up or carried away to Babylon, with all the nobles, and men of war, and skilled artisans, none but the poorest and weakest being left behind (2 K. xxiv. 13; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 18). According to 2 K. xxiv. 14, 16, the number taken at this time into captivity was 10,000, viz. 7000 soldiers, 1000 craftsmen and smiths, and 2000 whose calling is not specified. But, according to *Jer.* lii. 28 (a passage which is omitted in the LXX.), the number carried away captive at this time (called the seventh of Nebuchadnezzar, instead of the eighth, as in 2 K. xxiv. 12) was 3022. Whether this difference arises from any corruption of the numerals, or whether only a portion of those originally taken captive were actually carried to Babylon, the others being left with Zedekiah upon his swearing allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, cannot perhaps be decided. The numbers in Jeremiah are certainly very small, only 4600 in all, whereas the numbers who returned from captivity, as given in *Ezr.* ii. and *Neh.* vii. were 42,360. However, Jehoiachin was himself led away captive to Babylon, and there he remained a prisoner, actually in

prison (*בֵּית כְּלָא*), and wearing prison garments for thirty-six years, viz. till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, when Evil-Merodach succeeding to the throne of Babylon, treated him with much kindness, brought him out of prison, changed his garments, raised him above the other subjects or captive kings, and made him sit at his own table. Whether Jehoiachin outlived the two years of Evil-Merodach's reign or not does not appear, nor have we any particulars of his life at Babylon. The general description of him in 2 K. xxiv. 8, "he did evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that his father had done," seems to apply to his character at the time he was king, and but a child, and so does the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxii. 24-30; *Ezek.* xix. 5-9). We also learn from *Jer.* xxxv. 4, that four years after Jehoiachin had gone to Babylon, there was a great expectation at Jerusalem of his return, but it does not appear whether Jehoiachin himself shared this hope at Babylon. [HANANIAH, 4.] The tenor of Jeremiah's letter to the elders of the captivity (xxix.) would, however, indicate that there was a party among the captivity, encouraged by false prophets, who were at this time looking forward to Nebuchadnezzar's overthrow and Jehoiachin's return; and perhaps the fearful death of Ahab the son of Kolaiah (*Jer.* v. 22), and the close confinement of Jehoiachin through Nebuchadnezzar's reign, may have been

\* Such is the text of the *Vat.* LXX.; the A. V. follows the Alex. and Vulgate in reading "eighteen." The words *יָשָׁר* and *בְּנֵי*, applied to Jehoiakim in

*Jer.* xxii. 28, 30, imply sex rather than age, and are both actually used of infants. See *Green. The* §. v.

the result of some disposition to conspire against Nebuchadnezzar on the part of a portion of the captivity. But neither Daniel nor Ezekiel, who were Jehoiachin's fellow-captives, make any further allusion to him, except that Ezekiel dates his prophecies by the year "of King Jehoiachin's captivity" (i. 2, viii. 1, xxiv. 1, &c.); the latest date being "the twenty-seventh year" (xxix. 17, xl. 1).

We also learn from Esth. ii. 6, that Kish, the ancestor of Mordecai, was Jehoiachin's fellow-captive. But the apocryphal books are more communicative. Thus the author of the book of Baruch (i. 3) introduces "Jechonias the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah" into his narrative, and represents Baruch as reading his prophecy in his ears, and in the ears of the king's sons, and the nobles, and elders, and people, at Babylon. At the hearing of Baruch's words, it is added, they wept, and fasted, and prayed, and sent a collection of silver to Jerusalem, to Joiakim, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum the high-priest, with which to purchase burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and incense, bidding them pray for the prosperity of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar his son. The history of Susanna and the Elders also apparently makes Jehoiachin an important personage; for, according to the author, the husband of Susanna was Joiakim, a man of great wealth, and the chief person among the captives, to whose house all the people resorted for judgment, a description which suits Jehoiachin. Africanus (*Ep. ad Orig.*; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 113) expressly calls Susanna's husband king, and says that the king of Babylon had made him his royal companion (*σύντροφος*). He is also mentioned 1 Esdr. v. 5, but the text seems to be corrupt. It probably should be "Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Joachim," i. e. Jehoiachin. It does not appear certainly from Scripture, whether Jehoiachin was married or had any children. That Zedekiah, who in 1 Chr. iii. 16 is called "his son," is the same as Zedekiah his uncle (called "his brother," 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10), who was his successor on the throne, seems certain.

But it is not impossible that Assir (אֲסִיר = captive), who is reckoned among the "sons of Jeconiah" in 1 Chr. iii. 17, may have been so really, and either have died young or been made an eunuch (Is. xxxix. 7). This is quite in accordance with the term "childless," עֲרֵירִי, applied to Jeconiah by Jeremiah (xxii. 30). [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST, p. 675.]

Jehoiachin was the last of Solomon's line, and on its failure in his person, the right to the succession passed to the line of Nathan, whose descendant Shealtiel, or Salathiel, the son of Neri, was consequently inscribed in the genealogy as of "the sons of Jehoiachin." Hence his place in the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 11, 12). For the variations in the Hebrew forms of Jeconiah's name see HANANIAH, 8; and for the confusion in Greek and Latin writers between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, Ἰωακίμ and Ἰωαχίμ, see GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, and Hervey's *Genealogy*, p. 71-73.

N.B. The compiler of 1 Esdr. gives the name of Jechonias to Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, who reigned three months after Josiah's death, and was deposed and carried to Egypt by Pharaoh-Necho (1 Esdr. i. 34; 2 K. xxiii. 30). He is followed in this blunder by Epiphanius (vol. i. p. 21), who says "Josiah begat Jechoniah, who is also called Shallum. This Jechoniah begat Jechoniah, who is called Zedekiah and Joakim." It has its

origin doubtless in the confusion of the names when written in Greek by writers ignorant of Hebrew. [A. C. H.]

JEHOIADA (יְהוֹיָדָא = "known of Jehovah";

Ἰωδαί; Alex. Ἰωδαί, Ἰωιδά, Ἰωιαδαί, and also as Vat.; Joseph. Ἰωαδός; *Joiada*). In the later books the name is contracted to JOIADA.

1. Father of BENAIAH, David's well known warrior (2 Sam. viii. 18, 1 K. i. and ii. *passim*, 1 Chr. xviii. 17, &c.). From 1 Chr. xxvii. 5, we learn that Benaiah's father was the chief priest, and he is therefore doubtless identical with

2. (Ἰωαδός) Leader (יְנִיד) of the Aaronites (accurately "of Aaron") i. e. the priests; who joined David at Hebron, bringing with him 3700 priests (1 Chr. xii. 27).

3. According to 1 Chr. xxvii. 34, son of Benaiah, and one of David's chief counsellors, apparently having succeeded Ahithophel in that office. But in all probability Benaiah the son of Jehoiada is meant, by a confusion similar to that which has arisen with regard to Ahimelech and Abiathar, 1 Chr. xviii. 16, 2 Sam. viii. 17.

4. High-priest at the time of Athaliah's usurpation of the throne of Judah (B.C. 884-878), and during the greater portion of the 40 years' reign of Joash. It does not appear when he first became high-priest, but it may have been as early as the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign. Any how, he probably succeeded Amariah. [HIGH-PRIEST.] He married JEHOSHEBA, or Jehoshabeath, daughter of king Jehoram, and sister of king Ahaziah (2 Chr. xxii. 11); and when Athaliah slew all the seed royal of Judah after Ahaziah had been put to death by Jehu, he and his wife stole Joash from among the king's sons, and hid him for six years in the Temple, and eventually replaced him on the throne of his ancestors. [JOASH; ATHALIAH.] In effecting this happy revolution, by which both the throne of David and the worship of the true God according to the law of Moses were rescued from imminent danger of destruction, Jehoiada displayed great ability and prudence. Waiting patiently till the tyranny of Athaliah, and, we may presume, her foreign practices and preferences, had produced disgust in the land, he at length, in the 7th year of her reign entered into secret alliance with all the chief partisans of the house of David and of the true religion. He also collected at Jerusalem the Levites from the different cities of Judah and Israel, probably under cover of providing for the Temple services, and then concentrated a large and concealed force in the Temple, by the expedient of not dismissing the old courses of priests and Levites when their successors came to relieve them on the Sabbath. By means of the consecrated shields and spears which David had taken in his wars, and which were preserved in the treasury of the Temple (comp. 1 Chr. xviii. 7-11, xxvi. 20-28, 1 K. xiv. 26, 27), he supplied the captains of hundreds with arms for their men. Having then divided the priests and Levites into three bands, which were posted at the principal entrances, and filled the courts with people favourable to the cause, he produced the young king before the whole assembly, and crowned and anointed him, and presented to him a copy of the Law according to Deut. xvii. 18-20. [HILKIAH.] The excitement of the moment did not make him forget the sanctity of God's house. None but the priests and ministering Levites were permitted by him to enter the



Temple; and he gave strict orders that Athaliah should be carried without its precincts before she was put to death. In the same spirit he inaugurated the new reign by a solemn covenant between himself, as high-priest, and the people and the king, to renounce the Baal-worship which had been introduced by the house of Ahab, and to serve Jehovah. This was followed up by the immediate destruction of the altar and temple of Baal, and the death of Mattan his priest. He then took order for the due celebration of the Temple service, and at the same time for the perfect re-establishment of the monarchy; all which seems to have been effected with great vigour and success, and without any cruelty or violence. The young king himself, under this wise and virtuous counsellor, ruled his kingdom well and prosperously, and was forward in works of piety during the lifetime of Jehoiaada. The reparation of the Temple in the 23rd year of his reign, of which a full and interesting account is given 2 K. xii. and 2 Chr. xxiv., was one of the most important works at this period. At length, however, Jehoiaada died, B.C. 834, and though far advanced in years, too soon for the welfare of his country, and the weak unstable character of Joash. The text of 2 Chr. xxiv. 15, supported by the LXX. and Josephus, makes him 130 years old when he died. But supposing him to have lived to the 35th year of Joash (which only leaves 5 years for all the subsequent events of the reign), he would in that case have been 95 at the time of the insurrection against Athaliah; and 15 years before, when Jehoram, whose daughter was his wife, was only 32 years old, he would have been 80: than which nothing can be more improbable. There must therefore be some early corruption of the numeral. Perhaps we ought to read שְׁמֹנִים וְשָׁלֹשָׁה (83), instead of מֵאָה וְשָׁלֹשׁ. Even 103 (as suggested, *Geneal. of our Lord*, p. 304) would leave an improbable age at the two above-named epochs. If 83 at his death, he would have been 33 years old at Joram's accession. For his signal services to his God, his king, and his country, which have earned him a place among the very foremost well-doers in Israel, he had the unique honour of burial among the kings of Judah in the city of David. He was probably succeeded by his son Zechariah. In Josephus' list (*A. J.* xviii. §6) the name of ΙΩΔΕΑΣ by an easy corruption is transformed into ΦΙΔΕΑΣ, and in the *Seder Olam* into Phadea.

In Matt. xxiii. 35, Zechariah the son of Jehoiaada is mentioned as the "son of Barachias," i. e. Berechiah. This is omitted in Luke (xi. 51), and has probably been inserted from a confusion between this Zechariah and 2, the prophet, who was son of Berechiah; or with the son of Jeberechiah (*Is.* viii. 2).

5. Second priest, or sagan, to Seraiah the high-priest. He was deposed at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, probably for adhering to the prophet Jeremiah; when Zephaniah was appointed sagan in his room\* (*Jer.* xxix. 25-29; 2 K. xxv. 18). This is a clear instance of the title "the priest" being applied to the second priest. The passage in Jeremiah shows the nature of the sagan's authority at this time, when he was doubtless "ruler of the

\* It is however possible that Jehoiaada vacated the office by death.

<sup>b</sup> It does not appear from the narrative in 2 K. xxiii. (which is the fullest) whether Necho went straight to Egypt from Jerusalem, or whether the

house of Jehovah" (יְהוֹיָכִים בֵּית יְהוָה). [*High Priest.*] Winer (*Realwb.*) has quite misunderstood the passage, and makes Jehoiaada the same as the high-priest in the reign of Joash.

6. יוֹיָדָע, i. e. Jojada; יוֹיָדָע, Alex. יוֹיָדָע, *Jojada*, son of Paseach, who assisted to repair the "old gate" of Jerusalem (*Neh.* iii. 6). [*A. C. H.*]

JEHOIAKIM (יְהוֹיָכִים): יוֹאָכִיָם, or יוֹאָכָז; Joseph. יוֹאָכִיָם: *Joakin*), 18th (or, counting Jehoahaz, 19th) king of Judah from David inclusive—25 years old at his accession, and originally called ELIAKIM. He was the son of Josiah and Zebudah, daughter of Pedaiiah of Barmah, possibly identical with Arumah of *Judg.* ix. 41 (where the Vulg. has *Rumah*), and in that case in the tribe of Manasseh. His younger brother Jehoahaz, or Shallum, as he is called *Jer.* xxii. 11 was in the first instance made king by the people of the land on the death of his father Josiah, probably with the intention of following up Josiah's policy, which was to side with Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt, being, as Prideaux thinks, bound by oath to the kings of Babylon (*i.* 50). Pharaoh-Necho, therefore, having borne down all resistance with his victorious army, immediately deposed Jehoahaz, and had him brought in chains to Babil, where, it seems, he was on his way to Carchemish (2 K. xxiii. 33, 34; *Jer.* xxii. 10-12). He then set Eliakim, his elder brother, upon the throne, and changed his name to Jehoiakim — and having charged him with the task of collecting a tribute of 100 talents of silver, and 1 talent of gold — namely 40,000*l.*, in which he mulcted the land for the part Josiah had taken in the war with Babylon, he eventually returned to Egypt taking Jehoahaz with him, who died there in captivity (2 K. xxiii. 34; *Jer.* xxii. 10-12; *Ezek.* xix. 4).<sup>b</sup> Pharaoh-Necho also himself returned no more to Jerusalem, for after his great defeat at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim he lost all his Syrian possessions (2 K. xxiv. 7; *Jer.* xlvi. 2), and his successor Psammis (*Herod.* ii. clxi.) made no attempt to recover them. Egypt, therefore, played no part in Jewish politics during the seven or eight years of Jehoiakim's reign. After the battle of Carchemish the Nebuchadnezzar came into Palestine as one of the Egyptian tributary kingdoms, the capture of which was the natural fruit of his victory over Necho. He found Jehoiakim quite defenceless. After a short siege he entered Jerusalem, took the king prisoner, bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon, and took also some of the precious vessels of the temple and carried them to the land of Shinar, to the temple of Bel his god. It was at this time, in the fourth, or, as Daniel reckons, in the third year of his reign,<sup>c</sup> that Daniel, and Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were taken captives to Babel; but Nebuchadnezzar seems to have changed his purpose as regarded Jehoiakim, and to have accepted his submission, and reinstated him on the throne, perhaps in remembrance of the fidelity of his father Josiah. What is certain is, that Jehoiakim became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar after his invasion of Judah, and continued so for three years, but at the end of that time broke his oath of sub-

calamitous campaign on the Euphrates intervened.  
<sup>c</sup> It is possible that this diversity of reckoning may be caused by some reckoning a year for Jehoahaz's reign, while some omitted it.

ance and rebelled against him (2 K. xxiv. 1). What moved or encouraged Jehoiakim to this rebellion it is difficult to say, unless it were the restless turbulence of his own bad disposition and the dislike of paying the tribute to the king of Babylon, which he would have rather lavished upon his own luxury and pride (Jer. xxii. 13-17), for there is nothing to bear out Winer's conjecture, or Josephus's assertion, that there was anything in the attitude of Egypt at this time to account for such a step. It seems more probable that seeing Egypt entirely severed from the affairs of Syria since the battle of Carchemish, and the king of Babylon wholly occupied with distant wars, he hoped to make himself independent. But whatever was the motive of this foolish and wicked proceeding, which was contrary to the repeated warnings of the prophet Jeremiah, it is certain that it brought misery and ruin upon the king and his country. Though Nebuchadnezzar was not able at that time to come in person to chastise his rebellious vassal he sent against him numerous bands of Chaldeans, with Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, who were all now subject to Babylon (2 K. xxiv. 7), and who cruelly harassed the whole country. It was perhaps at this time that the great drought occurred described in Jer. xiv. (comp. Jer. xv. 4 with 2 K. xxiv. 2, 3). The closing years of this reign must have been a time of extreme misery. The Ammonites appear to have overrun the land of Gad (Jer. xlix. 1), and the other neighbouring nations to have taken advantage of the helplessness of Israel to ravage their land to the utmost (Ez. xxv.). There was no rest or safety out of the walled cities. We are not acquainted with the details of the close of the reign. Probably as the time approached for Nebuchadnezzar himself to come against Judea the desultory attacks and invasions of his troops became more concentrated. Either in an engagement with some of these forces, or else by the hand of his own oppressed subjects, who thought to conciliate the Babylonians by the murder of their king, Jehoiakim came to a violent end in the 11th year of his reign. His body was cast out ignominiously on the ground; perhaps thrown over the walls to convince the enemy that he was dead; and then, after being left exposed for some time, was dragged away and buried "with the burial of an ass," without pomp or lamentation, "beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (Jer. xxii. 18, 19, xxxvi. 30). Within three months of his death Nebuchadnezzar arrived, and put an end to his dynasty by carrying Jehoiachin off to Babylon.

[JEHOIACHIN.] All the accounts we have of Jehoiakim concur in ascribing to him a vicious and irreligious character. The writer of 2 K. xxiii. 37, tells us that "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah," a statement which is repeated xiv. 9, and 2 Chr. xxxvi. 5. The latter writer

uses the yet stronger expression, "the acts of Jehoiakim, and the abominations which he did" (v. 8). But it is in the writings of Jeremiah that we have the fullest portraiture of him. If, as is probable, the 19th chapter of Jeremiah belongs to this reign, we have a detail of the abominations of idolatry practised at Jerusalem under the king's sanction, with which Ezekiel's vision of what was going on six years later, within the very precincts of the temple, exactly agrees; incense offered up to "abominable beasts;" "women weeping for Thammuz," and men in the inner court of the temple "with their backs towards the temple of the Lord" worshipping "the sun towards the east" (Ez. viii.). The vindictive pursuit and murder of Urijah the son of Shemaiah, and the indignities offered to his corpse by the king's command, in revenge for his faithful prophesying of evil against Jerusalem and Judah, are samples of his irreligion and tyranny combined. Jeremiah only narrowly escaped the same fate (Jer. xxvi. 20-24). The curious notice of him in 1 Esdr. i. 38, that he put his nobles in chains and caught Zaraces his brother in Egypt<sup>d</sup> and brought him up thence (to Jerusalem) also points to his cruelty. His daring impiety in cutting up and burning the roll containing Jeremiah's prophecy, at the very moment when the national fast was being celebrated, is another specimen of his character, and drew down upon him the sentence, "He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (Jer. xxxvi.). His oppression, injustice, covetousness, luxury, and tyranny, are most severely rebuked (xxii. 13-17), and it has been frequently observed, as indicating his thorough selfishness and indifference to the sufferings of his people, that at a time when the land was so impoverished by the heavy tributes laid upon it by Egypt and Babylon in turn, he should have squandered large sums in building luxurious palaces for himself (xxii. 14, 15). Josephus's history of Jehoiakim's reign is consistent neither with Scripture nor with itself. His account of Jehoiakim's death and Jehoiachin's accession appears to be only his own inference from the Scripture narrative. According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 6) Nebuchadnezzar came against Judea in the 8th year of Jehoiakim's reign, and compelled him to pay tribute, which he did for three years, and then revolted in the 11th year, on hearing that the king of Babylon was gone to invade Egypt.<sup>e</sup> He then inserts the account of Jehoiakim's burning Jeremiah's prophecy in his 5th year, and concludes by saying, that a little time afterwards the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, who admitted Nebuchadnezzar into the city upon certain conditions, which Nebuchadnezzar immediately broke; that he slew Jehoiakim and the flower of the citizens, and sent 3000 captives to Babylon, and set up Jehoiachin for king, but almost imme-

<sup>d</sup> The passage seems to be corrupt. The words *ἰν ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐτοῦ* seem to be repeated from the preceding line but one, and *Ζαράκην* is a corruption of *Οὐρίαν*. *συλλαβῶν ἀνήγαγεν* is a paraphrase of the Alexandrian Codex of Jer. xxxiii. 23 (xxvi. 23, A. V.), *πυρὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξήγαγεν*.

<sup>e</sup> Nothing can be more improbable than an invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar at this time. All the Syrian possessions of Egypt fell into the power of Babylon soon after the victory at Carchemish, and the king of Egypt retired thenceforth into his own country. His Asiatic wars seem to have engrossed Nebuchadnezzar's attention for the next 7 years; and in like

manner the king of Egypt seems to have confined himself to Ethiopian wars. The first hint we have of Egypt aiming at recovering her lost influence in Syria is at the accession of Pharaoh-Hophra, in the 4th of Zedekiah. [HANANIAH, 4.] He made several abortive attempts against Nebuchadnezzar in Zedekiah's reign, and detached the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Tyrians, and Zidonians from the Babylonian alliance (Jer. xxvii.). In consequence, Nebuchadnezzar, after thoroughly subduing these nations, and devoting 13 years to the siege of Tyre, at length invaded and subdued Egypt in the 35th year of his reign (Ez. xxix. 17).

diately afterwards was seized with fear lest the young king should avenge his father's death, and so sent back his army to besiege Jerusalem; that Jehoiachin, being a man of just and gentle disposition, did not like to expose the city to danger on his own account, and therefore surrendered himself, his mother, and kindred, to the king of Babylon's officers on condition of the city suffering no harm; but that Nebuchadnezzar, in direct violation of the conditions, took 10,832 prisoners, and made Zedekiah king in the room of Jehoiachin, whom he kept in custody—a statement the principal portion of which seems to have no foundation whatever in facts. The account given above is derived from the various statements in Scripture, and seems to agree perfectly with the probabilities of Nebuchadnezzar's movements and with what the most recent discoveries have brought to light concerning him. [NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] The reign of Jehoiakim extends from B.C. 609 to B.C. 598, or as some reckon 599.

The name of Jehoiakim appears in a contracted form in JOIAKIM, a high-priest. [A. C. H.]

JEHOIARIB (יהויָרִיב), 1 Chr. ix. 10, xxiv. 7, only; elsewhere, both in Hebrew and A. V., the name is abbreviated to JOIARIB: *Ἰωαρίμ*; Alex. *Ἰωαρίβ* and *Ἰαρίβ*; *Joiarib*), head of the first of the 24 courses of priests, according to the arrangement of king David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). Some of his descendants returned from the Babylonian captivity, as we learn from 1 Chr. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10. [JEDAIAH.] Their chief in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua was Mattenai (Neh. xii. 6, 19). They were probably of the house of Eleazar. To the course of Jehoiarib belonged the Asmonean family (1 Macc. ii. 1), and Josephus, as he informs us (*Ant.* xii. 6. §1, and *Life*, §1). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Prideaux indeed (*Connection*, i. 129), following the Jewish tradition, affirms that only 4 of the courses returned from Babylon, Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim—for which last, however, the Babylonian Talmud has *Joiarib*—because these 4 only are enumerated in Ezr. ii. 36-39, Neh. vii. 39-42. And he accounts for the mention of other courses, as of *Joiarib* (1 Macc. ii. 1), and *Abiah* (Luke i. 5), by saying that those 4 courses were subdivided into 6 each, so as to keep up the old number of 24, which took the names of the original courses, though not really descended from them. But this is probably an invention of the Jews, to account for the mention of only these 4 families of priests in the list of Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. And however difficult it may be to say with certainty why only those 4 courses are mentioned in that particular list, we have the positive authority of 1 Chr. ix. 10, and Neh. xi. 10, for asserting that *Joiarib* did return; and we have two other lists of courses, one of the time of Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2-8), the other of Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 1-7); the former enumerating 21, the latter 22 courses; and the latter naming *Joiarib* as one of them,\* and adding, at v. 19, the name of the chief of the course of *Joiarib* in the days of *Joiakim*. So that there can be no reasonable doubt that *Joiarib* did return. The notion of the Jews does not receive any con-

\* It is, however, very singular that the names after *Shemaiah* in Neh. xii. 6, including *Joiarib* and *Jedaiah*, have the appearance of being added on to the previously existing list, which ended with *Shemaiah*, as does that in Neh. x. 2-8. For *Joiarib*'s is introduced with the copula "and;" it is quite out of its right

firmation from the statement in the Latin version of Josephus (*Cont. Apion.* ii. §8), that there were 4 courses of priests, as it is a manifest corruption of the text for 24, as Whiston and others have shown (note to *Life of Josephus*, §1). The subjoined table gives the three lists of courses which returned, with the original list in David's time to compare them by:—

## COURSES OF PRIESTS.

In David's reign, 1 Chr. xx'v.	In list in Ezr. ii., Neh. vii.	In Nehemiah's time, Neh. x.	In Zerubbabel's time, Neh. xi.
1. Jehoiarib, 1 Chr. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10.	—	—	Joiarib.
2. Jedaiah.	Children of Jedaiah.	—	Jedaiah.
3. Harim.	Children of Harim.	Harim.	Reham, (Harim, v. 11).
4. Seorim.	—	—	—
5. Malchijah.	Children of Pashur, 1 Chr. ix. 12.	Malchijah.	—
6. Mijamin.	—	Mijamin.	Mama (Mijamin), Meremoth.
7. Hakkoz.	—	Meremoth, son of Hakkoz.	—
8. Abijah.	—	Abijah.	Abijah.
9. Jeshuah.	House of Jeshua (?) Ezr. ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39.	—	—
10. Shebaniah.	—	Shebaniah.	Serbanah (Shebanah, ver. 14).
11. Eliashib.	—	—	—
12. Jakim.	—	—	—
13. Huppah.	—	—	—
14. Jeshebeab.	—	—	—
15. Bilgah.	—	Bilgai.	Bilgai.
16. Immer.	Children of Immer.	Amariah.	Amariah.
17. Hezir.	—	—	—
18. Aphas.	—	—	—
19. Pethahiah.	—	—	—
20. Jehezkiel.	—	—	—
21. Jaehin, Neh. xi. 10, 1 Chr. ix. 10.	—	—	—
22. Gamul.	—	—	—
23. Delaiah.	—	—	—
24. Maaziah.	—	Maaziah.	Maaziah (Maaziah).

The courses which cannot be identified with the original ones, but which are enumerated as existing after the return, are as follows:—

Neh. x.	Neh. xii.	Neh. xi., 1 Chr. x.
Seraiah.	Seralah.	Seraiah (?)
Azariah.	Ezra.	Azariah.
Jeremiah.	Jeremiah.	—
Pashur.	—	—
Hattush.	Hattush.	—
Malluch.	Malluch.	Adajah (?)
Iddo.	Iddo.	—
Obadiah.	—	—
Daniel.	Ginnetho.	—
Ginnethon.	—	—
Baruch.	—	—
Mesbullam.	Shemaiah.	—
Shemaiah.	Salu.	—
—	Amok.	—
—	Hilkiah.	—
—	Jedaiah (2).	—

For some account of the courses, see Lewis' *Orig. Hebr.* bk. ii. ch. vii.

In Esdras the name is given JOARIB. [A. C. H.] JEHO'NADAB, and JO'NADAB (the longer form, יהונָדָב), is employed in 2 K. x. and Jer. xxxv.

order as the first course; and, moreover, these names are entirely omitted in the LXX. till we come to the times of Joiakim at ver. 12-21. Still the utmost that could be concluded from this, is, that *Joiarib* returned later than the time of Zerubbabel.

8, 14, 16, 18, the shorter one, יִנְדָב, in Jer. xxxv. 6, 10, 19: Ἰωνάδᾶβ), the son of Rechab, founder of the Rechabites. It appears from 1 Chr. ii. 55, that his father or ancestor Rechab ("the ruler") belonged to a branch of the Kenites; the Arabian tribe which entered Palestine with the Israelites. One settlement of them was to be found in the extreme north, under the chieftainship of Heber (Judg. iv. 11), retaining their Bedouin customs under the oak which derived its name from their nomadic habits. The main settlement was in the south. Of these, one branch had nestled in the cliffs of Engedi (Judg. i. 16; Num. xxiv. 21). Another had returned to the frontier of their native wilderness on the south of Judah (Judg. i. 16). A third was established, under a fourfold division, at or near the town of Jabez in Judah (1 Chr. ii. 55). To these last belonged Rechab and his son Jehonadab. The Bedouin habits, which were kept up by the other branches of the Kenite tribe, were inculcated by Jehonadab with the utmost minuteness on his descendants; the more so, perhaps, from their being brought into closer connexion with the inhabitants of the settled districts. The vow or rule which he prescribed to them is preserved to us: "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build houses, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land where ye are strangers" (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7). This life, partly monastic, partly Bedouin, was observed with the tenacity with which from generation to generation such customs are continued in Arab tribes; and when, many years after the death of Jehonadab, the Rechabites (as they were called from his father) were forced to take refuge from the Chaldaean invasion within the walls of Jerusalem, nothing would induce them to transgress the rule of their ancestor; and in consequence a blessing was pronounced upon him and them by the prophet Jeremiah (xxxv. 19): "Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever." [RECHABITES.]

Bearing in mind this general character of Jehonadab as an Arab chief, and the founder of a half-religious sect, perhaps in connexion with the austere Elijah, and the Nazarites mentioned in Amos ii. 11 (see Ewald, *Alterthümer*, 92, 93), we are the better able to understand the single occasion on which he appears before us in the historical narrative.

Jehu was advancing, after the slaughter of Beth-el, on the city of Samaria, when he suddenly met the austere Bedouin coming towards him (2 K. x. 15). It seems that they were already known to each other (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 6, §6). The king was in his chariot; the Arab was on foot. It is not clear, from the present state of the text, which was the first to speak. The Hebrew text—followed by the A. V.—implies that the king blessed (A. V. "saluted") Jehonadab. The LXX. and Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, §6) imply that Jehonadab blessed the king. Each would have its peculiar appropriateness. The king then proposed their close union. "Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?" The answer of Jehonadab is slightly varied. In the Hebrew text he vehemently replies, "It is, it is: give me thine hand." In the LXX., and in the A. V.—he replies simply "It is;" and Jehu then rejoins, "If it is, give me thine hand." The hand, whether of Jehonadab or Jehu, was offered and grasped. The king lifted him up to the edge of the chariot, apparently that he might whisper his

secret into his ear, and said, "Come with me, and see my zeal for Jehovah." It was the first indication of Jehu's design upon the worship of Baal, for which he perceived that the stern zealot would be a fit coadjutor. Having entrusted him with the secret, he (LXX.) or his attendants (Heb. and A. V.) caused Jehonadab to proceed with him to Samaria in the royal chariot.

So completely had the worship of Baal become the national religion, that even Jehonadab was able to conceal his purpose under the mask of conformity. No doubt he acted in concert with Jehu throughout; but the only occasion on which he is expressly mentioned is when (probably from his previous knowledge of the secret worshippers of Jehovah) he went with Jehu through the temple of Baal to turn out any that there might happen to be in the mass of Pagan worshippers (2 K. x. 23). [JEHU.] This is the last we hear of him. [A. P. S.]

JEHONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן: Ἰωνάθας: *Jonathan*): the more accurate rendering of the Hebrew name, which is most frequently given in the A. V. as JONATHAN. It is ascribed to three persons:—

1. Son of Uzziah; superintendent of certain of king David's storehouses (אֲצִרוֹת: the word rendered "treasures" earlier in the verse, and in 27, 28 "cellars"); 1 Chr. xxvii. 25.
2. One of the Levites who were sent by Jehoshaphat through the cities of Judah, with a book of the Law, to teach the people (2 Chr. xvii. 8).
3. A priest (Neh. xii. 18); the representative of the family of Shemaiah (ver. 6), when Joiakim was high-priest, that is in the next generation after the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

JEHO'RAM (יְהוֹרָם="exalted by Jehovah:" Ἰωράμ; Joseph. Ἰώραμος: *Joram*). The name is more often found in the contracted form of JORAM. 1. Son of Ahab king of Israel, who succeeded his brother Ahaziah (who had no son) upon the throne at Samaria, B.C. 896, and died B.C. 884. During the first four years of his reign his contemporary on the throne of Judah was Jehoshaphat, and for the next seven years and upwards Joram the son of Jehoshaphat, and for the last year, or portion of a year, Ahaziah the son of Joram, who was killed the same day that he was (2 K. ix. 27). The alliance between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, commenced by his father and Jehoshaphat, was very close throughout his reign. We first find him associated with Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom, at that time a tributary of the kingdom of Judah, in a war against the Moabites. Mesha, their king, on the death of Ahab, had revolted from Israel, and refused to pay the customary tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. Joram asked and obtained Jehoshaphat's help to reduce him to his obedience, and accordingly the three kings, of Israel, Judah, and Edom, marched through the wilderness of Edom to attack him. The three armies were in the utmost danger of perishing for want of water. The piety of Jehoshaphat suggested an inquiry of some prophet of Jehovah, and Elisha the son of Shaphat, at that time and since the latter part of Ahab's reign Elijah's attendant (2 K. iii. 11; 1 K. xix. 19-21), was found with the host. [ELISHA, p. 537.] From him Jehoram received a severe rebuke, and was bid to inquire of the prophets of his father and mother, and

prophets of Baal. Nevertheless for Jehoshaphat's sake Elisha inquired of Jehovah, and received the promise of an abundant supply of water, and of a great victory over the Moabites: a promise which was immediately fulfilled. The same water which, filling the valley, and the trenches dug by the Israelites, supplied the whole army and all their cattle with drink, appeared to the Moabites, who were advancing, like blood, when the morning sun shone upon it. Concluding that the allies had fallen out and slain each other, they marched incautiously to the attack, and were put to the rout. The allies pursued them with great slaughter into their own land, which they utterly ravaged and destroyed with all its cities. Kir-harasth alone remained, and there the king of Moab made his last stand. An attempt to break through the besieging army having failed, he resorted to the desperate expedient of offering up his eldest son, the heir to his throne, as a burnt-offering, upon the wall of the city, in the sight of the enemy. Upon this the Israelites retired and returned to their own land (2 K. iii.). It was perhaps in consequence of Elisha's rebuke, and of the above remarkable deliverance granted to the allied armies according to his word, that Jehoram, on his return to Samaria, put away the image of Baal which Ahab his father had made (2 K. iii. 2). For in 2 K. iv. we have an evidence of Elisha's being on friendly terms with Jehoram, in the offer made by him to speak to the king in favour of the Shunammite. The impression on the king's mind was probably strengthened by the subsequent incident of Naaman's cure, and the temporary cessation of the inroads of the Syrians, which doubtless resulted from it (2 K. v.). Accordingly when, a little later, war broke out between Syria and Israel, we find Elisha befriending Jehoram. The king was made acquainted by the prophet with the secret counsels of the king of Syria, and was thus enabled to defeat them; and on the other hand, when Elisha had led a large band of Syrian soldiers whom God had blinded, into the midst of Samaria, Jehoram reverentially asked him, "My father, shall I smite them?" and, at the prophet's bidding, not only forbore to kill them, but made a feast for them, and then sent them home unhurt. This procured another cessation from the Syrian invasions for the Israelites (2 K. vi. 23). What happened after this to change the relations between the king and the prophet we can only conjecture. But putting together the general bad character given of Jehoram (2 K. iii. 2, 3) with the fact of the prevalence of Baal-worship at the end of his reign (2 K. x. 21-28), it seems probable that when the Syrian inroads ceased, and he felt less dependent upon the aid of the prophet, he relapsed into idolatry, and was rebuked by Elisha, and threatened with a return of the calamities from which he had escaped. Refusing to repent, a fresh invasion by the Syrians, and a close siege of Samaria, actually came to pass, according probably to the word of the prophet. Hence, when the terrible incident arose, in consequence of the famine, of a woman boiling and eating her own child, the king immediately attributed the evil to Elisha the son of Shaphat, and determined to take away his life. The message which he sent by the messenger whom he com-

\* The "then" of the A. V. of 2 K. viii. 1 is a thorough misrepresentation of the order of the events. The narrative goes back seven years, merely

missioned to cut off the prophet's head, "Behold Jehovah any longer?" coupled with the fact of his having on sackcloth at the time (2 K. vi. 20, 33), also indicates that many remonstrances and warnings, similar to those given by Jeremiah to the kings of his day, had passed between the prophet and the weak and unstable son of Ahab. The providential interposition by which both Elisha's life was saved and the city delivered, is narrated 2 K. vii., and Jehoram appears to have returned to friendly feelings towards Elisha (2 K. viii. 4). His life, however, was now drawing near to its close. It was very soon after the above events that Elisha went to Damascus, and predicted the revolt of Hazael, and his accession to the throne of Syria in the room of Ben-hadad; and it was during Elisha's absence, probably, that the conversation between Jehoram, and Gehazi, and the return of the Shunammite from the land of the Philistines, recorded in 2 K. viii., took place. Jehoram seems to have thought the revolution in Syria, which immediately followed Elisha's prediction, a good opportunity to pursue his father's favourite project of recovering Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians. He accordingly made an alliance with his nephew Ahaziah, who had just succeeded Joram on the throne of Judah, and the two kings proceeded to occupy Ramoth-Gilead by force. The expedition was an unfortunate one. Jehoram was wounded in battle, and obliged to return to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds (2 K. viii. 29, ix. 14, 15), leaving his army under Jehu to hold Ramoth-Gilead against Hazael. Jehu, however, and the army under his command, revolted from their allegiance to Jehoram (2 K. ix.), and, hastily marching to Jezreel, surprised Jehoram, wounded and defenceless as he was. Jehoram, going out to meet him, fell pierced by an arrow from Jehu's bow on the very plat of ground which Ahab had wrested from Naboth the Jezreelite; thus fulfilling to the letter the prophecy of Elijah (1 K. xxi. 21-29). With the life of Jehoram ended the dynasty of Omri.

Jehoram's reign was rendered very remarkable by the two eminent prophets who lived in it, Elijah and Elisha. The former seems to have survived till the sixth year of his reign; the latter to have begun to be conspicuous quite at the beginning of it. For the famine which Elisha foretold to the Shunammite\* (2 K. viii. 1), and which seems to be the same as that alluded to in 2 K. vi. 32, must have begun in the sixth year of Jehoram's reign, since it lasted seven years, and ended in the twelfth year. In that case his acquaintance with the Shunammite must have begun not less than five or at least four years sooner, so the child must have been as much as three years old when it died; which brings us back at least to the beginning of the second year of the three kings. Elisha's appearance in the camp of the first king (2 K. iii.) was probably as early as the very commencement of Jehoram. With reference to the chronology of this reign, it is important to show that there is no evidence whatever to show that Elijah the prophet was translated at the time of Elisha's first prophetic ministrations. The history in 2 K., at this part of it, having much the nature of memoirs of Elisha, and the active ministrations

to introduce the woman's return at this time. The king's conversation with Gehazi was doubtless caused by the providential deliverance related in ch. vii.

of Elijah having closed with the death of Ahaziah, it was very natural to complete Elijah's personal history with the narrative of his translation in ch. ii. before beginning the series of Elisha's miracles. But it by no means follows that ch. ii. is really prior in order of time to ch. iii., or that, though the raising from the dead of the Shunammite's son was subsequent, as it probably was, to Elijah's translation, therefore all the preliminary circumstances related in ch. iv. were so likewise. Neither again does the expression (2 K. iii. 11), "Here is Elisha, which poured water on the hands of Elijah,"<sup>b</sup> imply that this ministration had at that time ceased, and still less that Elijah was removed from the earth. We learn, on the contrary, from 2 Chr. xxi. 12, that he was still on earth in the reign of Joram son of Jehoshaphat, who did not begin to reign till the fifth of Jehoram (2 K. viii. 16); and it seems highly probable that the note of time in 2 K. i. 17, "in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat," which is obviously and certainly out of its place where it now is, properly belongs to the narrative in ch. ii. With regard to the other discordant dates at this epoch, it must suffice to remark that all attempts to reconcile them are vain. That which is based upon the supposition of Joram having been associated with his father in the kingdom for three or seven years, is of all perhaps the most unfortunate, as being utterly inconsistent with the history, annihilating his independent reign, and after all failing to produce even a verbal consistency. The table given below is framed on the supposition that Jehoshaphat's reign really lasted only 22 years, and Ahab's only 19, as appears from the texts cited; that the statement that Jehoshaphat reigned 25 years is caused by the probable circumstance of his having taken part in the government during the three last years of Asa's reign, when his father was incapacitated by the disease in his feet (2 Chr. xvi. 12); and that three years were then added to Ahab's reign, to make the whole number of the years of the kings of Israel agree with the whole number of those of the kings of Judah, thus unduly lengthened by an addition of three years to Jehoshaphat's reign. This arrangement, it is believed, reconciles the greatest number of existing texts, agrees best with history, and especially coincides with what is the most certain of all the elements of the chronology of this time, viz. that the twelve years' reign of Jehoram son of Ahab, and the few months' reign of Ahaziah, the successor of Joram son of Jehoshaphat, ended simultaneously at the accession of Jehu.

on the throne of Judah at the age of 32, and reigned eight years, from B.C. 893-2 to 885-4. [JEHORAM, 1.] Jehosheba his daughter was wife to the high-priest Jehoiada. The ill effects of his marriage with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab, and the influence of that second Jezebel upon him were immediately apparent. As soon as he was fixed on the throne, he put his six brothers to death, with many of the chief nobles of the land. He then proceeded to establish the worship of Baal and other abominations, and to enforce the practice of idolatry by persecution. A prophetic writing from the aged prophet Elijah (2 Chr. xxi. 12), the last recorded act of his life, reproving him for his crimes and his impiety, and foretelling the most grievous judgments upon his person and his kingdom, failed to produce any good effect upon him. This was in the first or second year of his reign. The remainder of it was a series of calamities. First the Edomites, who had been tributary to Jehoshaphat, revolted from his dominion, and established their permanent independence. It was as much as Jehoram could do by a night-attack with all his forces, to extricate himself from their army, which had surrounded him. Next Libnah, one of the strongest fortified cities in Judah (2 K. xix. 8), and perhaps one of those "fenced cities" (2 Chr. xxi. 3) which Jehoshaphat had given to his other sons, indignant at his cruelties, and abhorring his apostasy, rebelled against him. Then followed invasions of armed bands of Philistines and of Arabians (the same who paid tribute to Jehoshaphat, 2 Chr. xvii. 11), who burst into Judaea, stormed the king's palace, put his wives and all his children, except his youngest son Ahaziah, to death (2 Chr. xxii. 1), or carried them into captivity, and plundered all his treasures. And, to crown all, a terrible and incurable disease in his bowels fell upon him, of which he died, after two years of misery, unregretted; and went down to a dishonoured grave in the prime of life, without either private or public mourning, and without even a resting-place in the sepulchres of his fathers (2 Chr. xxi. 19, 20). He died early in the twelfth year of his brother-in-law Jehoram's reign over Israel. [A. C. H.]

JEHOSHABE'ATH (יהושבֿעַת: 'Iosabēth):

Alex. 'Iosabēth: Josabeth): the form in which the name of JEHOSHABA is given in 2 Chr. xxii. 11. We are here informed, what is not told us in Kings, that she was the wife of Jehoiada the high-priest.

JEHOSH'APHAT (יהושָׁפָט: 'Iosaphāt: Josaphat).

1. The son of Asa and Azubah, succeeded to the throne B.C. 914, when he was 35 years old, and reigned 25 years. His history is to be found among the events recorded in 1 K. xv. 24; 2 K. viii. 16, or in a continuous narrative in 2 Chr. xvii. 1-xxi. 3. He was contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram. At first he strengthened himself against Israel by fortifying and garrisoning the cities of Judah and the Ephraimite conquests of Asa. But soon afterwards the two Hebrew kings, perhaps appreciating their common danger from Damascus and the tribes on their eastern frontier, came to an understanding. Israel and Judah drew together for the first time since they parted at Schechem sixty years previously. Jehoshaphat's eldest son Jehoram married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. It does not appear how far Jehoshaphat encouraged that ill-starred union.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.

KINGS OF JUDAH.

Ahab (reigned 19 yrs.) 1st yr. =	{ Asa (reigned 41 yrs.) 30th,
Ahab . . . . . 4th yr. =	{ 1 K. xvi. 29.
Ahab . . . . . last and 10th yr. =	{ Jehoshaphat (regnd. 22 yrs.) 1st,
Ahaziah (reigned 2 yrs.) 1st yr. =	{ 1 K. xxii. 41.
Ahaziah . . . . . 2nd yr. =	{ Jehoshaphat . . . 16th, lb. 21.
Jehoram (reigned 12 yrs.) 1st yr. =	{ Jehoshaphat, 17th, 1 K. xxii. 51.
Jehoram . . . . . 5th yr. =	{ Jehoshaphat, 18th, 2 K. iii. 1.
Jehoram . . . . . 6th yr. =	{ Jehoshaphat last and 22nd,
Jehoram . . . . . 7th yr. =	{ and (viii. 16.
Jehoram . . . . . 8th yr. =	{ Joram (reigned 8 yrs.) 1st, 2 K.
Jehoram . . . . . 9th yr. =	{ Joram, 2nd, 2 K. i. 17, ii. 1.
Jehoram . . . . . 10th yr. =	{ 2 Chr. xxi. 12.
Jehoram . . . . . 11th yr. =	{ Joram, 3rd, 2 K. viii. 17,
Jehoram . . . . . 12th yr. =	{ and [2 K. vii. 25.
	{ Ahaziah (reigned 1 yr.) 1st.

2. Eldest son of Jehoshaphat, succeeded his father

<sup>a</sup> The use of the perfect tense in Hebrew often implies the habit or the repetition of an action, as e. g. Ps. l. 1, ii. 1, &c.

The closeness of the alliance between the two kings is shown by many circumstances:—Elijah's reluctance when in exile to set foot within the territory of Judah (Blunt, *Und. Coinc.* ii. §19, p. 199); the identity of names given to the children of the two royal families; the admission of names compounded with the name of Jehovah into the family of Jezebel, the zealous worshipper of Baal; and the extreme alacrity with which Jehoshaphat afterwards accompanied Ahab to the field of battle.

But in his own kingdom Jehoshaphat ever showed himself a zealous follower of the commandments of God: he tried, it would seem not quite successfully, to put down the high places and the groves in which the people of Judah burnt incense. In his third year, apprehending perhaps the evil example of Israelitish idolatry, and considering that the Levites were not fulfilling satisfactorily their function of teaching the people, Jehoshaphat sent out a commission of certain princes, priests, and Levites, to go through the cities of Judah, teaching the people out of the Book of the Law. He made separate provision for each of his sons as they grew up, perhaps with a foreboding of their melancholy end (2 Chr. xxi. 4). Riches and honours increased around him. He received tribute from the Philistines and Arabians; and kept up a large standing army in Jerusalem.

It was probably about the 16th year of his reign (B.C. 898) when he went to Samaria to visit Ahab and to become his ally in the great battle of Ramoth-gilead—not very decisive in its result, though fatal to Ahab. From thence Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem in peace; and, after receiving a rebuke from the prophet Jehu, went himself through the people "from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim," reclaiming them to the law of God. He also took measures for the better administration of justice throughout his dominions; on which see Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. cap. 8, §4. Turning his attention to foreign commerce, he built at Ezion-geber, with the help of Ahaziah, a navy designed to go to Tarsish: but, in accordance with a prediction of a prophet Eliezer, it was wrecked at Ezion-geber; and Jehoshaphat resisted Ahaziah's proposal to renew their joint attempt.

Before the close of his reign he was engaged in two<sup>a</sup> additional wars. He was miraculously delivered from a threatened attack of the people of Ammon, Moab, and Seir; the result of which is thought by some critics to be celebrated in Ps. 48 and 92, and to be alluded to by the prophet Joel, iii. 2, 12. After this, perhaps, must be dated the war which Jehoshaphat, in conjunction with Jehoram king of Israel and the king of Edom, carried on against the rebellious king of Moab (2 K. iii.). After this the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet. In his declining years the administration of affairs was placed (probably B.C. 891) in the hands of his son Jehoram; to whom, as Usher conjectures, the same charge had been temporarily committed during Jehoshaphat's absence at Ramoth-gilead.

Like the prophets with whom he was brought in contact, we cannot describe the character of this good king without a mixture of blame. Eminently pious, gentle, just, devoted to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his subjects, active in mind

and body, he was wanting in firmness and consistency. His character has been carefully sketched in a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Hessey, *Biographies of the Kings of Judah*, ii.

2. Son of Ahikud, who filled the office of recorder or annalist in the court of David (2 Sam. viii. 16, &c.), and afterwards of Solomon (1 K. iv. 3). Such officers are found not only in the courts of the Hebrew kings, but also in those of the courts of modern Persia, of the Eastern Roman Empire (Genius), of China, &c. (Keil). An instance of the use made of their writings is given in Esth. vi. 1.

3. One of the priests who, in the time of David (1 Chr. xv. 24), were appointed to blow trumpets before the ark in its transit from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem.

4. Son of Paruah; one of the twelve purveyors of king Solomon (1 K. iv. 17). His district was Issachar, from whence, at a stated season of the year, he collected such taxes as were paid in kind, and sent them to the king's court.

5. Son of Nimshi, and father of king Jehu (2 K. ix. 2, 14). [W. T. B.]

### JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF

יְהוֹשָׁפָט: Κοιλιά Ἰωσαφάτ: Vallis Josaphat, a valley mentioned by the prophet Joel only, as the spot in which, after the return of Judah and Jerusalem from captivity, Jehovah would gather all the heathen (Joel iii. 2; hebr. iv. 2), and would then sit to judge them for their misdeeds to Israel (ii. 12; hebr. v. 4). The passage is one of great boldness, abounding in the verbal turns in which Hebrew poetry so much delights, and in particular there is a play between the name given to the spot—Jehoshaphat, i. e. "Jehovah's judgment"—and the "judgment" there to be pronounced. The Hebrew prophets often refer to the ancient glories of their nation: thus Isaiah speaks of the "day of Midian," and of the triumphs of David and of Joshua in "Mount Perazim," and in the "Valley of Gibeon;" and in like manner Joel, in announcing the vengeance to be taken on the strangers who were annoying his country (iii. 14), seems to have glanced back to that triumphant day when king Jehoshaphat, the greatest king the nation had seen since Solomon, and the greatest champion of Jehovah, led out his people to a valley in the wilderness of Tekoah, and was there blessed with such a victory over the hordes of his enemies as was without a parallel in the national records (2 Chr. xx.).

But though such a reference to Jehoshaphat is both natural and characteristic, it is not certain that it is intended. The name may be only an imaginary one conferred on a spot which existed nowhere but in the vision of the prophet. Such was the view of some of the ancient translators. Thus Theodotion renders it *Χώρα κρίσεως*; and so the Targum of Jonathan—"the plain of the division of judgment." Michaelis (*Bibel für Gelehrten*, Remarks on Joel) takes a similar view, and considers the passage to be a prediction of the Maccabean victories. By others, however, the prophet has been supposed to have had this part of the world in view. And not only this, but the scene of "Jehovah's judgment" has been localised, and the name has come down to us

<sup>a</sup> Gesenius and Professor Newman are of opinion that the two narratives in 2 K. iii. and 2 Chr. xx. relate to one event. Their view has been successfully

opposed by Keil and Movers in Germany, and by the Rev. H. Brucwne, *Ordo Saeculorum*, 239.

attached to the deep ravine which separates Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, through which at one time the Kedron forced its stream. At what period the name was first applied to this spot is not known. There is no trace of it in the Bible or in Josephus. In both the only name used for this gorge is KIDRON (N. T. CEDRON). We first encounter its new title in the middle of the 4th century in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome (Art. *Coelas*), and in the Commentary of the latter Father on Joel. Since that time the name has been recognised and adopted by travellers of all ages and all faiths. It is used by Christians—as Arculf in 700 (*Early Trav.* i. 4), the author of the *Citez de Jerusalem*, in 1187 (Rob. ii. 562), and Maundrell, in 1697 (*E. Trav.* 469); and by Jews—as Benjamin of Tudela about 1170 (Asher, i. 71; and see Reland, *Pal.* 356). By the Moslems it is still said to be called *Wady Jushafat* (Seetzen, ii. 23, 26), or *Shafat*, though the name usually given to the Valley is *Wady Sitti-Maryam*. Both Moslems and Jews believe that the last judgment is to take place there. To find a grave there is the dearest wish of the latter (Briggs, *Heathen and Holy Lands*, 290), and the former show—as they have shown for certainly two centuries—the place on which Mahomet is to be seated at the Last Judgment, a stone jutting out from the east wall of the Haram area near the south corner, one of the pillars<sup>a</sup> which once adorned the churches of Helena or Justinian, and of which multitudes are now embedded in the rude masonry of the more modern walls of Jerusalem. The steep sides of the ravine, wherever a level strip affords the opportunity, are crowded—in places almost paved—by the sepulchres of the Moslems, or the simpler slabs of the Jewish tombs, alike awaiting the assembly of the Last Judgment.

So narrow and precipitous<sup>b</sup> a glen is quite unsuited for such an event; but this inconsistency does not appear to have disturbed those who framed or those who hold the tradition. It is however implied in the Hebrew terms employed in the two cases. That by Joel is *Emek* (עמק), a word applied to spacious valleys such as those of Esdraelon or Gibeon (Stanley, *S. & P. App.* §1). On the other hand the ravine of the Kidron is invariably designated by *Nachal* (נחל), answering to the modern Arabic *Wady*. There is no instance in the O. T. of these two terms being convertible, and this fact alone would warrant the inference that the tradition of the identity of the *Emek* of Jehoshaphat and the *Nachal* Kedron, did not arise until Hebrew had begun to become a dead language.<sup>c</sup> The grounds on which it did arise were probably two:—1. The frequent mention throughout this passage of Joel of Mount Zion, Jerusalem, and the

Temple (ii. 32, iii. 1, 6, 16, 17, 18), may have led to the belief that the locality of the great judgment would be in their immediate neighbourhood. This would be assisted by the mention of the Mount of Olives in the somewhat similar passage in Zecariah (xiv. 3, 4).

2. The belief that Christ would reappear in judgment on the Mount of Olives, from which He had ascended. This was at one time a received article of Christian belief, and was grounded on the words of the Angels, "He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven."<sup>d</sup> (Adrichomius, *Theatr. Ter. Sanctae*, Jerusalem, §192; Corn. a Lapide, on Acts i.).

3. There is the alternative that the valley of Jehoshaphat was really an ancient name of the Valley of the Kedron, and that from the name, the connexion with Joel's prophecy, and the belief in its being the scene of Jehovah's last judgment have followed. This may be so; but then we should expect to find some trace of the existence of the name before the 4th century after Christ. It was certainly used as a burying place as early as the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 6), but no inference can fairly be drawn from this.

But whatever originated the tradition, it has held its ground most firmly. (a.) In the valley itself, one of the four remarkable monuments which exist at the foot of Olivet was at a very early date connected with Jehoshaphat. At Arculf's visit (about 700) the name appears to have been borne by that now called "Absalom's tomb," but then the "tower of Jehoshaphat" (*E. Trav.* 4). In the time of Maundrell the "tomb of Jehoshaphat" was, what it still is, an excavation, with an architectural front, in the face of the rock behind "Absalom's tomb." A tolerable view of this is given in plate 33 of Munk's *Palestine*; and a photograph by Salzmann, with a description in the *Texte* (p. 31) to the same. The name may, as already observed, really point to Jehoshaphat himself, though not to his tomb, as he was buried like the other kings in the city of David (2 Chr. xxi. 1). (b.) One of the gates of the city in the east wall, opening on the valley, bore the same name. This is plain from the *Citez de Jerusalem*, where the *Porte de Isafas* is said to have been a "postern" close to the golden gateway (*Portez Oiris*), and to the south of that gate (*pars devers midi*; §iv., near the end, Rob. ii. 559). It was therefore at or near the small walled-up doorway, to which M. de Sauley has restored the name of the *Pôterne de Josephat*, and which is but a few feet to the south of the golden gateway. However this may be, this "postern" is evidently of later date than the wall in which it occurs, as some of the enormous stones of the wall have been cut through to admit it: and in so far,

<sup>a</sup> This pillar is said to be called *et-Tarik*, "the road" (De Sauley, *Voyage*, ii. 199). From it will spring the Bridge of *As-Sirat*, the crossing of which is to test the true believers. Those who cannot stand the test will drop off into the abyss of Gehenna in the depths of the valley (Ali Bey, 224, 5: Mejr ed Din, in Rob. i. 269).

<sup>b</sup> St. Cyril (of Alexandria) either did not know the spot, or has another Valley in his eye; probably the former. He describes it as not many stadia from Jerusalem; and says he is told (*φησι*) that it is "bare and apt for horses" (*ψαλδν και ιπιπλάτων*) Comm. on Joel, quoted by Reland, 355). Perhaps this indicates that the tradition was not at that time quite fixed.

<sup>c</sup> It appears in the Targum on Cant. viii. 1.

<sup>d</sup> In Sir John Maundeville a different reason is given for the same. "Very near this"—the place where Christ wept over Jerusalem—"is the stone on which our Lord sat when He preached; and on that same stone shall He sit on the day of doom, right as He said Himself." Bernard the Wise, in the 8th century, speaks of the church of St. Leon, in the Valley, "where our Lord will come to judgment" (*Early Trav.* 28).

<sup>e</sup> To this fact the writer can testify from recent observation. It is evident enough in Salzmann's photograph, though not in De Sauley's sketch (*Atlas*, pl. 24).



therefore, it is a witness to the date of the tradition being subsequent to the time of Herod, by whom this wall was built. It is probably the "little gate" leading down by steps to the valley," of which Arculf speaks (*E. Trav.*). Benjamin of Tudela (1163) also mentions the gate of Jehoshaphat, but without any nearer indication of its position than that it led to the valley and the monuments (Asher, i. 71). (c.) Lastly, leading to this gate was a street called the street of Jehoshaphat (*Citez de J. Švii.*, Rob. ii. 561).

The name would seem to be generally confined by travellers to the upper part of the glen, from about the "Tomb of the Virgin" to the south-east corner of the wall of Jerusalem. [TOMBS.] [G.]

**JEHOSH'EBĀ** (יְהוֹשֻׁבָע: LXX. Ἰωσαβέε; Joseph. Ἰωσαβέθη), daughter of Joram king of Israel, and wife of Jehoiada the high-priest (2 K. xi. 2). Her name in the Chronicles is given JEHOSEBATH. It thus exactly resembles the name of the only two other wives of Jewish priests who are known to us, viz., ELISEBA (LXX. and N. T. Ἐλισαβέτ, whence our *Elisabeth*), the wife of Aaron, Ex. vi. 23, and the wife of Zechariah, Luke i. 7. In the former case the word signifies "Jehovah's oath;" in the second "God's oath."

As she is called, 2 K. xi. 2, "the daughter of Joram, sister of Ahaziah," it has been conjectured that she was the daughter, not of Athaliah, but of Joram, by another wife; and Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 7, §1) calls her Ὁχοζία ἑμοπάτριος ἀδελφή. This may be; but it is also possible that the omission of Athaliah's name may have been occasioned by the detestation in which it was held,—in the same way as modern commentators have, for the same reason, eagerly embraced this hypothesis. That it is not absolutely needed is shown by the fact that the worship of Jehovah was tolerated under the reigns both of Joram and Athaliah—and that the name of Jehovah was incorporated into both of their names.

She is the only recorded instance of the marriage of a princess of the royal house with a high-priest. On this occasion it was a providential circumstance ("for she was the sister of Ahaziah," 2 Chr. xxii. 11), as inducing and probably enabling her to rescue the infant Joash from the massacre of his brothers. By her, he and his nurse were concealed in the palace, and afterwards in the temple (2 K. xi. 2, 3; 2 Chr. xxii. 11), where he was brought up probably with her sons (2 Chr. xxiii. 11), who assisted at his coronation. One of these was Zechariah, who succeeded her husband in his office, and was afterwards murdered (2 Chr. xxiv. 20). [A. P. S.]

**JEHOSH'UA** (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ: Ἰησοῦς; *Josue*). In this form—contracted in the Hebrew, but fuller than usual in the A. V.—is given the name of Joshua in Num. xii. 16, on the occasion of its bestowal by Moses. The addition of the name of Jehovah probably marks the recognition by Moses of the important part taken in the affair of the spies by him, who till this time had been Hoshea, "help," but was henceforward to be Je-hoshua, "help of Jehovah" (Ewald, ii. 306). Once more only the name appears in its full form in the A. V.—this time with a redundant letter—as

**JEHOSH'UAH** (the Heb. is as above: Ἰησοῦε, in both MSS.: *Josue*), in the genealogy of Ephraim

<sup>1</sup> Next to the above "little gate," Arculf names the gate "Thecutis." Can this strange name con-

(1 Chr. vii. 27). We should be thankful to the translators of the A. V. for giving the first syllable of this great name their full form, if only in these two cases; though why in these only it is difficult to understand. Nor is it easier to see whence they got the final *h* in the latter of the two. [G.]

**JEHOVAH** (יהוה), usually with the vowel points of יהוה; but when the two occur together the former is pointed יהוה, that is with the vowels of יהוה, as in Obad. i. 1, Hab. iii. 19: the LXX. generally render it by *Kúrios*, the Vulgate by *Imminus*; and in this respect they have been followed by the A. V., where it is translated "The Lord". The true pronunciation of this name, by which God was known to the Hebrews, has been entirely lost, the Jews themselves scrupulously avoiding every mention of it, and substituting in its stead one or other of the words with whose proper vowel-points it may happen to be written. This custom, which had its origin in reverence, and has almost degenerated into a superstition, was founded upon an erroneous rendering of Lev. xxiv. 16, from which it was inferred that the mere utterance of the name constituted a capital offence. In the Rabbinical writings it is distinguished by various euphemistic expressions; as simply "the name," or "the name of four letters" (the Greek *tetragrammaton*); "the great and terrible name;" "the peculiar name," i. e. appropriated to God alone; "the separate name," i. e. either the name which is separated or removed from human knowledge, or, as some render, "the name which has been interpreted or revealed" (שֵׁם הַמְפֹרָשׁ, *shém hammephórash*). The Samaritans followed the same custom, and in reading the Pentateuch substituted for Jehovah (יהוה), "the name," at the same time perpetuating the practice in their alphabetical poems and later writings (Geiger, *Urschrift*, &c., p. 262). According to Jewish tradition, it was pronounced but once a year by the high-priest on the day of Atonement when he entered the Holy of Holies; but on this point there is some doubt, Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61) asserting that the use of the word was confined to the blessings of the priests, and restricted to the sanctuary, without limiting it still further to the high-priest alone. On the same authority we learn that it ceased with Simeon the Just (Yad. Chaz. c. 14, §10), having lasted through two generations, that of the men of the Great Synagogue and the age of Shemed, while others include the generation of Zedekiah among those who possessed the use of the *shém hammephórash* (Midrash on Ps. xxxvi. 11, quoted by Buxtorf in *Reland's Jews Exercit.*). But even after the destruction of the second temple we meet with instances of individuals who were in possession of the mysterious name. A certain Bar Kamzar is mentioned in the Midrash (*Yoma* iii. §11) who was able to write this name of God; but even on such evidence we may conclude that after the siege of Jerusalem the true pronunciation almost if not entirely disappeared, the probability being that it had been lost long before. Josephus, himself a priest, confesses that on this point he was not permitted to speak (*Ant.* ii. 12, §4); and Philo states (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. p. 519) that for those alone whose ears and tongue were purified by wisdom was it lawful to hear or utter this word

tain an allusion to Thecoa, the valley in which Jehoshaphat's great victory was gained!

name. It is evident therefore that no reference to ancient writers can be expected to throw any light upon the question, and any quotation of them will only render the darkness in which it is involved more palpable. At the same time the discussion, though barren of actual results, may on other accounts be interesting; and as it is one in which great names are ranged on both sides, it would for this reason alone be impertinent to dismiss it with a cursory notice. In the decade of dissertations collected by Reland, Fuller, Gataker, and Leusden do battle for the pronunciation Jehovah, against such formidable antagonists as Drusius, Amama, Cappellus, Buxtorf, and Altingius, who, it is scarcely necessary to say, fairly beat their opponents out of the field; the only argument, in fact, of any weight, which is employed by the advocates of the pronunciation of the word as it is written being that derived from the form in which it appears in proper names, such as Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, &c. Their antagonists make a strong point of the fact that, as has been noticed above, two different sets of vowels are applied to the same consonants under certain circumstances. To this Leusden, of all the champions on his side, but feebly replies. The same may be said of the argument derived from the fact that the letters מוֹכֵלֵב, when prefixed to יהוה, take, not the vowels which they would regularly receive were the present punctuation true, but those with which they would be written if יהוה, *ādōnāi*, were the reading; and that the letters ordinarily taking *dagesh lene* when following יהוה would, according to the rules of the Hebrew points, be written without *dagesh*, whereas it is uniformly inserted. Whatever, therefore, be the true pronunciation of the word, there can be little doubt that it is not *Jehovah*.

In Greek writers it appears under the several forms of *Ἰαῶ* (Diod. Sic. i. 94; Irenæus, i. 4, §1). *Ἰαῶς* (Porphyrus in Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.* i. 9, §21), *Ἰαού* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 666), and in a catena to the Pentateuch in a MS. at Turin *Ἰα οὐβέ*; both Theodoret (*Quæst.* 15 in *Exod.*) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 20) give *Ἰαβέ*, the former distinguishing it as the pronunciation of the Samaritans, while *Αἰδ* represented that of the Jews. But even if these writers were entitled to speak with authority, their evidence only tends to show in how many different ways the four letters of the word יהוה could be represented in Greek characters, and throws no light either upon its real pronunciation or its punctuation. In like manner Jerome (on Ps. viii.), who acknowledges that the Jews considered it an ineffable name, at the same time says it may be read *Jaho*,—of course, supposing the passage in question to be genuine, which is open to doubt. In the absence, therefore, of anything satisfactory from these sources, there is plainly left a wide field for conjecture. What has been done in this field the following pages will show. It will be better perhaps to ascend from the most improbable hypotheses to those which carry with them more show of reason, and thus prepare the way for the considerations which will follow.

I. Von Bohlen, at once most sceptical and most credulous, whose hasty conclusions are only paralleled by the rashness of his assumptions, unhesitatingly asserts that beyond all doubt the word Jehovah is not Semitic in its origin. Pining his faith upon the *Abrazas* gems, in which he finds it in the form *Jao*, he connects it with the Sanscrit *devas*, *devo*,

the Greek *Διός*, and Latin *Jovis* or *Dionis*. But, apart from the consideration that his authority is at least questionable, he omits to explain the striking phenomenon that the older form which has the *d* should be preserved in the younger languages, the Greek and ancient Latin, while not a trace of it appears in the Hebrew. It would be desirable also that, before a philological argument of this nature can be admitted, the relation between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages should be more clearly established. In the absence of this, any inferences which may be drawn from apparent resemblances (the resemblance in the present case not being even apparent) will lead to certain error. That the Hebrews learned the word from the Egyptians is a theory which has found some advocates. The foundations for this theory are sufficiently slight. As has been mentioned above, Diodorus (i. 94) gives the Greek form *Ἰαῶ*; and from this it has been inferred that *Ἰαῶ* was a deity of the Egyptians, whereas nothing can be clearer from the context than that the historian is speaking especially of the God of the Jews. Again, in Macrobius (*Sat.* i. c. 18), a line is quoted from an oracular response of Apollo Clarius,

φράξο τὸν πάντων ὑπατοῦ θεὸν ἕμμεν' Ἰαῶ,

which has been made use of for the same purpose. But Jablonsky (*Panth. Aeg.* ii. §5) has proved uncontestedly that the author of the verses from which the above is quoted, was one of the Judaizing Gnostics, who were in the habit of making the names *Ἰαῶ* and *Σεβασθ* the subjects of mystical speculations. The Ophites, who were Egyptians, are known to have given the name *Ἰαῶ* to the Moon (Neander, *Gnost.* 252), but this, as Tholuck suggests, may have arisen from the fact that in Coptic the Moon is called *ioh* (*Vern. Schriften.* th. i. 385). Movers (*Phoen.* i. 540), while defending the genuineness of the passage of Macrobius, connects *Ἰαῶ*, which denotes the Sun or Dionysus, with the root *יהוה*, so that it signifies "the life-giver." In any case, the fact that the name *Ἰαῶ* is found among the Greeks and Egyptians, or among the Orientals of Further Asia, in the 2nd or 3rd century, cannot be made use of as an argument that the Hebrews derived their knowledge of the word from any one of these nations. On the contrary, there can be but little doubt that the process in reality was reversed, and that in this case the Hebrews were, not the borrowers, but the lenders. We have indisputable evidence that it existed among them, whatever may have been its origin, many centuries before it is found in other records; of the contrary we have no evidence whatever. Of the singular manner in which the word has been introduced into other languages, we have a remarkable instance in a passage quoted by M. Rémusat, from one of the works of the Chinese philosopher Lao-tseu, who flourished, according to Chinese chronology, about the 6th or 7th century B.C., and held the opinions commonly attributed to Pythagoras, Plato, and others of the Greeks. This passage M. Rémusat translates as follows:—"Celui que vous regardez et que vous ne voyez pas, se nomme *j*; celui que vous écoutez et que vous n'entendez pas, se nomme *Hi*; celui que votre main cherche et qu'elle ne peut pas saisir, se nomme *Wei*. Ce sont trois êtres qu'on ne peut comprendre, et qui, confondus, n'en font qu'un." In these three letters J H V Rémusat thinks that he recognizes the name Jehovah of the Hebrews, which might have been

learnt by the philosopher himself or some of his pupils in the course of his travels; or it might have been brought into China by some exiled Jews or Gnostics. The Chinese interpreter of the passage maintains that these mystical letters signify "the void," so that in his time every trace of the origin of the word had in all probability been lost. And not only does it appear, though perhaps in a questionable form, in the literature of the Chinese. In a letter from the missionary Plaisant to the Vicar Apostolic Boucho, dated 18th Feb. 1847, there is mention made of a tradition which existed among a tribe in the jungles of Burmah, that the divine being was called *Jova* or *Kara-Jova*, and that the peculiarities of the Jehovah of the Old Testament were attributed to him (Reinke, *Beiträge*, iii. 65). But all this is very vague and more curious than convincing. The inscription in front of the temple of Isis at Sais quoted by Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* §9), "I am all that hath been, and that is, and that shall be," which has been employed as an argument to prove that the name Jehovah was known among the Egyptians, is mentioned neither by Herodotus, Diodorus nor Strabo; and Proclus, who does allude to it, says it was in the adytum of the temple. But, even if it be genuine, its authority is worthless for the purpose for which it is adduced. For, supposing that Jehovah is the name to which such meaning is attached, it follows rather that the Egyptians borrowed it and learned its significance from the Jews, unless it can be proved that both in Egyptian and Hebrew the same combination of letters conveyed the same idea. Without, however, having recourse to any hypothesis of this kind, the peculiarity of the inscription is sufficiently explained by the place which, as is well known, Isis holds in the Egyptian mythology as the universal mother. The advocates of the Egyptian origin of the word have shown no lack of ingenuity in summoning to their aid authorities the most unpromising. A passage from a treatise on interpretation (*περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, §71), written by one Demetrius, in which it is said that the Egyptians hymned their gods by means of the seven vowels, has been tortured to give evidence on the point. Scaliger was in doubt whether it referred to Serapis, called by Hesychius "Serapis of seven letters" (*τὸ ἑπταγράμματον Σαράπισ*), or to the exclamation יהוה הוה, *hū yehōvāh*, "He is Jehovah." Of the latter there can be but little doubt. Gesner took the seven Greek vowels, and arranging them in the order ΙΕΗΩΟΥΑ, found therein Jehovah. But he was triumphantly refuted by Didymus, who maintained that the vowels were merely used for musical notes, and in this very probable conjecture he is supported by the Milesian inscription elucidated by Barthelemy and others. In this the invocation of God is denoted by the seven vowels five times repeated in different arrangements, Αηιοουω, Ερηουωα, Ηιουωαε, Ιουωαεη, Οουωαεη: each group of vowels precedes a "holy" (ἅγιε), and the whole concludes with the following: "the city of the Milesians and all the inhabitants are guarded by archangels." Müller, with much probability, concludes that the seven vowels represented the seven notes of the octave. One more argument for the Egyptian origin of Jehovah remains to be noticed. It is found in the circumstance that Pharaoh changed the name of Eliakim to Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiii. 34), which it is asserted is not in accordance with the practice of conquerors to-

wards the conquered, unless the Egyptian king imposed upon the king of Judah the name of one of his own gods. But the same reasoning would prove that the origin of the word was Babylonian, for the king of Babylon changed the name of Maltaniah to Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 17).

But many, abandoning as untenable the theory of an Egyptian origin, have sought to trace the name among the Phoenicians and Canaanitish tribes. In support of this, Hartmann brings forward a passage from a pretended fragment of Sanchoniatho quoted by Philo-Byblius, a writer of the age of Nero. But it is now generally admitted that the so-called fragments of Sanchoniatho, the ancient Phoenician chronicler, are most impudent forgeries concocted by Philo-Byblius himself. Besides, the passage to which Hartmann refers is not found in Philo-Byblius, but is quoted from Porphyry by Eusebius (*Praep. Evan.* i. 9, §21), and, genuine or not, evidently alludes to the Jehovah of the Jews. It is there stated that the most trustworthy authority in matters connected with the Jews was Sanchoniatho of Beyrout, who received his information from Hierombalos (*Jerubbaal*) the priest of the god Ἰεῦώ. From the occurrence of Jehovah as a compound in the proper names of many who were not Hebrews, Hamaker (*Misc. Phoen.* p. 174, &c.) contends that it must have been known among heathen people. But such knowledge, if it existed, was no more than might have been obtained by their necessary contact with the Hebrews. The names of *Uriah* the Hittite, of *Arauh* or *Amah* the Jebusite, of *Tobiah* the Ammorite, and of the Canaanitish town *Bizjothjah*, may be all explained without having recourse to Hamaker's hypothesis. Of as little value is his appeal to 1 K. v. 7, where we find the name Jehovah in the mouth of Hiram, king of Tyre. Apart from the consideration that Hiram would necessarily be acquainted with the name as that of the Hebrews' national god, its occurrence is sufficiently explained by the tenor of Solomon's message (1 K. v. 3-5). Another point on which Hamaker relies for support is the name Ἀβδαῖος, which occurs as that of a Tyrian sailor in Menander (*Jos. c. Apion.* i. 21), and which he identifies with *Obadiah* (עבדיהו). But both Flast and Hengstenberg represent it in Hebrew characters by עבדי, *'abdai*, which even Hamaker thinks more probable.

II. Such are the principal hypotheses which have been constructed in order to account for a non-Hebraic origin of Jehovah. To attribute much value to them requires a large share of faith. It remains now to examine the theories on the opposite side; for on this point authorities are by no means agreed, and have frequently gone to the extreme. S. D. Luzzatto (*Anim. in Jos. Pal.* in Rosenmüller's *Compend.* xxiv.) advances with singular naïveté the extraordinary statement that Jehovah, or rather יהוה divested of points, is compounded of two interjections, הו, *edā*, of pain, and יהו, *yāhū*, of joy, and denotes the author of good and evil. Such an etymology, from one who is unquestionably among the first of modern Jewish scholars, is a remarkable phenomenon. Ewald, referring to Gen. xix. 24, suggests as the origin of

Jehovah, the Arab. هوا, which signifies "height, heaven;" a conjecture, the honour of which no one

will desire to rob him. But most have taken for the basis of their explanations, and the different methods of punctuation which they propose, the passage in Ex. iii. 14, to which we must naturally look for a solution of the question. When Moses received his commission to be the deliverer of Israel, the Almighty, who appeared in the burning bush, communicated to him the name which he should give as the credentials of his mission: "And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM (אֲנִי הַיְהוָה אֲנִי, *ehyeh āsher ehyeh*); and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." That this passage is intended to indicate the etymology of Jehovah, as understood by the Hebrews, no one has ventured to doubt: it is in fact the key to the whole mystery. But, though it certainly supplies the etymology, the interpretation must be determined from other considerations. According to this view then, יהוה must be the 3rd sing. masc. fut. of the substantive verb היה, the older form of which was הוה, still found in the Chaldee הוה, and Syriac ܝܘܗܘ, a fact which will be referred to hereafter in discussing the antiquity of the name. If this etymology be correct, and there seems little reason to call it in question, one step towards the true punctuation and pronunciation is already gained. Many learned men, and among them Grotius, Galatinus, Crusius, and Leusden, in an age when such fancies were rife, imagined that, reading the name with the vowel points usually attached to it, they discovered an indication of the eternity of God in the fact that the name by which He revealed Himself to the Hebrews was compounded of the Present Participle, and the Future and Praeterite tenses of the substantive verb. The idea may have been suggested by the expression in Rev. iv. 8 (ὁ ᾄδὼν καὶ ὁ ὄν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος), and received apparent confirmation from the Targ. Jon. on Deut. xxxii. 39, and Targ. Jer. on Ex. iii. 14. These passages, however, throw no light upon the composition of the name, and merely assert that in its significance it embraces past, present, and future. But having agreed to reject the present punctuation, it is useless to discuss any theories which may be based upon it, had they even greater probability in their favour than the one just mentioned. As one of the forms in which Jehovah appears in Greek characters is Ἰαῶ, it has been proposed by Cappellus to punctuate it יהוה, which is clearly contrary to the analogy of יהוה verbs. Gussetius suggested יהוה, *yehōveh*, or יהוה, *yihveh*, in the former of which he is supported by the authority of Fürst; and Mercer and Corn. a Lapide read it יהוה, *yehveh*: but on all these suppositions we should have יהוה for יהוה in the terminations of compound proper names. The suffrages of others are divided between יהוה, or יהוה, supposed to be represented by the Ἰαβέ of Epiphanius above mentioned, and יהוה or יהוה, which Fürst holds to be the Ἰεωά of Porphyry, or the Ἰεωά of Clemens Alexandrinus. Caspari (*Micha*, p. 5, &c.) decides in favour of the former on the ground that this form only would give rise to the contraction יהוה in proper names, and opposes both Fürst's punctuation יהוה or יהוה, as well as that of יהוה or יהוה, which would be contracted

into יהוה. Gesenius punctuates the word יהוה, from which, or from יהוה, are derived the abbreviated form יה, *yáh*, used in poetry, and the form יהו = יהו = יהו (so יהו becomes יהו), which occurs at the commencement of compound proper names (Hitzig, *Jesaja*, p. 4). Delitzsch maintains that, whichever punctuation be adopted, the quiescent sheva under ה is ungrammatical, and Chateph Pathach is the proper vowel. He therefore writes it יהוה, *yahāváh*, to which he says the *Aid* of Theodoret corresponds; the last vowel being Kametz instead of Segol, according to the analogy of proper names derived from לה verbs (e. g. ימנה, ימנה, and others). In his opinion the form יה is not an abbreviation, but a concentration of the Tetragrammaton (*Comm. über den Psalter*, einl.). There remains to be noticed the suggestion of Gesenius that the form יהוה, which he adopted, might be the Hiph. fut. of the substantive verb. Of the same opinion was Reuss. Others again would make it Piel, and read יהוה. Fürst (*Handb.* s. v.) mentions some other etymologies which affect the meaning rather than the punctuation of the name; such, for instance, as that it is derived from a root הוה, "to overthrow," and signifies "the destroyer or storm-sender;" or that it denotes "the light or heaven" from a root הוה = יפה, "to be bright," or "the life-giver," from the same root = הוה, "to live." We have therefore to decide between יהוה or יהוה, and accept the former, i. e. *Yahāveh*, as the more probable punctuation, continuing at the same time for the sake of convenience to adopt the form "Jehovah" in what follows, on account of its familiarity to English readers.

III. The next point for consideration is of vastly more importance: what is the meaning of Jehovah, and what does it express of the being and nature of God, more than or in distinction from the other names applied to the deity in the O. T.? That there was some distinction in these different appellations was early perceived, and various explanations were employed to account for it. Tertullian (*adv. Hermog.* c. 3) observed that God was not called Lord (*κύριος*) till after the Creation, and in consequence of it; while Augustine found in it an indication of the absolute dependence of man upon God (*de Gen. ad lit.* viii. 2). Chrysostom (*Hom. xiv. in Gen.*) considered the two names, Lord and God, as equivalent, and the alternate use of them arbitrary. But all their arguments proceed upon the supposition that the *κύριος* of the LXX. is the true rendering of the original, whereas it is merely the translation of אֲדֹנָי, *ādōnāi*, whose points it bears. With regard to אֱלֹהִים, *elōhīm*, the other chief name by which the Deity is designated in the O. T., it has been held by many, and the opinion does not even now want supporters, that in the plural form of the word was shadowed forth the plurality of persons in the godhead, and the mystery of the Trinity was inferred therefrom. Such, according to Peter Lombard, was the true significance of Elohīm. But Calvin, Mercer, Druzeius, and Bellarmine have given the weight of their authority against an explanation so fanciful and arbitrary. Among the Jewish writers of the middle ages the question much more nearly approached its solution. R. Jehuda Hallei (12th cent.), the author of the book *Cozzi*, found in the

usage of Elohim a protest against idolaters, who call each personified power  $\text{אלהים}$ , *elôhîm*, and all collectively Elohim. He interpreted it as the most general name of the Deity, distinguishing Him as manifested in the exhibition of His power, without reference to His personality or moral qualities, or to any special relation which He bears to man. Jehovah, on the contrary, is the revealed and known God. While the meaning of the former could be evolved by reasoning, the true significance of the latter could only be apprehended "by that prophetic vision by which a man is, as it were, separated and withdrawn from his own kind, and approaches to the angelic, and another spirit enters into him." in like manner Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61, Buxt.) saw in Jehovah the name which teaches of the substance of the Creator, and Abarbanel (quoted by Buxtorf, *de Nom. Dei*, §39) distinguishes Jehovah, as denoting God according to what He is in Himself, from Elohim which conveys the idea of the impression made by His power. In the opinion of Astruc, a Belgian physician, with whom the documentary hypothesis originated, the alternate use of the two names was arbitrary, and determined by no essential difference. Hasse (*Entdeckungen*) considered them as historical names, and Sack (*de usu nom. dei*, &c.) regarded Elohim as a vague term denoting "a certain infinite, omnipotent, incomprehensible existence, from which things finite and visible have derived their origin," while to God, as revealing himself, the more definite title of Jehovah was applied. Ewald, in his tract on the composition of Genesis (written when he was nineteen), maintained that Elohim denoted the Deity in general, and is the common or lower name, while Jehovah was the national god of the Israelites. But in order to carry out his theory he was compelled in many places to alter the text, and was afterwards induced to modify his statements, which were opposed by Gramberg and Stähelin. Doubtless Elohim is used in many cases of the gods of the heathen, who included in the same title the God of the Hebrews, and denoted generally the Deity when spoken of as a supernatural being, and when no national feeling influenced the speaker. It was Elohim who, in the eyes of the heathen, delivered the Israelites from Egypt (1 Sam. iv. 8), and the Egyptian lad adjured David by Elohim, rather than by Jehovah, of whom he would have no knowledge (1 Sam. xxx. 15). So Ehad announces to the Moabitish king a message from Elohim (Judg. iii. 29); to the Syrians the Jehovah of the Hebrews was only their national God, one of the Elohim (1 K. xx. 23, 28), and in the mouth of a heathen the name Jehovah would convey no more intelligible meaning than this. It is to be observed also that when a Hebrew speaks with a heathen he uses the more general term Elohim. Joseph, in addressing Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 16), and David, in appealing to the king of Moab to protect his family (1 Sam. xxii. 3), designate the Deity by the less specific title; and on the other hand the same rule is generally followed when the heathen are the speakers, as in the case of Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 23), the Hittites (Gen. xxiii. 6), the Midianite (Judg. vii. 14), and Joseph in his assumed character as an Egyptian (Gen. xlii. 18). But, although this distinction between Elohim, as the general appellation of Deity, and Jehovah, the national God of the Israelites, contains some superficial truth, the real nature of their difference must be sought for far

deeper, and as a foundation for the arguments which will be adduced recourse must again be had to etymology.

IV. With regard to the derivation of  $\text{אלהים}$ , *elôhîm*, the pl. of  $\text{אלה}$ , etymologists are divided in their opinions; some connecting it with  $\text{אל}$ , *el*, and the unused root  $\text{אלל}$ , *âl*, "to be strong," while others

refer it to the Arabic  $\text{ألى}$ , *alîha*, "to be astonished"

and hence  $\text{ألى}$ , *alîha*, "to worship, adore," Elohim

thus denoting the Supreme Being who was worthy of all worship and adoration, the dread and awful One. But Fürst, with much greater probability, takes the noun in this case as the primitive form which is derived the idea of worship contained in the verb, and gives as the true root  $\text{אלל}$  =  $\text{אל}$

"to be strong." Delitzsch would prefer a root,

$\text{אלל}$  =  $\text{אלל}$  =  $\text{אלל}$  (*Symb. ad Psalm. illustr.* p. 25).

From whatever root, however, the word may be derived, most are of opinion that the primary idea contained in it is that of strength, power; so that Elohim is the proper appellation of the Deity, as manifested in His creative and universally sustaining agency, and in the general divine guidance and government of the world. Hengstenberg, who adheres to the derivation above-mentioned from the Arab. *alîha* and *alaha*, deduces from this etymology his theory that Elohim indicates a lower, and Jehovah a higher stage of the knowledge of God, on the ground that "the feeling of fear is the lowest which can exist in reference to God, and merely in respect of this feeling is God marked by this designation." But the same inference might also be drawn on the supposition that the idea of simple power or strength is the most prominent in the word; and it is more natural that the divine Being should be conceived of as strong before He became the object of fear and adoration. To this view Gesenius accedes, when he says that the notion of worshipping and fearing is rather derived from the power of the Deity which is expressed in his name. The question now arises, What is the meaning to be attached to the plural form of the word? As has been already mentioned, some have discovered therein the mystery of the Trinity, while others maintain that it points to polytheism. The Rabbis generally explain it as the plural of majesty; Rabbi Bechai, as signifying the lord of all powers. Abarbanel and Kimchi consider it a title of honour, in accordance with the Hebrew idiom, of which examples will be found in Is. lv. 5, Job xxxv. 10, Gen. xxxix. 20, xlii. 30. In Prov. ix. 1, the plural  $\text{חכמות}$ , *châkmoth*, "wisdom," is used for wisdom in the abstract, as including all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Hence it is probable that the plural form Elohim, instead of pointing to polytheism, is applied to God as comprehending in Himself the fulness of all power and uniting in a perfect degree all that which the name signifies, and all the attributes which the heathen ascribe to the several divinities of their pantheon. The singular  $\text{אלה}$ , *elôh*, with few exceptions (Neh. ix. 17; 2 Chr. xxxii. 15), occurs only in poetry. It will be found, upon examination of the passages in which Elohim occurs, that it is chiefly in places where God is exhibited only in the plenitude of his power, and where no special re-

ference is made to his unity, personality, or holiness, or to his relation to Israel and the theocracy. (See Ps. xvi. 1, xix. 1, 7, 8.) Hengstenberg's etymology of the word is disputed by Delitzsch (*Symb. ad Pss. illustr.* p. 29r.), who refers it, as has been mentioned above, to a root indicating power or might, and sees in it an expression not of what men think of God, but of what He is in Himself, in so far as He has life omnipotent in Himself, and according as He is the beginning and end of all life. For the true explanation of the name he refers to the revelation of the mystery of the Trinity. But it is at least extremely doubtful whether to the ancient Israelites any idea of this nature was conveyed by Elohim; and in making use of the more advanced knowledge supplied by the New Testament, there is some danger of discovering more meaning and a more subtle significance than was ever intended to be expressed.

V. But while Elohim exhibits God displayed in his power as the creator and governor of the physical universe, the name Jehovah designates his nature as He stands in relation to man, as the only, almighty, true, personal, holy Being, a spirit, and "the father of spirits" (Num. xvi. 22; comp. John iv. 24), who revealed himself to his people, made a covenant with them, and became their lawgiver, and to whom all honour and worship are due. If the etymology above given be accepted, and the name be derived from the future tense of the substantive verb, it would denote, in accordance with the general analogy of proper names of a similar form, "He that is," "the Being," whose chief attribute is eternal existence. Jehovah is represented as eternal (Gen. xxi. 33; comp. 1 Tim. vi. 16), unchangeable (Ex. iii. 14; Mal. iii. 6), the only being (Josh. xxii. 22; Ps. l. 1), Creator and lord of all things (Ex. xx. 11; comp. Num. xvi. 22 with xxvii. 16; Is. xlii. 5). It is Jehovah who made the covenant with his people (Gen. xv. 18; Num. x. 33, &c.). In this connexion Elohim occurs but once (Ps. lxxviii. 10), and even with the article, Ha-Elohim, which expresses more personality than Elohim alone, is found but seldom (Judg. xx. 27; 1 Sam. iv. 4). The Israelites were enjoined to observe the commandments of Jehovah (Lev. iv. 27, &c.), to keep His law, and to worship Him alone. Hence the phrase "to serve Jehovah" (Ex. x. 7, 8, &c.) is applied to denote true worship, whereas "to serve Ha-Elohim" is used but once in this sense (Ex. iii. 12), and Elohim occurs in the same association only when the worship of idols is spoken of (Deut. iv. 28; Judg. iii. 6). As Jehovah, the only true God, is the only object of true worship, to him belong the sabbaths and festivals, and all the ordinances connected with the religious services of the Israelites (Ex. x. 9, xii. 11; Lev. xxiii. 2). His are the altars on which offerings are made to the true God; the priests and ministers are His (1 Sam. ii. 11, xiv. 3), and so exclusively that a priest of Elohim is always associated with idolatrous worship. To Jehovah alone are offerings made (Ex. viii. 8), and if Elohim is ever used in this connexion, it is always qualified by pronominal suffixes, or some word in construction with it so as to indicate the true God; in all other cases it refers to idols (Ex. xxii. 20, xxxiv. 15). It follows naturally that the temple and tabernacle are Jehovah's, and if they are attributed to Elohim, the latter is in some manner restricted as before. The prophets are the prophets of Jehovah, and their announcements proceed from him, seldom from Elohim.

The Israelites are the people of Jehovah (Ex. xxxvi. 20), the congregation of Jehovah (Num. xvi. 3), as the Moabites are the people of Chemosh (Jer. xlviii. 46). Their king is the anointed of Jehovah; their wars are the wars of Jehovah (Ex. xiv. 25; 1 Sam. xviii. 17); their enemies are the enemies of Jehovah (2 Sam. xii. 14); it is the hand of Jehovah that delivers them up to their foes (Judg. vi. 1, xiii. 1, &c.), and He it is who raises up for them deliverers and judges, and on whom they call in times of peril (Judg. ii. 18, iii. 9, 15; Josh. xxiv. 7; 1 Sam. xvii. 37). In fine, Jehovah is the theocratic king of his people (Judg. viii. 23), by him their kings reign and achieve success against the national enemies (1 Sam. xi. 13, xiv. 23). Their heroes are inspired by His Spirit (Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34), and their hand steered against their foes (2 Sam. vii. 23); the watchword of Gideon was "The Sword of Jehovah, and of Gideon!" (Judg. vii. 20). The day on which God executes judgment on the wicked is the day of Jehovah (Is. ii. 12, xxxiv. 8; comp. Rev. xvi. 14). As the Israelites were in a remarkable manner distinguished as the people of Jehovah, who became their lawgiver and supreme ruler, it is not strange that He should be put in strong contrast with Chemosh (Judg. xi. 24), Ashtaroth (Judg. x. 6) and the Baalim (Judg. iii. 7), the national deities of the surrounding nations, and thus be pre-eminently distinguished as the tutelary deity of the Hebrews in one aspect of his character. Such and no more was He to the heathen (1 K. xx. 23); but all this and much more to the Israelites, to whom Jehovah was a distinct personal subsistence,—the living God, who reveals himself to man by word and deed, helps, guides, saves, and delivers, and is to the Old what Christ is to the New Testament. Jehovah was no abstract name, but thoroughly practical, and stood in intimate connexion with the religious life of the people. While Elohim represents God only in his most outward relation to man, and distinguishes him as recognised in his omnipotence, Jehovah describes him according to his innermost being. In Jehovah the moral attributes are presented as constituting the essence of his nature; whereas in Elohim there is no reference to personality or moral character. The relation of Elohim to Jehovah has been variously explained. The former, in Hengstenberg's opinion, indicates a lower, and the latter a higher, stage of consciousness of God; Elohim becoming Jehovah by an historical process, and to show how He became so, being the main object of the sacred history. Kurtz considers the two names as related to each other as power and evolution; Elohim the God of the beginning, Jehovah of the development; Elohim the Creator, Jehovah the mediator. Elohim is God of the beginning and end, the creator and the judge; Jehovah the God of the middle, of the development which lies between the beginning and end (*Die Einheit der Gen.*). That Jehovah is identical with Elohim, and not a separate being, is indicated by the joint use of the names Jehovah-Elohim.

VI. The antiquity of the name Jehovah among the Hebrews has formed the subject of much discussion. That it was not known before the age of Moses has been inferred from Ex. vi. 3; while Von Bohlen assigns to it a much more recent date, and contends that we have "no conclusive proof of the worship of Jehovah anterior to the ancient hymns of David" (*Int. to Gen. i. 150, Eng. tr.*). But, on the other hand, we should be inclined to infer from the ety-

mology of the word that it originated in an age long prior to that of Moses, in whose time the root הוה = היה was already antiquated. From the Aramaic form in which it appears (comp. Chald. הוה, Syr. ܝܘܗܐ), Jahn refers to the earliest times of Abraham for its date, and to Mesopotamia or Ur of the Chaldees for its birthplace. Its usage in Genesis cannot be explained, as Le Clerc suggests, by supposing it to be employed by anticipation, for it is introduced where the persons to whom the history relates are speaking, and not only where the narrator adopts terms familiar to himself; and the same difficulty remains whatever hypothesis be assumed with regard to the original documents which formed the basis of the history. At the same time it is distinctly stated in Ex. vi. 3, that to the patriarchs God was not known by the name Jehovah. If, therefore, this passage has reference to the first revelation of Jehovah simply as a name and title of God, there is clearly a discrepancy which requires to be explained. In renewing his promise of deliverance from Egypt, "God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am Jehovah; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by (the name of) God Almighty (*El Shaddai*, אֱלֹהֵי שָׁדַי), but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them." It follows then that, if the reference were merely to the name as a name, the passage in question would prove equally that before this time Elohim was unknown as an appellation of the Deity, and God would appear uniformly as *El Shaddai* in the patriarchal history. But although it was held by Theodoret (*Quaest. 15 in Ex.*) and many of the Fathers, who have been followed by a long list of moderns, that the name was first made known by God to Moses, and then introduced by him among the Israelites, the contrary was maintained by Cajetan, Lyranus, Calvin, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and others, who deny that the passage in Ex. vi. alludes to the introduction of the name. Calvin saw at once that the knowledge there spoken of could not refer to the syllables and letters, but to the recognition of God's glory and majesty. It was not the name, but the true depth of its significance which was unknown to and uncomprehended by the patriarchs. They had known God as the omnipotent, *El Shaddai* (Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3), the ruler of the physical universe, and of man as one of his creatures; as a God eternal, immutable, and true to his promises he was yet to be revealed. In the character expressed by the name Jehovah he had not hitherto been fully known; his true attributes had not been recognised (comp. Jarchi on Ex. vi. 3) in his working and acts for Israel. Aben Ezra explained the occurrence of the name in Genesis as simply indicating the knowledge of it as a proper name, not as a qualificative expressing the attributes and qualities of God. Referring to other passages in which the phrase "the name of God" occurs, it is clear that something more is intended by it than a mere appellation, and that the proclamation of the name of God is a revelation of his moral attributes, and of his true character as Jehovah (Ex. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 6, 7) the God of the covenant. Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 64, ed. Buxtorf) explains the name of God as signifying his essence and his truth, and Olshausen (on Matt. xviii. 20) interprets "name" (ὄνομα) as denoting "personality and essential being, and that not as it is incomprehensible or

unknown, but in its manifestation." The name of a thing represents the thing itself so far as it can be expressed in words. That Jehovah was not a new name Hävernick concludes from Ex. iii. 14, where "the name of God Jehovah is evidently presupposed as already in use, and is only explained, interpreted, and applied. . . It is certainly not a new name that is introduced; on the contrary, the אֲנִי הוּא אֱלֹהִים (I am that I am) would be unintelligible, if the name itself were not presupposed as already known. The old name of antiquity, whose precious significance had been forgotten and neglected by the children of Israel, here as it were rises again to life, and is again brought home to the consciousness of the people" (*Introduct. to the Pent.* p. 61). The same passage supplies an argument to prove that by "name" we are not to understand merely letters and syllables, for Jehovah appears at first in another form, *ehyeh* (הָיִיתִי). The correct collective view of Ex. vi. 3, Hengstenberg conceives to be the following:—"Hitherto that Being, who in one aspect was Jehovah, in another had always been Elohim. The great crisis now drew nigh in which Jehovah Elohim would be changed into Jehovah. In prospect of this great God solemnly announced himself as Jehovah."

Great stress has been laid, by those who deny the antiquity of the name Jehovah, upon the fact that proper names compounded with it occur but seldom before the age of Samuel and David. It is undoubtedly true that, after the revival of the true faith among the Israelites, proper names so compounded did become more frequent, but if it can be shown that prior to the time of Moses any such names existed, it will be sufficient to prove that the name Jehovah was not entirely unknown. Among those which have been quoted for this purpose are Jochebed the mother of Moses, and daughter of Levi, and Moriah, the mountain on which Abraham was commanded to offer up Isaac. Against the former it is urged that Moses might have changed her name to Jochebed after the name Jehovah had been communicated by God; but this is very improbable, as he was at this time eighty years old, and his mother in all probability dead. If this only be admitted as a genuine instance of a name compounded with Jehovah, it takes us at once back into the patriarchal age, and proves that a word which was employed in forming the proper name of Jacob's granddaughter could not have been unknown to that patriarch himself. The name Moriah (מֹרְיָה) is of more importance, for in the passage in which it occurs it is accompanied by an etymology intended to indicate what was then understood by it (2 Chr. iii. 1). Hengstenberg regards it as a compound of מֹרְיָה, the Heph. Part. of מָרָה, and יָה, the abbreviated form of הוה, so that, according to this etymology, it would signify "shown by Jehovah." Gesenius, adopting the meaning of מָרָה in Gen. xxii. 8, renders it "chosen by Jehovah," but suggests at the same time what he considers a more probable derivation, according to which Jehovah does not form a part of the compound word. But there is reason to believe from various allusions in the true etymology, the former was regarded as the true etymology. Having thus considered the origin, significance, and antiquity of the name Jehovah, the reader will be in a position to judge how much of truth there is in the assertion of Schwind (quoted by Fleck)

Beitr. iii. 135, n. 10) that the terms *Elohim*, *Jehovah Elohim*, and then *Jehovah* alone applied to God, show "to the philosophic inquirer the progress of the human mind from a plurality of gods to a superior god, and from this to a single Almighty Creator and ruler of the world."

The principal authorities which have been made use of in this article are Hengstenberg, *On the Authenticity of the Pentateuch*, i. 213-307, Eng. trans.; Reinke, *Phil. histor. Abhandlung über den Gottesnamen Jehova*, Beiträge, vol. iii.; Tholuck, *Vernichtete Schriften*, th. i. 377-405; Kurtz, *Die Einheit der Genesis* xliii.-liii.; Keil, *Ueber die Gottesnamen im Pentateuche* in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*; Ewald, *Die Composition der Genesis*; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, ad Reland, *Decas exercitiorum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova*, besides those already quoted. [W. A. W.]

### JEHOVAH-JIREH (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה) Κύριος

*videt*: *Dominus videt*, i. e. "Jehovah will see," or provide, the name given by Abraham to the place on which he had been commanded to offer Isaac, to commemorate the interposition of the angel of Jehovah, who appeared to prevent the sacrifice (Gen. xxii. 14) and provided another victim. The immediate allusion is to the expression in the 8th verse, "God will look out for Himself a lamb for a burnt offering," but it is not unlikely that there is at the same time a covert reference to Moriah, the scene of the whole occurrence. The play upon words is followed up in the latter clause of ver. 14, which appears in the form of a popular proverb: "as it is said this day, In the mountain of Jehovah, He will be seen," or "provision shall be made." Such must be the rendering if the received punctuation be accepted, but on this point there is a division of opinion. The text from which the LXX. made their translation must have been יְהוָה יִרְאֶה בְּהַר יְהוָה, *ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ἔφθη*, "on the mountain Jehovah appeared," and the same, with the exception of יִרְאֶה for the last word, must have been the reading of the Vulgate and Syriac. The Targum of Onkelos is obscure. [W. A. W.]

JEHOVAH-NIS'SI (יְהוָה נִסִּי) Κύριος καταφυγή μου: *Dominus exaltatio mea*, i. e. "Jehovah my banner", the name given by Moses to the altar which he built in commemoration of the discomfiture of the Amalekites by Joshua and his chosen warriors at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 15). It was erected either upon the hill overlooking the battle-field, upon which Moses sat with the staff of God in his hand, or upon the battle-field itself. According to Aben Ezra it was on the Horeb. The Targum of Onkelos paraphrases the verse thus:—"Moses built an altar and worshipped upon it before Jehovah, who had wrought for him miracles (יִסִּי, *nissin*)." Such too is Jarchi's explanation of the name, referring to the miraculous interposition of God in the defeat of the Amalekites. The LXX. in their translation, "the Lord my refuge," evidently supposed *nissin* to be derived from the root נִס, *nās*, "to flee," and the Vulgate traced it to נָשָׂא, "to lift up." The significance of the name is probably contained in the allusion to the staff which Moses held in his hand as a banner during the engagement, and the raising or lowering of which turned the fortune of battle in

favour of the Israelites or their enemies. God is thus recognised in the memorial altar as the deliverer of his people, who leads them to victory, and is their rallying point in time of peril. On the figurative use of "banner," see Ps. lx. 4; Is. xi. 10. [W. A. W.]

JEHOVAH-SHA'LOM (יְהוָה שְׁלוֹם) εἰρήνη *Kuplou*: *Domini pax*, i. e. "Jehovah (is) peace," or, with the ellipsis of שְׁלוֹם, "Jehovah, the God of peace", the altar erected by Gideon in Ophrah was so called in memory of the salutation addressed to him by the angel of Jehovah, "Peace be unto thee" (Judg. vi. 24). Piscator, however, following the Hebrew accentuation, which he says requires a different translation, renders the whole passage, without introducing the proper name, "when Jehovah had proclaimed peace to him;" but his alteration is harsh and unnecessary. The LXX. and Vulg. appear to have inserted the words as they stand in the present Hebrew text, and to have read יְהוָה שְׁלוֹם, but they are supported by no MS. authority. [W. A. W.]

JEHOZABAD (יְהוֹזָבָד) Ἰωζαβὰδ-βὰδ-βέδ: *Jozabad*. 1. A Korachite Levite, second son of Obed-edom, and one of the porters of the south gate of the temple, and of the storehouse there (בֵּית הַמִּסְכָּוִים) in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 4, 15, compared with Neh. xii. 25).

2. (*Joseph. Ὀχόβατος*.) A Benjamite, captain of 180,000 armed men, in the days of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 18).

3. Son of Shomer or Shimrith, a Moabitish woman, and possibly a descendant of the preceding, who with another conspired against king Joash and slew him in his bed (2 K. xii. 21; 2 Chr. xxiv. 26). [JOASH.] The similarity in the names of both conspirators and their parents is worth notice.

This name is commonly abbreviated in the Hebrew to JOZABAD. [A. C. H.]

JEHOZADAK (יְהוֹזָדָק) Ἰωζαδάκ: Alex. Ἰωσεδάκ: *Josedec*, son of the high-priest SERAIAH (1 Chr. vi. 14, 15) in the reign of Zedekiah. When his father was slain at Riblah by order of Nebuchadnezzar, in the 11th of Zedekiah (2 K. xxv. 18, 21), Jehozadak was led away captive to Babylon (1 Chr. vi. 15), where he doubtless spent the remainder of his days. He himself never attained the high-priesthood, the Temple being burnt to the ground, and so continuing, and he himself being a captive all his life. But he was the father of JESHUA the high-priest—who with Zerubbabel headed the Return from Captivity—and of all his successors till the pontificate of Alcimus (Ezr. iii. 2; Neh. xii. 26, &c. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Nothing more is known about him. It is perhaps worth remarking that his name is compounded of the same elements, and has exactly the same meaning, as that of the contemporary king Zedekiah—"God is righteous;" and that the righteousness of God was signally displayed in the simultaneous suspension of the throne of David and the priesthood of Aaron, on account of the sins of Judah. This remark perhaps acquires weight from the fact of his successor Jeshua, who restored the priesthood and rebuilt the Temple, having the same name as Joshua, who brought the nation into the land of promise, and JESUS, a name significative of salvation.

In Haggai and Zechariah, though the name is



the original is exactly as above, yet our translators have chosen to follow the Greek form, and present it as JOSEDECH.

In Ezra and Nehemiah it is abbreviated, both in Hebrew and A. V., to JOZADAK. [A. C. H.]

JE'HU. 1. (יְהוּ) = "JEHOVAH is He;" יְהוּ; Alex. Ἰηοῦ; Joseph. Ἰηοῦς). The founder of the fifth dynasty of the kingdom of Israel. His history was told in the lost "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. x. 34). His father's name was Jehoshaphat (2 K. ix. 2); his grandfather's (which, as being better known, was sometimes affixed to his own—2 K. ix.) was Nimshi. In his youth he had been one of the guards of Ahab. His first appearance in history is when, with a comrade in arms, Bidkar, or Bar-Dakar (Ephrem Syr. *Opp.* iv. 540), he rode<sup>a</sup> behind Ahab on the fatal journey from Samaria to Jezreel, and heard, and laid up in his heart, the warning of Elijah against the murderer of Naboth (2 K. ix. 25). But he had already, as it would seem, been known to Elijah as a youth of promise, and, accordingly, in the vision at Horeb he is mentioned as the future king of Israel, whom Elijah is to anoint as the minister of vengeance on Israel (1 K. xix. 16, 17). This injunction, for reasons unknown to us, Elijah never fulfilled. It was reserved long afterwards for his successor Elisha.

Jehu meantime, in the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, had risen to importance. The same activity and vehemence which had fitted him for his earlier distinctions still continued, and he was known far and wide as a charioteer whose rapid driving, as if of a madman<sup>b</sup> (2 K. ix. 21), could be distinguished even from a distance. He was, under the last-named king, captain of the host in the siege of Ramoth-Gilead. According to Ephraim Syrus (who omits the words "saith the Lord" in 2 K. ix. 26, and makes "I" refer to Jehu) he had, in a dream the night before, seen the blood of Naboth and his sons (S. Ephr. Syr. *Opp.* iv. 540). Whilst in the midst of the officers of the besieging army a youth suddenly entered, of wild appearance (2 K. ix. 11), and insisted on a private interview with Jehu. They retired into a secret chamber. The youth uncovered a vial of the sacred oil (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 6, 1) which he had brought with him, poured it over Jehu's head, and after announcing to him the message from Elisha, that he was appointed to be king of Israel and destroyer of the house of Ahab, rushed out of the house and disappeared.

Jehu's countenance, as he re-entered the assembly of officers, showed that some strange tidings had reached him. He tried at first to evade their questions, but then revealed the situation in which he found himself placed by the prophetic call. In a moment the enthusiasm of the army took fire. They threw their garments—the large square Be-

ged, similar to a wrapper or plaid—under his feet, so as to form a rough carpet of state, placed him on the top of the stairs,<sup>c</sup> as on an extempore throne, blew the royal salute on their trumpets, and thus ordained him king. He then cut off all communication between Ramoth-Gilead and Jezreel, and set off, full speed, with his ancient comrade Bidkar, whom he had made captain of the host in his place, and a band of horsemen. From the tower of Jezreel a watchman saw the cloud of dust (ἄνεμος, *korlopton*; A. V. "company") and announced his coming (2 K. ix. 17). The messengers that were sent out to him he detained, on the same principle of secrecy which had guided all his movements. It was not till he had almost reached the city, and was identified by the watchman, that alarm was taken. But even then it seems as if the two kings in Jezreel anticipated news from the Syrian war rather than a revolution at home. It was not till, in answer to Jehoram's question, "Is it peace, Jehu?" that Jehu's fierce denunciation of Jezebel at once revealed the danger. Jehu seized his opportunity, and taking full aim at Jehoram, with the bow which, as captain of the host, was always with him, shot him through the heart (ix. 24). The body was thrown out on the field, and whilst his soldiers pursued and killed the king of Judah at Beth-gan (A. V. "the garb-house"), probably Engannim, Jehu himself advanced to the gates of Jezreel and fulfilled the divine warning on Jezebel as already on Jehoram. [JEZEBEL.] He then entered on a work of extermination hitherto unparalleled in the history of the Jewish monarchy. All the descendants of Ahab that remained in Jezreel, together with the officers of the court, and hierarchy of Astarte, were swept away. His next step was to secure Samaria. Every stage of his progress was marked with blood. At the gates of Jezreel he found the heads of seventy princes of the house of Ahab, ranged in two rows, sent to him as a propitiation by their guardians in Samaria, whom he had defied to withstand him, and on whom he thus threw the responsibility of destroying their own royal charge. Next, at "the shearing-house" (or Betheked) between Jezreel and Samaria he encountered forty-two sons or nephews (2 Chr. xx. 8) of the late king of Judah, and therefore connected by marriage with Ahab, on a visit of compliment to their relatives, of whose fall, seemingly, they had not heard. These also were put to the sword at the fatal well, as, in the later history, of Mizpah, and, in our own days, of Cawnpore (2 K. x. 14). [ISHMAEL, 6.] As he drove on he encountered a strange figure, such as might have reminded him of the great Elijah. It was Jehonadab, the austere Arabian sectary, the son of Rechab. In him his keen eye discovered a rival ally. He took him into his chariot, and they con-

<sup>a</sup> The Hebrew word is יְמַרְיָם; usually employed for the coupling together of oxen. This the LXX. understands as though the two soldiers rode in separate chariots—ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ ζεύγη (2 K. ix. 25). Josephus *Ant.* ix. 6, §3) as though they sat in the same chariot with the king (καθιστομένους ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ Ἀχάβου).

<sup>b</sup> This is the force of the Hebrew word, which, as in 2 K. ix. 11, the LXX. translate ἐν παραλαγῇ. Josephus *Ant.* ix. 6, §3) says ἰσχυροτάτην τε καὶ μετ' εὐταξίας ὄδον.

<sup>c</sup> The expression translated "on the top of the stairs" is one the clue to which is lost. The word

is *gerem*, גֶּרֶם, i. e. a bone, and the meaning appears to be that they placed Jehu on the very stairs themselves—if *מַעְלֹת* be stairs—without any seat or chair below him. The stairs doubtless ran round the inside of the quadrangle of the house, as they do still, for instance, in the ruin called the house of Zachariah at Jericho, and Jehu sat where they joined the flat platform which formed the top or roof of the house. Thus he was conspicuous against the sky, while the captains were below him in no light on the passage. Old Versions throw little or no light on the passage of the LXX. simply repeat the Hebrew word, *ἐν τῷ γαρεμ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν*. By Josephus it is avoided.

executed their schemes as they entered Samaria (x. 15, 16). [JEHONADAB.]

Some stragglers of the house of Ahab in that city still remained to be destroyed. But the great stroke was yet to come; and it was conceived and executed with that union of intrepid daring and profound secrecy which marks the whole career of Jehu. Up to this moment there was nothing which showed anything beyond a determination to exterminate in all its branches the personal adherents of Ahab. He might still have been at heart, as he seems up to this time to have been in name, disposed to tolerate, if not to join in, the Phœnician worship. "Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much." There was to be a new inauguration of the worship of Baal. A solemn assembly, sacred vestments, innumerable victims, were ready. The vast temple at Samaria raised by Ahab (1 K. xvi. 32; Jos. Ant. x. 7, §6) was crowded from end to end. The chief sacrifice was offered, as if in the excess of his zeal, by Jehu himself. Jehonadab joined in the deception. There was some apprehension lest worshippers of Jehovah might be found in the temple; such, it seems, had been the intermixture of the two religions. As soon, however, as it was ascertained that all, and none but, the idolaters were there, the signal was given to eighty trusted guards, and a sweeping massacre removed at once the whole heathen population of the kingdom of Israel. The innermost sanctuary of the temple (translated in the A. V. "the city of the house of Baal") was stormed, the great stone statue of Baal was demolished, the wooden figures of the inferior divinities sitting round him were torn from their places and burnt (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 526), and the site of the sanctuary itself became the public resort of the inhabitants of the city for the basest uses. This is the last public act recorded of Jehu. The remaining twenty-seven years of his long reign are passed over in a few words, in which two points only are material:—He did not destroy the calf-worship of Jeroboam:—The Trans-jordanic tribes suffered much from the ravages of Hazael (2 K. x. 29-33). He was buried in state in Samaria, and was succeeded by his son JEHOAHAZ (2 K. x. 35). His name is the first of the Israelite kings which appears in the Assyrian monuments. It is found on the black obelisk discovered at Nimroud (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 396), and now in the British Museum, amongst the names of kings who are bringing tribute (in this case gold and silver, and articles manufactured in gold) to Shalmaneser I. His name is given as "Jehu" (or "Yahua") "the son of Khumri" (Omri). This substitution of the name of Omri for that of his own father may be accounted for, either by the importance which Omri had assumed as the second founder of the northern kingdom, or by the name of "Beth-Khumri," only given to Samaria in these monuments as "the House or Capital of Omri" (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 643; Rawlinson's *Herodot.* i. 465).

The character of Jehu is not difficult to understand, if we take it as a whole, and judge it from a general point of view.

He must be regarded, like many others in history, as an instrument for accomplishing great purposes rather than as great or good in himself. In the long period, during which his destiny—though known to others and perhaps to himself, lay dormant—in the suddenness of his rise to

power; in the ruthlessness with which he carried out his purposes; in the union of profound silence and dissimulation with a stern, fanatic, wayward zeal,—he has not been without his likenesses in modern times. The Scripture narrative, although it fixes our attention on the services which he rendered to the cause of religion by the extermination of a worthless dynasty and a degrading worship, yet on the whole leaves the sense that it was a reign barren in great results. His dynasty, indeed, was firmly seated on the throne longer than any other royal house of Israel (2 K. x.), and under Jeroboam II. it acquired a high name amongst the Oriental nations. But Elisha, who had raised him to power, as far as we know, never saw him. In other respects it was a failure; the original sin of Jeroboam's worship continued; and in the Prophet Hosea there seems to be a retribution exacted for the bloodshed by which he had mounted the throne: "I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (Hos. i. 4), as in the similar condemnation of Baasha (1 K. xvi. 2). See a striking poem to this effect on the character of Jehu in the *Lyra Apostolica*.

2. Jehu, son of Hanani, a prophet of Judah, but whose ministrations were chiefly directed to Israel. His father was probably the seer who attacked Asa (2 Chr. xvi. 7). He must have begun his career as a prophet when very young. He first denounced Baasha, both for his imitation of the dynasty of Jeroboam, and also (as it would seem) for his cruelty in destroying it (1 K. xvi. 1, 7), and then, after an interval of thirty years, reappears to denounce Jehoshaphat for his alliance with Ahab (2 Chr. xix. 2, 3). He survived Jehoshaphat and wrote his life (xx. 34). From an obscurity in the text of 1 K. xvi. 7 the Vulgate has represented him as killed by Baasha. But this is not required by the words, and (except on the improbable hypothesis of two Jehus, both sons of Hanani) is contradicted by the later appearance of this prophet.

3. (Ἰηού: *Jehu, Jou*.) A man of Judah of the house of Hebron (1 Chr. ii. 38). He was the son of a certain Obad, descended from the union of an Egyptian, JARHA, with the daughter of Sheshan, whose slave Jarha was (comp. 34).

4. (Ἰηού.) A Simeonite, son of Josibiah (1 Chr. iv. 35). He was one of the chief men of the tribe, apparently in the reign of Hezekiah (comp. 41).

5. (Ἰηούλ.) Jehu the Anathothite, *i. e.* native of Anathoth, was one of the chief of the heroes of Benjamin, who forsook the cause of Saul for that of David when the latter was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 3). He does not reappear in any of the later lists. [A. P. S.]

JEHUB'BAH (יהובבא): 'Iabá; Alex. 'Oβá: *Jaba*), a man of Asher; son of Shamer or Shomer, of the house of Beriah (1 Chr. vii. 34).

JEHUCAL (יהוקאל): δ 'Iwáχαλ; Alex. 'Iwαχάς: *Juchal*), son of Shelemiah; one of two persons sent by king Zedekiah to Jeremiah, to entreat his prayers and advice (Jer. xxxvii. 3). His name is also given as JUCAL, and he appears to have been one of the "princes of the king" (comp. xxxviii. 1, 4).

JEHUD (יהוד): 'Açáw; Alex. 'Iούθ: *Jud*), one of the towns of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 45), named between Baalath and Bene-berak. Neither of these two places, however, have been identified

By Eusebius and Jerome Jehud is not named. Dr. Robinson (ii. 242) mentions that a place called *el-Yehudiyeh* exists in the neighbourhood of *Lydd*, but he did not visit it. It is, however, inserted on Van de Velde's map at 7 miles east of *Jaffa* and 5 north of *Lydd*. This agrees with the statement of Schwarz (141) that "Jehud is the village Jehudie, 7½ miles S.E. of Jaffa," except as to the direction, which is nearer E. than S.E. [G.]

**JEHUDI** (יְהוּדִי = "Jew;" δ' *Ἰουδῖν*; Alex. *Ἰουδαί*: *Judi*), son of Nethaniah, a man employed by the princes of Jehoiakim's court to fetch Baruch to read Jeremiah's denunciation (Jer. xxxvi. 14), and then by the king to fetch the volume itself and read it to him (21, 23).

**JEHUDIJAH** (יְהוּדִיָּה: *Adia*; Alex. *Ἰδία*: *Judaia*). There is really no such name in the Heb. Bible as that which our A. V. exhibits at 1 Chr. iv. 18. If it is a proper name at all it is Ha-jehudijah, like Ham-melech, Hak-koz, &c.; and it seems to be rather an appellative, "the Jewess." As far as an opinion can be formed of so obscure and apparently corrupt a passage, Mered, a descendant of Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and whose towns, Gedor, Socho, and Eshtemoa, lay in the south of Judah, married two wives—one a Jewess, the other an Egyptian, a daughter of Pharaoh. The Jewess was sister of Naham, the father of the cities of Keilah and Eshtemoa. The descendants of Mered by his two wives are given in vers. 18, 19, and perhaps in the latter part of ver. 17. Hodijah in ver. 19 is doubtless a corruption of Ha-jehudijah, "the Jewess," the letters יה having fallen out from the end of *יהויה* and the beginning of the following word; and the full stop at the end of ver. 18 should be removed, so as to read as a recapitulation of what precedes:—"These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took (for his wife), and the sons of his wife, the Jewess, the sister of Naham (which Naham was) the father of Keilah, whose inhabitants are Garmites, and of Eshtemoa, whose inhabitants are Maachathites;" the last being named possibly from Maachah, Caleb's concubine, as the Ephrathites were from Ephrata. Bertheau (*Chronik*) arrives at the same general result, by proposing to place the closing words of ver. 18, before the words "And she bare Miriam," &c., in ver. 17. See also Vatablus. [A. C. H.]

**JEHUSH** (יְהוּשׁ: *Idis*; Alex. *Ἰαῖας*: *Us*), son of Eshak, a remote descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 39). The parallel genealogy in ch. ix. stops short of this man.

For the representation of *Aim* by H, see **JEHIEL**, **MEHUNIM**, &c.

**JEI'EL** (יְהִיֵּל: *Jehiel*). 1. (*Iwah*.) A chief man among the Reubenites, one of the house of Joel (1 Chr. v. 7).

2. (*Iehal*; Alex. once *Iothal*.) A Merarite Levite, one of the gate-keepers (דַּרְוָנִים; A. V. "porters," and "doorkeepers") to the sacred tent, at the first establishment of the Ark in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 18). His duty was also to play the harp (ver. 21), or the psaltery and harp (xvi. 5), in the service before the Ark.

3. (*Elehah*, Alex. *Elehah*.) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Asaph, forefather of **JAHAZIEL** in the time of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xl. 14)

4. (*Iehal*, i. e. *Jemel*, but the A. V. follows the correction of the *Keri*: *Iehal*.) The Scribe (סֹפֵר) who kept the account of the numbers of king Uzziah's irregular predatory warriors (דִּימְרֵי, A. V. "bands," 2 Chr. xxvi. 11).

5. (*Jemel*, as in the preceding; but the A. V. again follows the *Keri*: *Iehal*: *Jehiel*.) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Elizaphan, who assisted in the restoration of the house of Jehovah under king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 13).

6. (*Iehal*, Alex. *Iehal*.) One of the chiefs (רָאשֵׁי) of the Levites in the time of Josiah, and an assistant in the rites at his great Passover (2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

7. (*Jemel* as above, but in *Keri* and A. V. *Jemel*: *Iehal*, Alex. *Iehal*.) One of the Bene-Melek who formed part of the caravan of Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 15). In Esdras the name is **JEUDEL**.

8. (*Iahal*, Alex. *Iehal*.) A layman, of the Bene Nebo, who had taken a foreign wife and had to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 43). In Esdras it is omitted from the Greek and A. V., though the Vulgate has *Idelus*.

**JE'KABZEEL** (יְעֻכָּבְזֵל: Vat. omits; Alex. *Καβσεήλ*: *Cabseel*), a fuller form of the name of **KABZEEL**, the most remote city of Judah on the southern frontier. This form occurs only in the list of the places reoccupied after the captivity (Neh. xi. 25). [G.]

**JEKAME'AM** (יְעֻכָּמֵאֵם: *Iekemias*, *Iekemias*; Alex. *Ἰεκεμιά*: *Jecmaam*, *Jecmaam*), a Levite in the time of King David: fourth of the sons of Hebron, the son of Kohath (1 Chr. xxiii. 19, xiv. 23).

**JEKAMI'AH** (יְעֻכָּמִיָּה: *Iekemias*; Alex. *Ἰεκομίας*: *Icamias*), son of Shallum, in the line of Ahlai, about contemporary with king Abaz. In another passage the same name, borne by a different person, is given **JECAMIAH** (1 Chr. ii. 41). [A. C. H.] [JAHHA.]

**JEKU'THIEL** (יְעֻכָּתִיֵּל: δ' *Κεθθῆλ*; Alex. *Ἰεκυθιήλ*: *Icuthiel*), a man recorded in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 18) as the son of a certain Ezrah by his Jewish wife (A. V. *Jehudijah*), and in his turn the father, or founder, of the town of Zanoah. This passage in the Targum is not without a certain interest. *Jered* is interpreted to mean Moses, and each of the names following are taken as titles borne by him. *Jekuthiel*—"trust in God"—is so applied "because in his days the Israelites trusted in the God of heaven for forty years in the wilderness."

In a remarkable prayer used by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the concluding service of the Sabbath, Elijah is invoked as having had "Edings of peace delivered to him by the hand of *Jekuthiel*." This is explained to refer to some transaction in the life of Phineas, with whom Elijah is, in the traditions of the Jews, believed to be identical (see the quotations in *Modern Judaism*, 229).

**JEMIMA** (יְמִימָה: *Himera*: *Dies*, as if from *ἡμέρα*, "a day"), the eldest of the three daughters born to Job after the restoration of his prosperity (Job xlii. 14). Rosenmüller compares the name to the classical *Diana*; but Gesenius identifies it with an Arabic word signifying "dove." The

Rev. C. Forster (*Historical Geography of Arabia*, ii. 67), in tracing the posterity of Job in Arabia, considers that the name of Jemima survives in the Jemama, the name of the central province of the Arabian peninsula, which, according to an Arabian tradition (see Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. §26), was called after Jemama, an ancient Queen of the Arabians.

[W. T. B.]

**JEM'NAAN** (Ἰεμνάδν: Vulg. omits), mentioned among the places on the sea-coast of Palestine to which the panic of the incursion of Holofernes extended (Jud. ii. 28). No doubt Jabneel—generally called Jamnia by the Greek writers—is intended. The omission of Joppa however is remarkable.

[G.]

**JEMU'EL** (Ἰεμουήλ: Ἰεμουήλ: *Jemuel*, *Jamuel*), the eldest son of Simeon (Gen. xlv. 10; Ex. vi. 15). In the lists of Num. xxvi. and 1 Chr. iv. the name is given as NEMUEL, which Gesenius decides to be the corrupted form.

**JEPHTHA' E** (Ἰεφθάε: *Jephthé*, *Jephthé*), Heb. 11. 32. The Greek form of the name JEPHTHAH.

**JEPHTHAH** (Ἰεφθά: *Jiphthah*: Ἰεφθάε: *Jephthé*), a judge, about B. C. 1143-1137. His history is contained in Judg. xi. 1—xii. 7. He was a Gileadite, the son of Gilead and a concubine. Driven by the legitimate sons from his father's inheritance, he went to Tob, and became the head of a company of freebooters in a debatable land probably belonging to Ammon (2 Sam. x. 6). The idolatrous Israelites in Gilead were at that time smarting under the oppression of an Ammonitish king; and Jephthah was led, as well by the unsettled character of the age as by his own family circumstances, to adopt a kind of life unrestrained, adventurous, and insecure as that of a Scottish border-chieftain of the middle ages. It was not unlike the life which David afterwards led at Ziklag, with this exception, that Jephthah had no friend among the heathen in whose land he lived. His fame as a bold and successful captain was carried back to his native Gilead; and when the time was ripe for throwing off the yoke of Ammon, the Gileadite elders sought in vain for any leader, who in an equal degree with the base-born outcast could command the confidence of his countrymen. Jephthah consented to become their captain, on the condition—solemnly ratified before the Lord in Mizpeh—that in the event of his success against Ammon he should still remain as their acknowledged head. Messages, urging their respective claims to occupy the trans-Jordanic region, were exchanged between the Ammonitish king and Jephthah. Then the Spirit of the Lord (i. e. "force of mind for great undertakings, and bodily strength," Tanchum: comp. Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiv. 6, xv. 14) came upon Jephthah. He collected warriors throughout Gilead and Manasseh, the provinces which acknowledged his authority. And then he vowed his vow unto the Lord, "whatsoever cometh forth [i. e. first] of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be Jehovah's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." The Ammonites were routed with great slaughter. Twenty cities, from Aroer on the Arnon to Minnith and to Abel Kerumim, were taken from them. But as the conqueror returned to Mizpeh there came out to meet him a procession of damsels with dances and timbrels, and among them—the

first person from his own house—his daughter and only child. "Alas! my daughter, thou hast brought me very low," was the greeting of the heart-stricken father. But the high-minded maiden is ready for any personal suffering in the hour of her father's triumph. Only she asks for a respite of two months to withdraw to her native mountains, and in their recesses to weep with her virgin-friends over the early disappointment of her life. When that time was ended she returned to her father; and "he did unto her his vow."

But Jephthah had not long leisure, even if he were disposed, for the indulgence of domestic grief. The proud tribe of Ephraim challenged his right to go to war, as he had done without their concurrence, against Ammon; and they proceeded to vindicate the absurd claim by invading Jephthah in Gilead. They did but add to his triumph which they envied. He first defeated them, then intercepted the fugitives at the fords of Jordan, and there, having insultingly identified them as Ephraimites by their peculiar pronunciation, he put forty-two thousand men to the sword.

The eminent office for which Jephthah had stipulated as the reward of his exertions, and the glory which he had won, did not long abide with him. He judged Israel six years and died.

It is generally conjectured that his jurisdiction was limited to the trans-Jordanic region.

The peculiar expression, xi. 34, faithfully translated in the margin of the A. V., has been interpreted as signifying that Jephthah had step-children.

That the daughter of Jephthah was really offered up to God in sacrifice, slain by the hand of her father and then burned—is a horrible conclusion; but one which it seems impossible to avoid. This was understood to be the meaning of the text by Jonathan the paraphrast, and Rashi, by Josephus, *Ant.* v. 7, §10, and by perhaps all the early Christian Fathers, as Origen, in *Joannem*, tom. vi. cap. 36; Chrysostom, *Hom. ad pop. Antioch.* xiv. 3; *Opp.* ii. 145; Theodoret, *Quaest. in Jud.* xx.; Jerome, *Ep. ad Jul.* 118; *Opp.* i. 791, &c.; Augustine, *Quaest. in Jud.* viii. §49; *Opp.* iii. 1, p. 610. For the first eleven centuries of the Christian era this was the current, perhaps the universal opinion of Jews and Christians. Yet none of them extenuates the act of Jephthah. Josephus calls it neither lawful nor pleasing to God. Jewish writers say that he ought to have referred it to the high-priest; but either he failed to do so, or the high-priest culpably omitted to prevent the rash act. Origen strictly confines his praise to the heroism of Jephthah's daughter.

Another interpretation was suggested by Joseph Kimchi. He supposed that, instead of being sacrificed, she was shut up in a house which her father built for the purpose, and that she was there visited by the daughters of Israel four days in each year so long as she lived. This interpretation has been adopted by many eminent men, as by Levi ben Gerson and Bechai among the Jews, and by Drusus, Grotius, Estius, de Dieu, Bishop Hall, Waterland, Dr. Hales, and others. More names of the same period, and of not less authority, might however be adduced on the other side. Lightfoot once thought (*Erubhin*, §16) that Jephthah did not slay his daughter; but upon more mature reflection he came to the opposite conclusion (*Harmony*, &c., Judg. xi., *Works*, i. 51).

Each of these two opinions is supported by argu-

ments grounded on the original text and on the customs of the Jews. (1.) In Judg. xi. 31, the word translated in the A. V. "whatsoever" knows no distinction of gender, and may as correctly be translated "whosoever;" and in favour of the latter version it is urged that Jephthah could not have expected to be met by an ox or other animal fit for sacrifice, coming forth from the door of his house; and that it was obviously his intention to signalize his thanksgiving for victory by devoting some human being to destruction, to that end perverting the statute, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29 (given with another purpose, on which see Jahn, *Archaeologia*, § 294, or Ewald, *Alterthümer*, 89), to the taking of a life which was not forfeit to the law. (2.) To J. Kimchi's proposal to translate "and I will offer," verse 31, "or I will offer," it has been replied that this sense of the conjunction is rare, that it is not intended in two vows couched in parallel phraseology, Gen. xxviii. 21, 22, and 1 Sam. i. 11, and that it creates two alternatives between which there is no opposition. (3.) The word rendered in A. V. "to lament," or "to talk with," verse 40, is translated by later scholars, as in Judg. v. 11, "to celebrate." (4.) It has been said that if Jephthah put his daughter to death, according to verse 39, it is unmeaning to add that she "knew no man;" but on the other hand it is urged that this circumstance is added as setting in a stronger light the rashness of Jephthah and the heroism of his daughter. (5.) It has been argued that human sacrifices were opposed to the principles of the Jewish law, and therefore a Jew could not have intended to make a thank-offering of that sort; but it is replied that a Gileadite born in a lawless age, living as a freebooter in the midst of rude and idolatrous people who practised such sacrifices, was not likely to be unusually acquainted with or to pay unusual respect to the pure and humane laws of Israel. (6.) Lastly, it has been argued that a life of religious celibacy is without injunction or example to favour it in the O. T.

Some persons, mindful of the enrolment of Jephthah among the heroes of faith in Heb. xi. 32, as well as of the expression "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," Judg. xi. 29, have therefore scrupled to believe that he could be guilty of such a sin as the murder of his child. But it must be remembered also that deep sins of several other faithful men are recorded in Scripture, sometimes without comment; and as Jephthah had time afterwards, so he may have had grace to repent of his vow and his fulfilment of it. At least we know that he felt remorse, which is often the foreshadow of retribution or the harbinger of repentance.

Doubtless theological opinions have sometimes had the effect of leading men to prefer one view of Jephthah's vow to the other. Selden mentions that Genebrard was told by a Jew that Kimchi's interpretation was devised in order to prevent Christians quoting the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter as a type of the sacrifice of the Son of God. And Christians, who desire or fear an example alleged in favour of celibate vows or of the fallibility of inspired men, may become partial judges of the question.

The subject is discussed at length in Augustine, *l. c. Opp.* iii. 1, p. 610; a Treatise by L. Capellus inserted in *Crit. Sacr.* on Judg. xi.; Bp. Hall's *Contemplations on O. T.*, bk. x.; Selden, *De jure naturali et gentium*, iv. § 11; Lightfoot, *Sermon* on Judg. xi. 39, in *Works*, ii. 1215; Zeiffer,

*De voto Jephthae*, Opp. 591; Dr. Hales' *Analysis of Chronology*, i. 288; and in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*.

JEPHUN'NE (Ἰεφουννη: *Jephone*), *Eccl.* xlvi. 7. [JEPHUNNEH.]

JEPHUN'NEH (יֵפֹנִי: *Jephone*). 1. (Ἰεφουννη): father of Caleb the spy, who is usually designated as "Caleb the son of Jephunneh." He appears to have belonged to an Edomitic tribe called Kenezites, from Kenaz their founder; but his father or other ancestors are not named. [CALEB, 2; KENEZITES.] (See Num. xiii. 6, &c., xxxii. 12, &c.; Josh. xiv. 14, &c.; 1 Chr. iv. 15.) 2. (Ἰεφουννη) MSS.) A descendant of Asher, eldest of the three sons of Jether (1 Chr. vii. 38). [A. C. H.]

JERAH (יֵרָח: *Yerah*), the fourth in order of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Chr. i. 20), and the progenitor of a tribe of southern Arabia. He has not been satisfactorily identified with the name of any Arabian place or tribe, though a fortress (and probably an old town, like the numerous fortified places in the Yemen, of the old Himyaritic

kingdom) named Yerākh (يَرَاخ = יֵרָח) is mentioned as belonging to the district of the *Najd* (*Marāsid*, s. v. Yerākh), which is in Mahrah, at the extremity of the Yemen (*Kānoos*, in Arabic *نجد*; cf. ARABIA). The similarity of name, however, and the other indications, we are not disposed to lay much stress on.

A very different identification has been proposed by Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 19). He translates Jerah = "the moon" into Arabic, and finds the descendants of Jerah in the Alilaei, a people dwelling near the Red Sea (Agatharch. ap. Diod. Sic. iii. 45), on the strength of a passage in Herodotus (ii. 3), in which he says of the Arabs, "Baechus they call in their language Orotal; and Urania, Alilae." He further suggests that these Alilaei are the Bene-

Hilāl of more modern times, Hilāl (هِلَال) meaning,

in Arabic, "the moon when, being near the sun, it shows a narrow rim of light." Gesenius does not object to this theory, which he quotes; but says that the opinion of Michaelis (*Spicileg.* ii. 60) is more probable; the latter scholar finding Jerah in the "coast of the moon" (correctly, "low land of the moon," غيب القمر), or in the "mountain

of the moon" (جبل القمر) - in each case the moon being "kamar," not "hilāl." The former is "a place between Zafāri and Esh-Shihr" (*Kānoos*); the latter in the same part, but more inland; both being, as Gesen. remarks, near to Hadramawt, and to which, in the order of the names, is Jerah in the record in Genesis; and the same argument may be adduced in favour of our own possible identification with the fortress of Yerākh, named at the commencement of this article. Whatever may be in support of translating Jerah, as both Bochart and Michaelis have done, the former's theory involves some grave difficulties, which must be stated.

The statement of Herodotus above quoted (cf. 131, "the Arabians call Venus Alitta"), that Alilae signifies Urania, cannot be accepted without further

evidence than we at present possess. Alilat was almost doubtless the same as the object of worship called by the Arabs "El-Lát," and any new information respecting the latter is therefore important. It would require too much space in this work to state the various opinions of the Arabs respecting El-Lát, its etymology, &c., as collected in the great MS. Lexicon entitled the "Mohkam," a work little known in Europe; from which (articles **لت** and **لوي**) we give the following particulars. "El-Lát" is [generally] said to be originally "El-Láth," the name of an object of worship, so called by the appellation of a man who used to moisten meal of parched barley (sawek) with clarified butter or the like, at the place thereof, for the pilgrims: "El-Lát" signifying "the person who performs that operation." The object of worship itself is said to have been a mass of rock [upon which he moistened the meal; and which was more properly called "the Rock of El-Lát"]: after the death of the man above mentioned this rock was worshipped. But some say that "El-Lát" is originally "El-

lláheh" (**اللاهة**), meaning [not "the Goddess,"

but] "the Serpent." To this we may add from El-Beydáwee (*Kur-án*, liii. 19 and 20), El-Lát was an idol of Thakeef, at Et-Táif, or of Kureysh, at Nakhleh; and was so called from **لوي** because they used to go round about it: or it was called "El-Lát," because it was the image of a man who used to moisten meal of parched barley with clarified butter, and to feed the pilgrims.—Our own opinion is that it may be a contraction of "El-lláhet" ("the Serpent," or perhaps "the Goddess"), pronounced according to the dialect of Himyer, with "i" instead of "h" in the case of a pause. (See the *Siháh*, MS., art. **وشب**.) It is said in the Lexicon entitled the *Tahdheeb* (MS., art. **لت**), that El-Kisá-ee used to pronounce it, in the case of a pause, "El-Láh:" and that those who worshipped it compared its name with that of "Allah."

Pococke has some remarks on the subject of El-Lát, which the reader may consult (*Spec. Hist. Arab.* p. 90); and also Sir G. Wilkinson, in his notes to Herodotus (ed. Rawlinson, ii. 402, foot-note, and Essay i. to Bk. iii.): he seems to be wrong, however, in saying that the Arabic "awel," "first"

[correctly, "awwal"] is "related to" **أل**, or Allah, &c.; and that Alitta and Mylitta are Semitic names derived from "*waled, walada*, 'to bear children'" (*Essay* i. p. 537). The comparison of Alitta and Mylitta is also extremely doubtful; and probably Herodotus assimilated the former name to the latter.

It is necessary to observe, in endeavouring to elucidate the ancient religion of the Ishmaelite Arabs, that fetishism was largely developed among them; and that their idols were generally absurdly rude and primitive. Beyond that relic of primeval revelation which is found in most beliefs—a recognition of one universal and supreme God—the practices of fetishism obtained more or less throughout Arabia: on the north giving place to the faith of the patriarchs; on the south merging into the cosmic worship of the Himyerites.

That the Alilái were worshippers of Alilat is an assumption unsupported by facts; but whatever may be said in its favour, the people in question are not the Benee-Hilál, who take their name from a kinsman of Mohammad, in the fifth generation before him, of the well-known stock of Keys. (Caussin, *Essai*, Tab. X A; Abu-l-Fidá, *Hist. antisl.*, ed. Fleischer, p. 194.) [E. S. P.]

### JERAH'MEEL (יֵרַחְמֵאל: 'Ieramaél, 'Iepe-

meél: *Jerameel*). 1. First-born son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 9, 25, 27, 33, 42). His descendants are given at length in the same chap. [AZARIAH, 13; ZABAD.] They inhabited the southern border of Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, comp. 8; xxx. 29).

2. A Merarite Levite; the representative, at the time of the organisation of the Divine service by king David, of the family of Kish, the son of Mahli (1 Chr. xxiv. 29; comp. xxiii. 21).

3. Son of Hammelech, or, as the LXX. render it, "the king," who was employed by Jehoiakim to make Jeremiah and Baruch prisoners, after he had burnt the roll of Jeremiah's prophecy (Jer. xxxvi. 26). [A. C. H.]

### JERAHMEELITES, THE (יֵרַחְמֵאֵלִיתַי:

'Iesmeél, ó 'Ieremeél; Alex. 'Iisraμηλει, 'Ieramelei: *Jerameel*). The tribe descended from the first of the foregoing persons (1 Sam. xxvii. 10). Their cities are also named amongst those to which David sent presents from his Amalekite booty (xxx. 29), although to Achish he had represented that he had attacked them.

JER'ECHUS ('Iépechos: *Ericus*), 1 Esd. v. 22. [JERICO.]

JE'RED (יָרֵד: 'Iápeδ: *Jared, Jaret*). 1. One of the patriarchs before the flood, son of Mahalaleel and father of Enoch (1 Chr. i. 2). In Genesis the name is given as JARED.

2. One of the descendants of Judah signalled as the "father—i. e. the founder—of Gedor" (1 Chr. iv. 18). He was one of the sons of Ezrah by his wife Ha-Jehudijah, i. e. the Jewess. The Jews, however, give an allegorical interpretation to the passage, and treat this and other names therein as titles of Moses—Jered because he caused the manna to descend. Here—as noticed under Jabez—the pun, though obvious in biblical Hebrew, where *Javad* (the root of Jordan) means "to descend," is concealed in the rabbinical paraphrase, which has אֶרְיָה, a word with the same meaning, but without any relation to *Jered*, either for eye or ear. [G.]

JER'EMAI (יֵרֵמַי: 'Ieremai; Alex. 'Iepeμi: *Jermai*), a layman; one of the Bene-Hashum, who was compelled by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 33). In the lists of Esdras it is omitted.

JEREMIAH (יֵרֵמְיָהוּ, as the more usual form, or יֵרֵמְיָה, ch. xxxvi.—xxxviii.; 'Iepeμiás: *Jeremias*, Vulg.; *Hieremias*, Hieron. et al.). The name has been variously explained: by Jerome and Simonis (*Onomast.* p. 535), as "the exalted of the Lord;" by Gesenius (s. v.), as "appointed of the Lord;" by Carpov (*Introd. ad lib. V. T.* p. iii. c. 3), followed by Hengstenberg (*Christologie des A. B.* vol. i.), as "the Lord throws"—he latter seeing in the name a prophetic reference to the work described in i. 10.

I. *Life*.—It will be convenient to arrange what is known as to the life and work of this Prophet in sections corresponding to its chief periods. The materials for such an account are to be found almost exclusively in the book which bears his name. Whatever interest may attach to Jewish or Christian traditions connected with his name, they have no claim to be regarded as historical, and we are left to form what picture we can of the man and of his times from the narratives and prophecies which he himself has left. Fortunately, these have come down to us, though in some disorder, with unusual fullness; and there is no one in the "goodly fellowship of the prophets" of whom, in his work, feelings, sufferings, we have so distinct a knowledge. He is for us the great example of the prophetic life, the representative of the prophetic order. It is not to be wondered at that he should have seemed to the Christian feeling of the Early Church a type of Him in whom that life received its highest completion (Hieron. *Comm. in Jerem.* xxiii. 9; Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.* . and viii.; Aug. *de Praes. Dei*, c. xxxvii.); and that recent writers should have identified him with the "Servant of the Lord" in the later chapters of Isaiah (Bunsen, *Gott in Geschichte*, i. p. 425-447; Nägelsbach, art. Jerem. in Herzog's *Realencyclop.*).

(1.) Under Josiah, B.C. 638-608.—In the 13th year of the reign of Josiah, the Prophet speaks of himself as still "a child" (יָלֵד, i. 6). We cannot rely indeed on this word as a chronological datum. It may have been used simply as the expression of conscious weakness, and as a word of age it extends from merest infancy (Ex. ii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 21) to adult manhood (1 Sam. xxx. 17; 1 K. iii. 7). We may at least infer, however, as we can trace his life in full activity for upwards of forty years from this period, that at the commencement of that reign he could not have passed out of actual childhood. He is described as "the son of Hilkiah of the priests that were in Anathoth" (i. 1). Were we able, with some earlier (Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. p. 142; Jerome, *Opp.* tom. iv. § 116, D.) and some later writers (Eichhorn, Calovius, Maldonatus, von Bohlen, Umbreit) to identify this Hilkiah with the high-priest who bore so large a share in Josiah's work of reformation, it would be interesting to think of the king and the prophet, so nearly of the same age (2 Chr. xxxiv. 1), as growing up together under the same training, subject to the same influences. Against this hypothesis, however, there have been urged the facts (Carpzov, Keil, Ewald, and others)—(1.) that the name is too common to be a ground of identification; (2.) that the manner in which this Hilkiah is mentioned is inconsistent with the notion of his having been the High-priest of Israel; (3.) that neither Jeremiah himself, nor his opponents, allude to this parentage; (4.) that the priests who lived at Anathoth were of the House of Ithamar (1 K. ii. 26; 1 Chr. xxiv. 3), while the high-priests from Zadok downwards were of the line of Eleazar (Carpzov, *Introd. in lib. V. T. Jerem.*). The occurrence of the same name may be looked on, however, in this as in many other instances in the O. T., as a probable indication of affinity or friendship; and this, together with the coincidences—(1.) that the uncle of Jeremiah (xxxii. 7) bears the same name as the husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 K. xxii. 14), and (2.) that Ahikam the son of Shaphan, the great sup-

porter of Hilkiah and Huldah in their work (2 Chr. xxxiv. 20) was also, throughout, the great protector of the prophet (Jer. xxvi. 24), may help to throw some light on the education by which he was prepared for that work to which he was taught he had been "sanctified from his mother's womb." The strange Rabbinic tradition (Carpzov, l. c.) that eight of the persons most conspicuous in the religious history of this period (Jeremiah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maaseiah, Hilkiah, Hanameel, Huldah, Shallum) were all descended from the harlot Rahab, may possibly have been a distortion of the fact that they were connected, in some way or other, as members of a family. If this were so, we can form a tolerably distinct notion of the influences that were at work on Jeremiah's youth. The boy would hear among the priests of his native town, not three miles distant from Jerusalem [ANATHOTH], of the idolatries and cruelties of Manasseh and his son Amon. He would be trained in the traditional precepts and ordinances of the Law. He would become acquainted with the names and writings of older prophets, such as Micah and Isaiah. As he grew up towards manhood, he would hear also of the work which the king and his counsellors were carrying on, and of the teaching of the woman, who alone, or nearly so, in the midst of that religious revival, was looked upon as speaking from direct prophetic inspiration. In all likelihood, as we have seen, he came into actual contact with them. Possibly, too, to this period of his life we may trace the commencement of that friendship with the family of Neriah which was afterwards so fruitful in results. The two brothers Baruch and Seraiah both appear as the disciples of the Prophet (xxxvi. 4, li. 59); both were the sons of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah (l. c.); and Maaseiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8) was governor of Jerusalem, acting with Hilkiah and Shaphan in the religious reforms of Josiah. As the result of all these influences we find in him all the conspicuous features of the devout ascetic character: intense consciousness of his own weakness, great susceptibility to varying emotions, a spirit easily bowed down. But there were also, we may believe (assuming only that the prophetic character is the development, purified and exalted, of the natural, not its contradiction), the strong national feelings of an Israelite, the desire to see his nation becoming in reality what it had been called to be, anxious doubts whether this were possible, for a people that had sunk so low (cf. Maurice, *Prophecy and Kings of the O. T.*, Sermon xxii.-xxiv.; Ewald, *Prophecy*, p. 6-8). Left to himself, he might have borne his part among the reforming priests of Josiah's reign, free from their formalism and hypocrisy. But when the word of Jehovah came to him" (i. 2); and by that divine voice the secret of his future life was revealed to him, at the very time when the work of reformation was going on with fresh vigour (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3), when he himself was beginning to have the thoughts and feelings of a man. He was to lay aside all self-distrust, all natural fear and trembling (i. 7, 8), and to accept his calling as a prophet of Jehovah "set over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant" (i. 10). A life-long martyrdom was set before him, a struggle against kings and priests and people (i.

\* Carpzov (l. c.) fixes twenty as the probable age of Jeremiah at the time of his call.

18). When was this wonderful mission developed into action? What effect did it have on the inward and outward life of the man who received it? For a time, it would seem he held aloof from the work which was going on throughout the nation. His name is nowhere mentioned in the history of the memorable eighteenth year of Josiah. Though five years had passed since he had entered on the work of a prophet, it is from Huldah, not from him, that the king and his princes seek for counsel. The discovery of the Book of the Law, however (we need not now inquire whether it were the Pentateuch as a whole, or a lost portion of it, or a compilation altogether new), could not fail to exercise an influence on a mind like Jeremiah's: his later writings show abundant traces of it (cf. *inf.*); and the result apparently was, that he could not share the hopes which others cherished. To them the reformation seemed more thorough than that accomplished by Hezekiah. They might think that fasts, and sacrifices, and the punishment of idolaters, might avert the penalties of which they heard in the book so strangely found (Deut. xxvii., xxviii., xxiii.), and might look forward to a time of prosperity and peace, of godliness and security (vii. 4). He saw that the reformation was but a surface one. Israel had gone into captivity, and Judah was worse than Israel (iii. 11). It was as hard for him, as it had been for Isaiah, to find among the princes and people who worshipped in the Temple, one just, truth-seeking man (v. 1, 28). His own work, as a priest and prophet, led him to discern the falsehood and lust of rule which were at work under the form of zeal (v. 31). The spoken or written prophecies of his contemporaries, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Urijah, Huldah, may have served to deepen his convictions that the sentence of condemnation was already passed, and that there was no escape from it. The strange visions which had followed upon his call (i. 11-16) taught him that Jehovah would "hasten" the performance of His word; and if the Scythian inroads of the later years of Josiah's reign seemed in part to correspond to the "destruction coming from the North" (Ewald, *Propheten*, *in loc.*), they could hardly be looked upon as exhausting the words that spoke of it. Hence, though we have hardly any mention of special incidents in the life of Jeremiah during the eighteen years between his call and Josiah's death, the main features of his life come distinctly enough before us. He had even then his experience of the bitterness of the lot to which God had called him. The duties of the priest, even if he continued to discharge them, were merged in those of the new and special office. Strange as it was for a priest to remain unmarried, his lot was to be one of solitude (xvi. 2).<sup>b</sup> It was not for him to enter into the house of feasting, or even into that of mourning (xvi. 5, 8). From time to time he appeared, clad probably in the "rough garment" of a prophet (Zech. xiii. 4), in Anathoth and Jerusalem. He was heard warning and protesting, "rising early and speaking" (xxv. 3), and as the result of this there came "reproach and derision daily" (xx. 8). He was betrayed by his own kindred (xii. 6), persecuted with murderous hate by his own townsmen (xi. 21), mocked with the taunt-

ing question, Where is the word of Jehovah? (xvii. 15). And there were inner spiritual trials as well as these outward ones. He too, like the writers of Job and Ps. lxxiii., was haunted by perplexities rising out of the disorders of the world (xii. 1, 2); on him there came the bitter feeling, that he was "a man of contention to the whole earth;" (xv. 10), the doubt whether his whole work was not a delusion and a lie (xx. 7), tempting him at times to fall back into silence, until the fire again burnt within him, and he was weary of forbearing (xx. 9). Whether the passages that have been referred to belong, all of them, to this period or a later one, they represent that which was inseparable from the prophet's life at all times, and which, in a character like Jeremiah's, was developed in its strongest form. Towards the close of the reign, however, he appears to have taken some part in the great national questions then at issue. The overthrow of the Assyrian monarchy to which Manasseh had become tributary led the old Egyptian party among the princes of Judah to revive their plans, and to urge an alliance with Pharaoh-Necho as the only means of safety. Jeremiah, following in the footsteps of Isaiah (Is. xxx. 1-7), warned them that it would lead only to confusion (ii. 18, 36). The policy of Josiah was determined, probably, by this counsel. He chose to attach himself to the new Chaldaean kingdom, and lost his life in the vain attempt to stop the progress of the Egyptian king. We may think of this as one of the first great sorrows of Jeremiah's life. His lamentations for the king (2 Chr. xxxv. 25),<sup>c</sup> may have been those of personal friendship. They were certainly those of a man who, with nothing before him but the prospect of confusion and wrong, looks back upon a reign of righteousness and truth (xxii. 3, 16).

(2.) Under Jehoahaz (= Shallum), B.C. 608.—The short reign of this prince—chosen by the people on hearing of Josiah's death, and after three months deposed by Pharaoh-Necho—gave little scope for direct prophetic action. The fact of his deposition, however, shows that he had been set up against Egypt, and therefore as representing the policy of which Jeremiah had been the advocate; and this may account for the tenderness and pity with which he speaks of him in his Egyptian exile (xxii. 11, 12).

(3.) Under Jehoiakim, B.C. 607-597.—In the weakness and disorder which characterised this reign, the work of Jeremiah became daily more prominent. The king had come to the throne as the vassal of Egypt, and for a time the Egyptian party was dominant in Jerusalem. It numbered among its members many of the princes of Judah, many priests and prophets, the Pashurs and the Hananians. Others, however, remained faithful to the policy of Josiah, and held that the only way of safety lay in accepting the supremacy of the Chaldeans. Jeremiah appeared as the chief representative of this party. He had learnt to discern the signs of the times; the evils of the nation were not to be cured by any half-measures of reform, or by foreign alliances. The king of Babylon was God's servant (xxv. 9, xxvii. 6) doing His work, and was for a time to prevail over all resistance.

<sup>b</sup> This is clearly the natural inference from the words, and patristic writers take the fact for granted. In later times it has been supposed to have some bearing on the question of the celibacy of the clergy, and has been denied by Protestant, and

re-asserted by Romish critics accordingly (cf. Carpov, *l. c.*).

<sup>c</sup> The hypothesis which ascribes these lamentations to Jeremiah of Libnah, Josiah's father-in-law, is hardly worth refuting.



Hard as it was for one who sympathised so deeply with all the sufferings of his country, this was the conviction to which he had to bring himself. He had to expose himself to the suspicion of treachery by declaring it. Men claiming to be prophets had their "word of Jehovah" to set against his (xiv. 13, xxiii. 7), and all that he could do was to commit his cause to God, and wait for the result. Some of the most striking scenes in this conflict are brought before us with great vividness. Soon after the accession of Jehoiakim, on one of the solemn feast-days—when the courts of the Temple were filled with worshippers from all the cities of Judah—the prophet appeared, to utter the message that Jerusalem should become a curse, that the Temple should share the fate of the tabernacle of Shiloh (xxvi. 6). Then it was that the great struggle of his life began: priests and prophets, and people joined in the demand for his death (xxvi. 8). The princes of Judah, among whom were still many of the counsellors of Josiah, or their sons, endeavoured to protect him (xxvi. 16). His friends appealed to the precedent of Micah the Morasthite, who in the reign of Hezekiah had uttered a like prophecy with impunity, and so for a time he escaped. The fate of one who was stirred up to prophesy in the same strain showed, however, what he might expect from the weak and cruel king. If Jeremiah was not at once hunted to death, like Urijah (xxvi. 23), it was only because his friend Ahikam was powerful enough to protect him. The fourth year of Jehoiakim was yet more memorable. The battle of Carchemish overthrew the hopes of the Egyptian party (xlv. 2), and the armies of Nebuchadnezzar drove those who had no defenced cities to take refuge in Jerusalem (xxxv. 11). As one of the consequences of this, we have the interesting episode of the Rechabites. The mind of the prophet, ascetic in his habits, shrinking from the common forms of social life, was naturally enough drawn towards the tribe which was at once conspicuous for its abstinence from wine and its traditional hatred of idolatry (2 K. x. 15). The occurrence of the name of Jeremiah among them, and their ready reception into the Temple, may point, perhaps, to a previous intimacy with him and his brother priests. Now they and their mode of life had a new significance for him. They, with their reverence for the precepts of the founder of their tribe, were as a living protest against the disobedience of the men of Judah to a higher law (xxxv. 18). In this year too came another solemn message to the king: prophecies which had been uttered, here and there at intervals, were now to be gathered together, written in a book, and read as a whole in the hearing of the people. Baruch, already known as the Prophet's disciple, acted as scribe; and in the following year, when a solemn fast-day called the whole people together in the Temple (xxxvi. 1-9), Jeremiah—hindered himself, we know not how—sent him to proclaim them. The result was as it had been before: the princes of Judah connived at the escape of the Prophet and his scribe (xxxvi. 19). The king vented his impotent rage upon the scroll which Jeremiah had written. Jeremiah and Baruch, in their retirement, re-wrote it with many added prophecies; among them, probably, the special prediction that the king should die by the sword, and be cast out unburied and dishonoured (xxii. 30). In ch. xlv., which belongs to this period, we have a glimpse into the relations which existed between the master and the scholar, and into

what at that time were the thoughts of each of them. Baruch, younger and more eager, had expected a change for the better. To play a prominent part in the impending crisis, to be the hero of a national revival, to gain the favour of the conqueror whose coming he announced—this, or something like this, had been the vision that had come before him, and when this passed away he sank into despair at the seeming fruitlessness of his efforts. Jeremiah had passed through that phase of trial and could sympathise with it, and knew how to meet it. To the mind of his disciple, as soon to his own, the future was revealed in all its dreariness. He was not to seek "great things" for himself in the midst of his country's ruin: his life, and that only, was to be given him "for a prey." As the danger drew nearer, there was given to the Prophet a clearer insight into the purposes of God for His people. He might have thought before, as others did, that the chastisement would be but for a short time, that repentance would lead to strength, and that the yoke of the Chaldeans might soon be shaken off: now he learnt that it would last for seventy years (xxv. 12), till he and all that generation had passed away. Nor was it on Judah only that the king of Babylon was to execute the judgments of Jehovah: all nations that were within the prophet's ken were to drink as fully as she did of "the wine-cup of His fury" (xxv. 15-38). In the absence of special dates for other events in the reign of Jehoiakim, we may bring together into one picture some of the most striking features of this period of Jeremiah's life. As the danger from the Chaldeans became more threatening, the persecution against him grew hotter, his own thoughts were more bitter and desponding (xviii.). The people sought his life: his voice rose up in the prayer that God would deliver and avenge him. Common facts became significant to him of new and wonderful truths; the work of the potter aiming at the production of a perfect form, rejecting the vessels which did not attain to it, became a parable of God's dealings with Israel, and with the world (xviii. 1-6; comp. *Matth. Proph. and Kings, l. c.*). That thought he saw reproduced in act as well as word. Standing in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, he broke the earthen vessel he carried in his hands, and prophesied to the people that the whole city should be defiled with the dead, as that valley had been, within their memory, by Josiah (xix. 10-13). The boldness of the speech and act drew upon him immediate punishment. The priest Pashur smote and put him "in stocks" (xx. 2); and then there came upon him, in all seasons of suffering, the sense of failure and weakness. The work of God's messengers seemed to him too terrible to be borne: he would fain have withdrawn from it (xx. 9). He used for himself the cry of wailing that had belonged to the extreme agony of Job (xx. 14-18). The years that followed brought no change for the better. Famine and drought were added to the miseries of the people (xiv. 1), but false prophets still deceived them with assurances of plenty; and Jeremiah was looked on with dislike, as "a prophet of evil," and "every one cursed" him (xv. 10). He was not, however, "as a fenced brazen wall" (xx. 20), and went on with his work, reproving king and nobles and people; as for other sins, so also especially for their desecration of the Sabbath (xvii. 19-27), for their blind reverence for the Temple, and yet blinder trust in it, even while they were working

ing the Queen of Heaven in the very streets of Jerusalem (vii. 14, 18). Now too, as before, his work extended to other nations: they were not to exult in the downfall of Judah, but to share it. All were to be swallowed up in the empire of the Chaldeans (xlviii.-xlix.). If there had been nothing beyond this, no hope for Israel or this world but that of a universal monarchy resting on brute strength, the prospect would have been altogether overwhelming; but through this darkness there gleamed the dawning of a glorious hope. When the seventy years were over, there was to be a restoration as wonderful as that from Egypt had been (xxiii. 7). In the far off future there was the vision of a renewed kingdom; of a "righteous branch" of the house of David, "executing judgment and justice," of Israel and Judah dwelling safely, once more united, under "the Lord our righteousness" (xxiii. 5, 6).

It is doubtful how far we can deal with the strange narrative of ch. xiii. as a fact in Jeremiah's life. Ewald (*Propheten des A. B., in loc.*) rejects the reading "Euphrates" altogether; Hitzig, following Bochart, conjectures Ephraim. Most other modern commentators look on the narrative as merely symbolic. Assuming, however (with Calmet and Henderson, and the *consensus* of patristic expositors), that here, as in xix. 1, 10, xxvii. 2; Is. xx. 2, the symbols, however strange they might seem, were acts and not visions, it is open to us to conjecture that in this visit to the land of the Chaldeans may have originated his acquaintance with the princes and commanders who afterwards befriended him. The special commands given in his favour by Nebuchadnezzar (xxxix. 11) seem at any rate to imply some previous knowledge.

(4.) Under Jehoiachin (= Jeconiah), B.C. 597.—The danger, which Jeremiah had so long foretold, at last came near. First Jehoiachin, and afterwards his successor, were carried into exile, and with them all that constituted the worth and strength of the nation,—princes, warriors, artisans (2 K. xxiv.). Among them too were some of the false prophets who had encouraged the people with the hope of a speedy deliverance, and could not yet abandon their blind confidence. Of the work of the prophet in this short reign we have but the fragmentary record of xxii. 24-30. We may infer, however, from the language of his later prophecies, that he looked with sympathy and sorrow on the fate of the exiles in Babylon; and that the fulfilment of all that he had been told to utter made him stronger than ever in his resistance to all schemes of independence and revolt.

(5.) Under Zedekiah, B.C. 597-586.—In this prince (probably, as having been appointed by Nebuchadnezzar), we do not find the same obstinate resistance to the prophet's counsels as in Jehoiachin. He respects him, fears him, seeks his counsel; but he is a mere shadow of a king, powerless even against his own counsellors, and in his reign, accordingly, the sufferings of Jeremiah were sharper than they had been before. The struggle with the false prophets went on: the more desperate the condition of their country, the more daring were their predictions of immediate deliverance. Between such men, living in the present, and the true prophet, walking by faith in the unseen future of a righteous kingdom (xxiii. 5, 6), there could not but be an interecine enmity. He saw too plainly that nothing but the most worthless remnant of the nation had been left in Judah (xxiv. 5-8), and

denounced the falsehood of those who came with lying messages of peace. His counsel to the exiles (conveyed in a letter which, of all portions of the O. T., comes nearest in form and character to the Epistles of the N. T.) was that they should submit to their lot, prepare for a long captivity, and wait quietly for the ultimate restoration. In this hope he found comfort for himself which made his sleep "sweet" unto him, even in the midst of all his weariness and strife (xxi. 26). Even at Babylon, however, there were false prophets opposing him, speaking of him as a "madman" (xxix. 26), urging the priests of Jerusalem to more active persecution. The trial soon followed. The king at first seemed willing to be guided by him, and sent to ask for his intercession (xxxvii. 3), but the apparent revival of the power of Egypt under Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra) created false hopes, and drew him and the princes of the neighbouring nations into projects of revolt. The clearness with which Jeremiah had foretold the ultimate overthrow of Babylon, in a letter sent to the exiles in that city by his disciple, Baruch's brother Seraiah (assuming the genuineness of l. and li.), made him all the more certain that the time of that overthrow had not yet arrived, and that it was not to come from the hand of Egypt. He appears in the streets of the city with bonds and yokes upon his neck (xxvii. 2), announcing that they were meant for Judah and its allies. The false prophet Hananiah—who broke the offensive symbol (xxviii. 10), and predicted the destruction of the Chaldeans within two years (xxviii. 3)—learned that "a yoke of iron" was upon the neck of all the nations, and died himself while it was still pressing heavily on Judah (xxviii. 16, 17). The approach of an Egyptian army, however, and the consequent departure of the Chaldeans, made the position of Jeremiah full of danger; and he sought to effect his escape from a city in which, it seemed, he could no longer do good, and to take refuge in his own town of Anathoth or its neighbourhood (xxxvii. 12). The discovery of this plan led, not unnaturally perhaps, to the charge of desertion: it was thought that he too was "falling away to the Chaldeans," as others were doing (xxxviii. 19), and, in spite of his denial, he was thrown into a dungeon (xxxvii. 16). The interposition of the king, who still respected and consulted him, led to some mitigation of the rigour of his confinement (xxxvii. 21); but, as this did not hinder him from speaking to the people, the princes of Judah—bent on an alliance with Egypt, and calculating on the king's being unable to resist them (xxxviii. 5)—threw him into the prison-pit, to die there. From this horrible fate he was again delivered, by the friendship of the Ethiopian Ebed-Melech, and the king's regard for him; and was restored to the milder custody in which he had been kept previously, where we find (xxxii. 16) he had the companionship of Baruch. In the impotence of his perplexity, Zedekiah once again secretly consulted him (xxxviii. 14), but only to hear the certainty of failure, if he continued to resist the authority of the Chaldeans. The same counsel was repeated more openly when the king sent Pashur (not the one already mentioned) and Zephaniah—before friendly, it appears, to Jeremiah, or at least neutral (xxix. 29)—to ask for his advice. Fruitless as it was, we may yet trace, in the softened language of xxxiv. 5, one consequence of the king's kindness: though exile was inevitable, he was yet to "die in peace." The return of the Chaldeans

army filled both king and people with dismay (xxxii. 1); and the risk now was that they would pass from their presumptuous confidence to the opposite extreme and sink down in despair, with no faith in God and no hope for the future. The prophet was taught how to meet that danger also. In his prison, while the Chaldeans were ravaging the country, he bought, with all requisite formalities, the field at Anathoth, which his kinsman Hanameel wished to get rid of (xxxii. 6-9). His faith in the promises of God did not fail him. With a confidence in his country's future, which has been compared (Nägelsbach, *l. c.*) to that of the Roman who bought at its full value the very ground on which the forces of Hannibal were encamped (Liv. xxxvi. 11), he believed not only that "houses and fields and vineyards should again be possessed in the land" (xxxii. 15), but that the voice of gladness should still be heard there (xxxiii. 11), that, under "the Lord our Righteousness," the house of David and the priests the Levites should never be without representatives (xxxiii. 15-18). At last the blow came. The solemn renewal of the national covenant (xxxiv. 19), the offer of freedom to all who had been brought into slavery, were of no avail. The selfishness of the nobles was stronger even than their fears, and the prophet, who had before rebuked them for their desecration of the sabbath, now had to protest against their disregard of the sabbatic year (xxxiv. 14). The city was taken, the temple burnt. The king and his princes shared the fate of Jehoiachin. The prophet gave utterance to his sorrow in the LAMENTATIONS.

(6.) After the capture of Jerusalem, B.C. 586-(?). The Chaldean party in Judah had now the prospect of better things. Nebuchadnezzar could not fail to reward those who, in the midst of hardships of all kinds, had served him so faithfully. We find accordingly a special charge given to Nebuzaradan (xxxix. 11) to protect the person of Jeremiah, and, after being carried as far as Ramah with the crowd of captives (xl. 1), he was set free, and Gedaliah, the son of his steadfast friend Ahikam, made governor over the cities of Judah. The feeling of the Chaldeans towards him was shown yet more strongly in the offer made him by Nebuzaradan (xl. 4, 5). It was left to him to decide whether he would go to Babylon, with the prospect of living there under the patronage of the king, or remain in his own land with Gedaliah and the remnant over whom he ruled. Whatever may have been his motive—sympathy with the sufferings of the people, attachment to his native land, or the desire to help his friend—the prophet chose the latter, and the Chaldean commander "gave him a reward," and set him free. For a short time there was an interval of peace (xl. 9-12), soon broken, however, by the murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael and his associates. We are left to conjecture in what way the prophet escaped from a massacre which was apparently intended to include all the adherents of Gedaliah. The fulness with which the history of the massacre is narrated in chap. xli., makes it however probable that he was among the prisoners whom Ishmael was carrying off to the Ammonites, and who were released by the arrival of Johanan. One of Jeremiah's friends was thus cut off, but Baruch still remained with him; and the people, under Johanan, who had taken the command on the death of Gedaliah, turned to him for counsel. "The governor appointed by the Chaldeans had been assassinated. Would not their vengeance fall on the whole

people? Was there any safety but in escaping to Egypt while they could?" They came accordingly to Jeremiah with a foregone conclusion. With the vision of peace and plenty in that land of fishpots (xlii. 14), his warnings and assurances were in vain and did but draw on him and Baruch the old charge of treachery (xliii. 3). The people followed their own counsel, and—lest the two whom they suspected should betray or counteract it—killed them also by force to Egypt. There, in the city of Tahpanhes, we have the last clear glimpses of the prophet's life. His words are sharper and stronger than ever. He does not shrink, even there, from speaking of the Chaldean king once more as the "servant of Jehovah" (xliii. 10). He declares that they should see the throne of the conqueror set up in the very place which they had chosen as the securest refuge. He utters a final protest (xliv.) against the idolatries of which they and their fathers had been guilty, and which they were even then renewing. After this all is uncertain. If we could assume that lii. 31 was written by Jeremiah himself, it would show that he reached an extreme old age, but this is so doubtful that we are left to other sources. On the one hand there is the Christian tradition, resting doubtless on some earlier belief (Tertull. *adv. Gnost.* c. 8; Pseudo-Epiphani. *Opp.* iii. 239; Hieron. *adv. Joerin.* ii. 37) that the long tragedy of his life ended in actual martyrdom, and that the Jews at Tahpanhes, irritated by his rebukes, at last stoned him to death. Most commentators on the N. T. find an allusion to this in Heb. xi. 37. An Alexandrian tradition reported that his bones had been brought to that city by Alexander the Great (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 156; Dindorf, quoted by Carpov and Nägelsbach). At the beginning of the last century travellers were told, though no one knew the precise spot, that he had been buried at Ghizeh (Lucas, *Travels in the Levant* p. 28). On the other side there is the Jewish statement that on the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, he, with Baruch, made his escape to Babylon (Seder Olam Rabbah, c. 26; *Genev. Chronol. Heb.* 1608) or Judaea (*R. Solomon Jarchi, on Jer.* xlv. 14), and died in prison. Josephus is altogether silent as to his fate, but states generally that the Jews who took refuge in Egypt were finally carried to Babylon as captives (*Ant.* x. 9). It is not impossible, however, that both the Jewish tradition and the silence of Josephus originated in the desire to gloss over a great crime, and that the offer of Nebuzaradan (xl. 4) suggested the conjecture that afterwards grew into an assertion. As it is, the darkness and doubt that brood over the last days of the prophet's life are more significant than either of the issues which he presented themselves to men's imaginations as he contemplated the winding-up of his career. He did not need a death by violence to make him a true martyr. To die with none to record the time or manner of his death, was the right end for one who had spoken all along, not to win the praise of men, but because the word of the Lord was in him as a "burning fire" (xx. 9). May we not even conjecture that this silence was due to the prophet himself? If we believe (*cf. inf.*) that Baruch, who was with Jeremiah in Egypt, survived him, and had any share in collecting and editing his prophecies, it is hard to account for the omission of a fact of so much interest, except on the hypothesis that his lips were sealed by the injunctions of his master who thus taught him, by example as well as

by precept, that he was not to seek "great things" for himself.

Other traditions connected with the name of Jeremiah, though they throw no light on his history, are interesting, as showing the impression left by his work and life on the minds of later generations. As the captivity dragged on, the prophecy of the Seventy Years, which had at first been so full of terror, came to be a ground of hope (Dan. ix. 2; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21; Ezr. i. 1). On the return from Babylon, his prophecies were collected and received into the canon, as those of the second of the Great Prophets of Israel. In the arrangement followed by the Babylonian Talmudic writers (Baba Bathr. § 14 b; quoted by Lightfoot in *Matt.* xxvii. 9), and perpetuated among some of the mediæval Jewish transcribers (Wolff, *Bibl. Hebr.* ii. 148), he, and not Isaiah, occupies the first place. The Jewish saying that "the spirit of Jeremiah dwelt afterwards in Zechariah" (Grotius in *Matt.* xxvii. 9) indicates how greatly the mind of the one was believed to have been influenced by the teaching of the other. The fulfilment of his predictions of a restored nationality led men to think of him, not as a prophet of evil only, but as watching over his countrymen, interceding for them. More than any other of the prophets, he occupies the position of the patron-saint of Judæa. He had consoled the tabernacle and the ark, the great treasures of the Temple, in one of the caves of Sinai, there to remain unknown till the day of restoration (2 Macc. ii. 1-8). He appears "a man with grey hairs and exceeding glorious," "the lover of the brethren, who prayed much for the holy city," in the vision of Judas Maccabæus; and from him the hero receives his golden sword, as a gift of God (2 Macc. xv. 13-16). His whole vocation as a prophet is distinctly recognised (Ecclus. xlix. 7). The authority of his name is claimed for long didactic declamations against the idolatry of Babylon (*Bar.* vi.). At a later period it was attached as that of the representative prophet to quotations from other books in the same volume (Lightfoot, *l. c.*) or to prophecies, apocryphal, or genuine, whose real author was forgotten (Hieron. in *Matt.* xvii. 9; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* V. t. i. 1103; Grot. in *Eph.* v. 14). Even in the time of our Lord's ministry there prevailed the belief (resting, in part perhaps, in this case as in that of Elijah, on the mystery which shrouded the time and manner of his death) that his work was not yet over. Some said of Jesus that he was "Jeremias, or one of the prophets" (*Matt.* xvi. 14). According to many commentators he was "the prophet" whom all the people were expecting (*John* i. 21). The belief that he was the fulfilment of Deut. xviii. 18 has been held by later Jewish interpreters (Abarbanel in *Carpozov*, *l. c.*). The traditions connected with him lingered on even in the Christian church, and appeared in the notion that he had never really died, but would return one day from Paradise as one of the "two witnesses" of the Apocalypse (Victorinus, *Comm. in Apoc.* xi. 13). Egyptian legends assumed yet wilder and more fantastic forms. He it was who foretold to the priests of Egypt that their idols should one day fall to the ground in the presence of the virgin born (Epiphanius, *de vit. Proph.* Opp. ii. p. 239). Having the part of a St. Patrick, he had delivered one district on the shores of the Nile from crocodiles and asps, and even in the 4th century of the Christian era the dust of that region was looked on

as a specific against their bites (*ibid*). According to another tradition, he had returned from Egypt to Jerusalem, and lived there for 300 years (*D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient.* p. 499). The O. T. narrative of his sufferings was dressed out with the incidents of a Christian martyrdom (Eupolem. *Polyhist. in Euseb. Præp. Evang.* ix. 39).

II. *Character and style.*—It will have been seen from this narrative that there fell to the lot of Jeremiah sharper suffering than any previous prophet had experienced. It was not merely that the misery which others had seen afar off was actually pressing on him and on his country, nor that he had to endure a life of persecution, while they had intervals of repose, in which they were honoured and their counsel sought. In addition to all differences of outward circumstances, there was that of individual character, influenced by them, reacting on them. In every page of his prophecies we recognise the temperament which, while it does not lead the man who has it to shrink from doing God's work, however painful, makes the pain of doing it infinitely more acute, and gives to the whole character the impress of a deeper and more lasting melancholy. He is pre-eminently "the man that hath seen afflictions" (*Lam.* iii. 1). There is no sorrow like unto his sorrow (*Lam.* i. 12). He witnesses the departure, one by one, of all his hopes of national reformation and deliverance. He has to appear, Cassandra-like, as a prophet of evil, dashing to the ground the false hopes with which the people are buoying themselves up. Other prophets, Samuel, Elisha, Isaiah, had been sent to rouse the people to resistance. He (like Phocion in the parallel crisis of Athenian history) has been brought to the conclusion, bitter as it is, that the only safety for his countrymen lies in their accepting that against which they are contending as the worst of evils; and this brings on him the charge of treachery and desertion. If it were not for his trust in the God of Israel, for his hope of a better future to be brought out of all this chaos and darkness, his heart would fail within him. But that vision is clear and bright, and it gives to him, almost as fully as to Isaiah, the character of a prophet of the Gospel. He is not merely an Israelite looking forward to a national restoration. In the midst of all the woes which he utters against neighbouring nations he has hopes and promises for them also (*xlviii.* 47, *xlix.* 6, 39). In that stormy sunset of prophecy he beholds, in spirit, the dawn of a brighter and eternal day. He sees that, if there is any hope of salvation for his people, it cannot be by a return to the old system and the old ordinances, divine though they once had been (*xxxi.* 31). There must be a New Covenant. That word, destined to be so full of power for all after-ages, appears first in his prophecies. The relations between the people and the Lord of Israel, between mankind and God, must rest, not on an outward law, with its requirements of obedience, but on that of an inward fellowship with Him, and the consciousness of entire dependence. For all this he saw clearly there must be a personal centre. The kingdom of God could not be manifested but through a perfectly righteous man, ruling over men on earth. The prophet's hopes are not merely vague visions of a better future. They gather round the person of a Christ, and are essentially Messianic.

In much of all this—in their personal character, in their sufferings, in the view they took of the great questions of their time—there is a resemblance

at once significant and interesting, between the prophet of Anathoth and the poet of the *Divina Commedia*. What Egypt and Babylon were to the kingdom of Judah, France and the Empire were to the Florentine republic. In each case the struggle between the two great powers reproduced itself in the bitterness of contending factions. Dante, like Jeremiah, saw himself surrounded by evils against which he could only bear an unavailing protest. The worst agents in producing those evils were the authorised teachers of his religion. His hopes of better things connected themselves with the supremacy of a power which the majority of his countrymen looked on with repugnance. For him also there was the long weariness of exile, brightened at times by the sympathy of faithful friends. In him, as in the prophet, we find—united, it is true, with greater strength and sternness—that intense susceptibility to the sense of wrong which shows itself sometimes in passionate complaint, sometimes in bitter words of invective and reproach. In both we find the habit of mind which selects an image, not for its elegance or sublimity, but for what it means; not shrinking even from what seems grotesque and trivial, sometimes veiling its meaning in allusions more or less dark and enigmatic. Both are sustained through all their sufferings by their strong faith in the Unseen, by their belief in an eternal righteousness which shall one day manifest itself and be victorious.<sup>4</sup>

A yet higher parallel, however, presents itself. In a deeper sense than that of the patristic divines, the life of the prophet was a type of that of Christ. In both there is the same early manifestation of the consciousness of a Divine mission (Luke ii. 49). The persecution which drove the prophet from Anathoth has its counterpart in that of the men of Nazareth (Luke iv. 29). His protests against the priests and prophets are the forerunners of the woes against the scribes and pharisees (Matt. xxiii.). His lamentations over the coming miseries of his country answer to the tears that were shed over the Holy City by the Son of Man. His sufferings come nearest, of those of the whole army of martyrs, to those of the Teacher against whom princes and priests and elders and people were gathered together. He saw more clearly than others that New Covenant, with all its gifts of spiritual life and power, which was proclaimed and ratified in the death upon the cross. On the assumption that Jeremiah, not David, was the author of the 22nd Psalm (Hitzig, *in loc.*, followed in this instance by Nägelsbach, *l. c.*), the words uttered in the agony of the crucifixion would point to a still deeper and more pervading analogy.

The character of the man impressed itself with more or less force upon the language of the writer. Criticisms on the "style" of a prophet are, indeed, for the most part, whether they take the form of praise or blame, wanting both in reverence and discernment. We do not gain much by knowing that to one writer he appears at once "sermone quidem . . . quibusdam aliis prophetis rusticior" (Hieron. *Praef. in Jerem.*), and yet "majestate sensuum profundissimus" (*Proem. in c. L.*); that another compares him to Simonides (Lowth, *Proel. xxi.*); a third to Cicero (Seb. Schmidt); that bolder critics find in him a great want of originality (Knobel,

*Prophetismus*); "symbolical images of an inferior order, and symbolical actions unskillfully contrived" (Davidson, *Introd. to O. T. c. xix.*). Leaving these judgments, however, and asking in what way the outward form of his writings answers to his life, we find some striking characteristics that help us to understand both. As might be expected in one who lived in the last days of the kingdom, and had therefore the works of the earlier prophets to look back upon, we find in him reminiscences and reproductions of what they had written, which indicate the way in which his own spirit had been educated (comp. Is. xl. 19, 20, with x. 3-5; Ps. cxvii. 1 with x. 13; Ps. lxxix. 6 with x. 25; Is. xiii. 14 with xxxi. 9; Is. iv. 2, xi. 1, with xxxii. 14; Is. xv. with xlviii.; Is. xiii. and xlvii. with L. 1; see also Küper, *Jerem. librorum sac. interpret. & vindic.*). Traces of the influence of the newly discovered Book of the Law, and in particular of Deuteronomy, appear repeatedly in his, as in other writings of the same period (Deut. xxvii. 26, v. 20, vii. 12, with xi. 3-5; Deut. xv. 12 with xxxiv. 14; Ex. xx. 6 with xxxii. 18; Ex. vi. 4 with xxxii. 21). It will be noticed that the parallelisms in these and other instances are for the most part, not those that rise out of direct quotation, but such as are natural in one whose language and modes of thought have been fashioned by the constant study of books which came before him with a divine authority. Along with this, there is the tendency, natural to one who speaks out of the fulness of his heart, to reproduce himself—to repeat in nearly the same words the great truths on which his own heart rested, and to which he was seeking to lead others (comp. marginal references *passim*, and list in Keil, *Einleit.* §74). Throughout, too, there are the tokens of his individual temperament—a greater prominence of the subjective, elegant element than in other prophets, a less sustained energy, a less orderly and completed rhythm (De Wette, *Einleit.* §217; Ewald, *Propheten*, ii. 1-11). A careful examination of the several parts of his prophecy has led to the conviction that we may trace an increase of these characteristics corresponding to the accumulating trials of his life (Ewald, *l. c.*). The earlier writings are calmer, better, more uniform in tone; the later show marks of weariness and sorrow, and are more strongly imbued with the language of individual suffering. Living at a time when the purity of the older Hebrew was giving way under continual contact with other kindred dialects, his language came under the influence which was acting on all the writers of his time, abounds in Aramaic forms, loses sight of the finer grammatical distinctions of his earlier Hebrew, includes many words not to be found in its vocabulary (Eichhorn, *Einleit. in die A. T.* iii. 121). It is in part distinctive of the man as well as of the time, that single words should have appeared full of a strange significance (i. 11), that whole predictions should have been embodied in names coined for the purpose (ix. 6, xx. 3), and that the real analogies which presented themselves should have been drawn not from the region of the great and terrible, but from the most homely and familiar incidents (xiii. 1-11, xvii. 1-10). Still more startling is his use of a kind of cipher (the *Atbash*);\* comp. Hitzig and Ewald

<sup>4</sup> The fact that Jer. v. 6 suggested the imagery of the opening Canto of the *Inferno* is not without significance, as bearing on this parallelism.

\* The system of secret writing which bears the name forms part of the Kabbala of the later Jews. The plan adopted is that of using the letters of the

en xxv. 26), concealing, except from the initiated, the meaning of his predictions.

To associate the name of Jeremiah with any other portion of the O. T. is to pass from the field of history into that of conjecture; but the fact that Hitzig (*Comm. über die Psalms*), followed in part by Högner (*Ersch und Grüber, Encycl. art. Jerem.*), assigns not less than thirty psalms (sc. v., vi., xiv., xlii.-xli., lii.-lv., lxix.-lxxi.) to his authorship is, at least, so far instructive that it indicates what were the hymns, belonging to that or to an earlier period, with which his own spirit had most affinity, and to which he and other like sufferers might have turned as the fit expression of their feelings.

III. *Arrangement.*—The absence of any chronological order in the present structure of the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies is obvious at the first glance; and this has led some writers (Blayney, *Pref. to Jeremiah*) to the belief that as the book now stands there is nothing but the wildest confusion—"a preposterous jumbling together" of prophecies of different dates. Attempts to reconstruct the book on a chronological basis have been made by almost all commentators on it since the revival of criticism (Simonis, Vitringa, Cornelius à Lapide, among the earliest; cf. De Wette, *Einleit.* §220); and the result of the labours of the more recent critics has been to modify the somewhat hasty judgment of the English divine. Whatever points of difference there may be in the hypotheses of Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Bunsen, Nägelsbach, and others, they agree in admitting traces of an order in the midst of the seeming irregularity, and endeavour to account, more or less satisfactorily, for the apparent anomalies. The conclusion of the three last-named is that we have the book substantially in the same state as that in which it left the hands of the prophet, or his disciple Baruch. Confining ourselves, for the present, to the Hebrew order (reproduced in the A. V.) we have two great divisions:—

- (1.) Ch. i.-xlv. Prophecies delivered at various times, directed mainly to Judah, or connected with Jeremiah's personal history.
- (2.) Ch. xlvi.-li. Prophecies connected with other nations.

Ch. lii., taken largely, though not entirely, from 2 K. xxv., may be taken either as a supplement to the prophecy, or (with Grotius and Lowth) as an introduction to the Lamentations.

Looking more closely into each of these divisions,

Hebrew alphabet in an inverted order, so that ת stands for נ, ש for ב, and so on, and the word is formed out of the first four letters which are thus interchanged (שבתאי). In the passage referred to (xxv. 26), the otherwise unintelligible word Sheshach becomes, on applying this key, the equivalent of Babel. The position of the same word in li. 41 confirms this interpretation; and all other explanations of the word are conjectural and far-fetched. The application of the Athash to these passages rests historically on the authority of Jerome (*Comm. in Jerem. in loc.*), who refers to the consensus of the Jewish expositors of his own time. There is, of course, something startling in the appearance of one or two solitary instances of a technical notation like this so long before it became conspicuous as a system; and this has led commentators to attempt other explanations of the mysterious word (comp. J. D. Michaelis, *in loc.*). On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the age of alphabetic Psalms, such as Ps. cxix., was one in which we might expect to find the minds of men occupied with

we have the following sections. The narrative of xxxvi. 32 serves to explain the growth of the book in its present shape, and accounts for some, at least, of its anomalies. Up to the 4th year of Jehoiakim, it would appear, no prophecies had been committed to writing, or, if written, they had not been collected and preserved. Then the more memorable among the messages which the word of the Lord had from time to time brought to him were written down at the dictation of the prophet himself. When that roll was destroyed, a second was written out, and other prophecies or narratives added as they came. We may believe that this MS. was the groundwork of our present text; but it is easy to understand how, in transcribing such a document, or collection of documents, the desire to introduce what seemed to the transcriber a better order might lead to many modifications. As it is, we recognise—adopting Bunsen's classification (*Gott in Geschichte*, i. 113), as being the most natural, and agreeing substantially with Ewald's—the following groups of prophecies, the sections in each being indicated by the recurrence of the formula, "The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah," in fuller or abbreviated forms.

1. Ch. i.-xxi. Containing probably the substance of the book of xxxvi. 32, and including prophecies from the 13th year of Josiah to the 4th of Jehoiakim: i. 3, however, indicates a later revision, and the whole of ch. i. may possibly have been added on the prophet's retrospect of his whole work from this its first beginning. Ch. xxi. belongs to a later period, but has probably found its place here as connected, by the recurrence of the name Pashur, with ch. xx.

2. Ch. xxii.-xxv. Shorter prophecies, delivered at different times, against the kings of Judah and the false prophets. xxv. 13, 14, evidently marks the conclusion of a series of prophecies; and that which follows, xxv. 15-38, the germ of the fuller predictions in xlyi.-xlix., has been placed here as a kind of completion to the prophecy of the Seventy Years and the subsequent fall of Babylon.

3. Ch. xxvi.-xxviii. The two great prophecies of the fall of Jerusalem, and the history connected with them. Ch. xxvi. belongs to the earlier, ch. xxvii. and xxviii. to the later period of the prophet's work. Jehoiakim in xxvii. 1 is evidently (comp. ver. 3) a mistake for Zedekiah.

4. Ch. xxix.-xxxi. The message of comfort for the exiles in Babylon.

the changes and combinations to which the letters of the Hebrew alphabet might be subjected, and in which therefore such a system of cipher-writing was likely to suggest itself. The fact that Jeremiah himself adopted a complicated alphabetic structure for his great dirge over the fall of Jerusalem (comp. LAMENTATIONS), indicates a special tendency in him to carry to its highest point this characteristic of the literature of his time. Nor is this the only instance. Hitzig finds another example of the Athash in li. 1. The words *לֵב קָמִי* (*qui cor suum levaverunt*, Vulg.; "in the midst of them that rise up against me," A. V.), for which the LXX. substitutes *καλαίους*, becomes, on applying the above notation, the equivalent of *בְּשָׂרִים*. It should be added, however, that the LXX. omits the entire passage in xxv. 26, and the word Sheshach in li. 41; and that Ewald rejects it accordingly as a later interpolation, conjecturing that the word first came into use among the Jews who lived in exile at Babylon.

5. Ch. xxxii.-xliv. The history of the last two years before the capture of Jerusalem, and of Jeremiah's work in them and in the period that followed. Ch. xxxv. and xxxvi. are remarkable as interrupting the chronological order, which otherwise would have been followed here more closely than in any other part. The position of ch. xlv., unconnected with anything before or after it, may be accounted for on the hypothesis that Baruch desired to place on record so memorable a passage in his own life, and inserted it where the direct narrative of his master's life ended. The same explanation applies in part to ch. xxxvi., which was evidently at one time the conclusion of one of the divisions.

6. Ch. xlv.-li. The prophecies against foreign nations, ending with the great prediction against Babylon.

7. The supplementary narrative of ch. lii.

IV. *Text.*—The translation of the LXX. presents many remarkable variations, not only in details indicating that the translator found or substituted readings differing widely from those now extant in Hebrew codices (Keil, *Einleit.* §76), but in the order of the several parts. Whether we suppose him to have had a different recension of the text, or to have endeavoured to introduce an order according to his own notions into the seeming confusion of the Hebrew, the result is, that in no other book of the O. T. is there so great a diversity of arrangement. It is noticeable, as illustrating the classification given above, that the two agree as far as xxv. 13. From that point all is different, and the following table indicates the extent of the divergence. It will be seen that here there was the attempt to collect the prophecies according to their subject-matter. The thought of a consistently chronological arrangement did not present itself in one case more than the other.

LXX.	HEBREW.
xxv. 14-18	= xlix. 34-39.
xxvi.	= xlv.
xxvii.-xxviii.	= l.-li.
xxix. 1-7	= xlvii. 1-7.
7-22	= xlix. 7-22.
xxx. 1-5	= xlix. 1-6.
6-11	= 28-33.
12-16	= 23-27.
xxxi.	= xlviii.
xxxii.	= xxv. 15-39.
xxxiii.-li.	= xxvi.-xlv.
lii.	= lii.

The difference in the arrangement of the two texts was noticed by the critical writers of the Early Church (Origen, *Ep. ad African.* Hieron. *Praef. in Jerem.*). For fuller details tending to a conclusion unfavourable to the trustworthiness of the Greek translation, see Keil, *Einleit.* (l. c.), and the authors there referred to.

*Supposed Interpolations.*—The genuineness of some portions of this book has been called in question, partly on the hypothesis that the version of the LXX. presents a purer text, partly on internal and more conjectural grounds. The following tables indicate the chief passages affected by each class of objections.

1. As omitted in the LXX.
- (1.) x. 6, 7, 8, 10.
- (2.) xxvii. 7.
- (3.) xxvii. 16-21 [not omitted, but with many variations].
- (4.) xxxiii. 14-26.
- (5.) xxxix. 4-13.

2. On other grounds.

- (1.) x. 1-16. As being altogether the work of a later writer, probably the so-called Pseudo-Isaiah. The Aramaic of ver. 11 is supposed as confirming this view.
- (2.) xxv. 11-14.
- (3.) xxvii. 7.
- (4.) xxxiii. 14-26.
- (5.) xxxix. 1, 2, 4-13.
- (6.) xxvii.-xxix. As showing, in the shortened form of the prophet's name (יְרֵמְיָהוּ), and the addition of the epithet "Jeremiah the prophet," the revision of a later writer.
- (7.) xxx.-xxxiii. As partaking of the character of the later prophecies of Isaiah.
- (8.) xlviii. As betraying in language and statements the interpolations either of the later prophecies of Isaiah or of a still later writer.
- (9.) l. li. As being a *vaticinium ex eventu*, inserted probably by the writer of ch. xxxiv., and foreign in language and thought to the general character of Jeremiah's prophecies.
- (10.) lii. As being a supplementary addition to the book, compiled from 2 E. xxx. and other sources.

In these, as in other questions connected with the Hebrew text of the O. T. the impugners of the authenticity of the above passages are for the most part—De Wette, Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Köhler, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Küper, Keil, Umbreit, are among the chief defenders. (Comp. Keil, *Einleit.* § 76; and for a special defence of l. and li. the Monograph of Nägelsbach, *Jeremias und Babylon.*)

#### V. *Literature.*

Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.*

Theodoret, *Schol. in Jerem.*, *Opp.* ii. p. 143.

Hieron. *Comm. in Jerem.*, c. i.-xxxii.

*Commentaries* by Oecolampadius (1530); Calvin (1563); Piscator (1614); Sanctius (1618); Venema (1765); Michaelis (1793); Blayney (1784); Umbreit (1842); Neumann (1838); Dahler (1825); Henderson.

The following treatises may also be consulted—Schnurrer, C. F., *Observationes ad vaticinia Jerem.*, 1793.

Gaeb, *Erklärung schwerer Stellen in d. Weissag. Jerem.*, 1824.

Hensler, *Bemerkk. über Stellen in Jerem. Weissag.*, 1805.

Spohn, *Jerem. Vates e vers. Jud. Alex.*, 1784.

Küper, *Jerem. librorum Sacrorum interpretis d. vindex*, 1837.

Movers, *De utriusque recensionis vaticinia Jerem. indole et origine*, 1837.

Wielhalsus, *De Jerem. versione Alex.*, 1841.

Hengstenberg, *Christologie des A. T.* (Section on Jeremiah).

JEREMIAH. Seven other persons bearing the same name as the prophet are mentioned in the O. T.

(1.) Jeremiah of Libnah, father of Hananiah, wife of Josiah, 2 K. xxiii. 31.

(2.) (3.) (4.) Three warriors—two of the tribe of Gad—in David's army, 1 Chr. xii. 4, 10, 15.

(5.) One of the "mighty men of valour" of the trans-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh, 1 Chr. v. 24.

(6.) A priest of high rank, head of the second or third of the 21 courses which are apparently mentioned in Neh. x. 2-8. He is mentioned again in i. o. the course which was called after him in i.

Neh. xii. 1; and we are told at v. 12 that the personal name of the head of this course in the days of Joiakim was HANANIAH. This course, or its chief, took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 34).

(7.) The father of Jaazaniah the Rechabite, Jer. xxv. 3.

**JEREMIAS** (*Ἰερεμίας*: *Jeremias, Hieremias*).  
1. The Greek form of the name of Jeremiah the prophet, used in the A. V. of Eccles. xlix. 6; 2 Macc. xv. 14; Matt. xvi. 14. [JEREMIAH; JEREMY.]

2. 1 Esd. ix. 34. [JEREMAI.]

**JEREMY** (*Ἰερεμίας*: *Jeremias, Hieremias*), the prophet Jeremiah. 1 Esd. i. 28, 32, 47, 57; ii. 1; 2 Esd. ii. 18; 2 Macc. ii. 1, 5, 7; Matt. ii. 17; xvii. 9. [JEREMIAH; JEREMIAS.] These abbreviated forms were much in favour about the time that the A. V. was translated. Elsewhere we find *ESAY* for Isaiah; and in the Homilies such abbreviations as Zachary, Toby, &c., are frequent.

**JERIBAI** (יריב): *Ἰαριβί*; Alex. *Ἰαριβαί*: *Jeribai*, one of the Bene-Elaam, named among the heroes of David's guard in the supplemental list of 1 Chronicles (xi. 46).

**JERICHO** (יריחו), *J'richo*, Num. xxii. 1; also יריחה, *J'richo*, Josh. ii. 1, 2, 3; and יריחה, *J'richo*, 1 K. xvi. 34; *Ἰριχα*, *Eriha*, "place of fragrance," from ריח, *Ruach*, "to breathe," הריח, "to smell;" older commentators derive it from ירח, *Jareach*, "the moon\*"; also from רוח, *Ruach*, "to be broad," as in a wide plain; *Ἰεριχά*; Strabo and Josephus, *Ἰεριχούς*, a city of high antiquity, and, for those days, of considerable importance, situated in a plain traversed by the Jordan, and exactly over against where that river was crossed by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. iii. 16). Such was either its vicinity, or the extent of its territory, that Gilgal, which formed their primary encampment, stood in its east border (iv. 19). That it had a king is a very secondary consideration, for almost every small town had one (xii. 9-24); in fact monarchy was the only form of government known to those primitive times—the government of the people of God presenting a marked exception to prevailing usage. But Jericho was further enclosed by walls—a fenced city—its walls were so considerable that at least one person (Rahab) had a house upon them (ii. 15), and its gates were shut, as throughout the East still, "when it was dark" (v. 5). Again, the spoil that was found in it betokened its affluence—Ai, Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and even Hazor, evidently contained nothing worth mentioning in comparison—besides sheep, oxen, and asses, we hear of vessels of brass and iron. These possibly may have been the first-fruits of those brass foundries "in the plain of Jordan" of which Solomon afterwards so largely availed himself (2 Chr. iv. 17). Silver and gold was found in such abundance that one man (Achan) could appropriate stealthily 200 shekels (100 oz. avoird., see Lewis, *Heb. Rep.* vi. 57) of the former, and "a wedge of gold of 50 shekels (25 oz.) weight;" "a goodly

Babylonish garment," purloined in the same dishonesty, may be adduced as evidence of a then existing commerce between Jericho and the far East (Josh. vi. 24, vii. 21). In fact its situation alone—in so noble a plain and contiguous to so prolific a river—would bespeak its importance in a country where these natural advantages have been always so highly prized, and in an age when people depended so much more upon the indigenous resources of nature than they are compelled to do now. But for the curse of Joshua (vi. 26) doubtless Jericho might have proved a more formidable counter-charm to the city of David than even Samaria.

Jericho is first mentioned as the city to which the two spies were sent by Joshua from Shittim; they were lodged in the house of Rahab the harlot upon the wall, and departed, having first promised to save her and all that were found in her house from destruction (ii. 1-21). In the annihilation of the city that ensued this promise was religiously observed. Her house was recognised by the scarlet line bound in the window from which the spies were let down, and she and her relatives were taken out of it, and "lodged without the camp;" but it is nowhere said or implied that her house escaped the general conflagration. That she "dwelt in Israel" for the future; that she married Salmon son of Naasson, "prince of the children of Judah," and had by him Boaz, the husband of Ruth and progenitor of David and of our Lord; and lastly, that she is the first and only Gentile name that appears in the list of the faithful of the O. T. given by St. Paul (Josh. vi. 25; 1 Chr. ii. 10; Matt. i. 5; Heb. xi. 31), all these facts surely indicate that she did not continue to inhabit the accursed site: and, in absence of all direct evidence from Scripture, how could it ever have been inferred that her house was left standing?

Such as it had been left by Joshua, such it was bestowed by him upon the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 21), and from this time a long interval elapses before Jericho appears again upon the scene. It is only incidentally mentioned in the life of David in connexion with his embassy to the Ammonite king (2 Sam. x. 5). And the solemn manner in which its second foundation under Hiel the Bethelite is recorded—upon whom the curse of Joshua is said to have descended in full force (1 K. xvi. 34)—would certainly seem to imply that up to that time its site had been uninhabited. It is true that mention is made of "a city of palm-trees" (Judg. i. 16, and iii. 13) in existence apparently at the time when spoken of; and that Jericho is twice—once before its first overthrow, and once after its second foundation—designated by that name (see Dent. xxxiv. 3, and 2 Chr. xxvii. 15). But it would be difficult to prove the identity of the city mentioned in the book of Judges, and as in the territory of Judah, with Jericho. However, once actually rebuilt, Jericho rose again slowly into consequence. In its immediate vicinity the sons of the prophets sought retirement from the world: Elisha "healed the spring of the waters;" and over and against it, beyond Jordan, Elijah "went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 K. ii. 1-22). In its plains Zedekiah fell into the hands of the Chaldeans (2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5). By what may be called a retrospective account of it, we may

\* In which case it would probably be a remnant of the old Canaanitish worship of the heavenly bodies, which has left its traces in such names as Chesil,

Bethshemesh, and others (see IDOLATRY, p. 861b), which may have been the head-quarters of the worship indicated in the names they bear.



infer that Hiel's restoration had not utterly failed; for in the return under Zerubbabel the "children of Jericho," 345 in number, are comprised (Ez. iii. 34; Neh. vii. 36); and it is even implied that they removed thither again, for the *men of Jericho* assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding that part of the wall of Jerusalem that was next to the sheep-gate (Neh. iii. 2). We now enter upon its more modern phase. The Jericho of the days of Josephus was distant 150 stadia from Jerusalem, and 50 from the Jordan. It lay in a plain, overhung by a barren mountain whose roots ran northwards towards Scythopolis, and southwards in the direction of Sodom and the Dead Sea. These formed the western boundaries of the plain. Eastwards, its barriers were the mountains of Moab, which ran parallel to the former. In the midst of the plain—the great plain as it was called—flowed the Jordan, and at the top and bottom of it were two lakes: Tiberias, proverbial for its sweetness, and Asphaltites for its bitterness. Away from the Jordan it was parched and unhealthy during summer; but during winter, even when it snowed at Jerusalem, the inhabitants here wore linen garments. Hard by Jericho—bursting forth close to the site of the old city, which Joshua took on his entrance into Canaan—was a most exuberant fountain, whose waters, before noted for their contrary properties, had received, proceeds Josephus, through Elisha's prayers, their then wonderfully salutary and prolific efficacy. Within its range—70 stadia (Strabo says 100) by 20—the fertility of the soil was unexampled; palms of various names and properties, some that produced honey scarce inferior to that of the neighbourhood—opobalsamum, the choicest of indigenous fruits—cyprus (Ar. "el-henna") and myrobalanum ("Zukrum") thrived there beautifully, and thickly dotted about in pleasure-grounds (B. J. iv. 8, §3). Wisdom herself did not disdain comparison with "the rose-plants of Jericho" (Ecclus. xxiv. 14). Well might Strabo (*Geogr.* xvi. 2, §41, ed. Müller) conclude that its revenues were considerable. By the Romans Jericho was first visited under Pompey: he encamped there for a single night; and subsequently destroyed two forts, Threx and Taurus, that commanded its approaches (Strabo, *ibid.* §40). Gabinus, in his re-settlement of Judaea, made it one of the five seats of assembly (Joseph. B. J. i. 8, §5). With Herod the Great it rose to still greater prominence; it had been found full of treasure of all kinds, as in the time of Joshua, so by his Roman allies who sacked it (*ibid.* i. 15, §6); and its revenues were eagerly sought, and rented by the wily tyrant from Cleopatra, to whom Antony had assigned them (*Ant.* xv. 4, §2). Not long afterwards he built a fort there, which he called "Cyprus" in honour of his mother (*ibid.* xvi. 5); a tower, which he called in honour of his brother "Phasaelus;" and a number of new palaces—superior in their construction to those which had existed there previously—which he named after his friends. He even founded a new town, higher up the plain, which he called, like the tower, Phasaelis (B. J. i. 21, §9). If he did not make Jericho his habitual residence, he at least retired thither to die—and to be mourned, if he could have got his plan carried out—and it was in the amphitheatre of Jericho that the news of his death was announced to the assembled soldiers and people by Salome (B. J. i. 38, §8). Soon afterwards the palace was burnt, and the town plundered by one Simon, a revolutionary that had been

slave to Herod (*Ant.* xvii. 10, §6); but Archelaus rebuilt the former sumptuously—founded a new town in the plain, that bore his own name—called Neaera, to irrigate the plain which he had planted with palms (*Ant.* xvii. 13, §1). Thus our Lord visited it; such as Herod the Great and Archelaus had left it; such as Herod the Great and that had so exceptionally contributed to His own ancestry—as the city which had been the first to fall—amidst so much ceremony—before "the captain of the Lord's host, and His servant Joshua"—we may well suppose that His eyes surveyed it with unwonted interest. It is supposed to have been on the rocky heights overhanging it (hence called by tradition the Quarantana), that He was assailed by the Tempter; and over against it, according to tradition likewise, He had been previously baptized in the Jordan. Here He restored sight to the blind (two certainly, perhaps three, St. Matt. xx. 30; St. Mark x. 46: this was in leaving Jericho. St. Luke says "as He was come nigh unto Jericho," &c., xviii. 35). Here the descendant of Rahab did not disdain the hospitality of Zacchaeus the publican—an office which was likely to be lucrative enough in so rich a city. Finally, between Jerusalem and Jericho was laid the scene of His story of the good Samaritan, which, if it is not to be regarded as a real occurrence throughout, at least derives interest from the fact, that robbers have ever been the terror of that precipitous road; and so formidable had they proved only just before the Christian era, that Pompey had been induced to undertake the destruction of their strongholds (Strabo, as before, xvii. 2, §40; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, §1, et seq.). Dagon, or Docus (1 Mac. xvii. 15; comp. ix. 50), where Ptolemy assassinated his father-in-law, Simon the Maccabee, may have been one of these.

Posterior to the Gospels the chronicle of Jericho may be briefly told. Vespasian found it one of the toparchies of Judaea (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, §5), but deserted by its inhabitants in a great measure when he encamped there (*ibid.* iv. 8, §2). He left a garrison on his departure—not necessarily the 10th legion, which is only stated to have marched through Jericho—which was still there when Titus advanced upon Jerusalem. Is it asked how Jericho was destroyed? Evidently by Vespasian; for Josephus, rightly understood, is not so silent as Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 566, 2nd ed.) thinks. The city pillaged and burnt in *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9, §1, was clearly Jericho with its adjacent villages, and not Gerasa, as may be seen at once by comparing the language there with that of c. 8, §2, and the agent was Vespasian. Eusebius and St. Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v.) say that it was destroyed when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans. They further add that it was afterwards rebuilt—they do not say by whom—and still existed in their day; nor had the ruins of the two preceding cities been obliterated. Could Hadrian possibly have planted a colony there when he passed through Judaea and founded Aelia? (*Dion Cass. Hist.* lxxix. c. 11, ed. Sturz; more at large *Chron. Paschal.* 254, ed. Du Fresnoy.) The discovery which Origen made there of a version of the O. T. (the 5th in his Hexapla), together with sundry MSS., Greek and Hebrew, suggests that it could not have been wholly without inhabitants (Euseb. *E. H.* vi. 16; S. Epiphani. *Lit. de Pseud. et Mensur.* circa med.); or again, as is perhaps

more probable, did a Christian settlement arise there under Constantine, when baptisms in the Jordan began to be the rage? That Jericho became an episcopal see about that time under Jerusalem appears from more than one ancient Notitia (*Geograph. S. a. Carolo Paulo*, 306, and the Parergon appended to it; comp. William of Tyre, *Hist. lib. xliii. ad f.*). Its bishops subscribed to various councils in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries (*ibid.* and *Le Quien's Oriens Christian.* iii. 654). Justinian, we are told, restored a hospice there, and likewise a church dedicated to the Virgin (Procop. *De Aedif.* v. 9). As early as A.D. 337, when the Bourdeaux pilgrim (ed. Wesseling) visited it, a house existed there which was pointed out, after the manner of those days, as the house of Rahab. This was roofless when Arculfus saw it; and not only so, but the third city was likewise in ruins (Adamn. *de Locis S. ap. Migne, Patrolog. C. lxxxviii.* 799). Had Jericho been visited by an earthquake, as Antoninus reports (*ap. Ugol. Thesaur.* vii. p. mxcxiii., and note to c. 3), and as Syria certainly was, in the 27th year of Justinian, A.D. 553? If so, we can well understand the restorations already referred to; and when Antoninus adds that the house of Rahab had now become a hospice and oratory, we might almost pronounce that this was the very hospice which had been restored by that emperor. Again, it may be asked, did Christian Jericho receive no injury from the Persian Romizan, the ferocious general of Chosroes II. A.D. 614? (*Bar-Hebraei, Chron.* 99, Lat. v. ed. Kirsch). It would rather seem that there were more religious edifices in the 7th than in the 6th century round about it. According to Arculfus one church marked the site of Gilgal; another the spot where our Lord was supposed to have deposited His garments previously to His baptism; a third within the precincts of a vast monastery dedicated to St. John, situated upon some rising ground overlooking the Jordan. (See as before.) Jericho meanwhile had disappeared as a town to rise no more. Churches and monasteries sprung up around it on all sides, but only to moulder away in their turn. The anchorite caves in the rocky flanks of the Quarentana are the most striking memorial that remains of early or mediaeval enthusiasm. Arculfus speaks of a diminutive race—Canaanites he calls them—that inhabited the plain in great numbers in his day. They have retained possession of those fairy meadow-lands ever since, and have made their head-quarters for some centuries round the "square tower or castle" first mentioned by Willebrand (*ap. Leon. Allat. Συμμικτ.* p. 151) in A.D. 1211, when it was inhabited by the Saracens, whose work it may be supposed to have been, though it has since been dignified by the name of the house of Zacchaeus. Their village is by Brocardus (*ap. Canis. Thesaur.* iv. 16), in A.D. 1230, styled "a vile place;" by Sir J. Maundeville, in A.D. 1322, "a little village;" and by Henry Maundrell, in A.D. 1697, "a poor nasty village;" in which verdict all modern travellers that have ever visited *Riha* must concur. (See *Early Travels in P.* by Wright, pp. 177 and 451). They are looked upon by the Arabs as a debased race; and are probably nothing more or less than veritable Gipsies, who are still to be met with in the neighbourhood of the Frank mountain near Jerusalem, and on the heights round the village and convent of St. John in the desert, and are still called "Scomunicati" by the native Chris-

tians—one of the names applied to them when they first attracted notice in Europe in the 15th century (*i. e.* from feigning themselves "penitents" and under censure of the Pope. See *Hoyland's Histor. Survey of the G.* p. 18; also *the G.* a poem by A. P. Stanley).

Jericho does not seem to have been ever restored as a town by the crusaders; but its plains had not ceased to be prolific, and were extensively cultivated and laid out in vineyards and gardens by the monks (Phocas *ap. Leon. Allat. Συμμικτ.* (c. 20), p. 31). They seem to have been included in the domains of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and as such were bestowed by Arnulf upon his niece as a dowry (Wm. of Tyre, *Hist.* xi. 15). Twenty-five years afterwards we find Melisendis, wife of king Fulco, assigning them to the convent of Bethany, which she had founded A.D. 1137.

The site of ancient (the first) Jericho is with reason placed by Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 552-568) in the immediate neighbourhood of the fountain of Elisha; and that of the second (the city of the N.T. and of Josephus) at the opening of the Wady Kelt (Cherith), half an hour from the fountain. These are precisely the sites that one would infer from Josephus. On the other hand we are much more inclined to refer the ruined aqueducts round Jericho to the irrigations of Archelaus (see above) than to any hypothetical "culture or preparation of sugar by the Saracens." Jacob of Vitry says but generally, that the plains of the Jordan produced canes yielding sugar in abundance—from Lebanon to the Dead Sea—and when he speaks of the mode in which sugar was obtained from them, he is rather describing what was done in Syria than any where near Jericho (*Hist. Hierosol.* c. 93). Besides, it may fairly be questioned whether the same sugar-yielding reeds or canes there spoken of are not still as plentiful as ever they were within range of the Jordan (see Lynch's *Narrative*, events of April 16, also p. 266-7). Almost every reed in these regions distils a sugary juice, and almost every herb breathes fragrance. Palms have indeed disappeared (there was a solitary one remaining not long since) from the neighbourhood of the "city of palms;" yet there were groves of them in the days of Arculfus, and palm-branches could still be cut there when Fulcherius traversed the Jordan, A.D. 1100 (*ap. Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. i. part 1, p. 402). The fig-mulberry or "tree-fig" of Zacchaeus—which all modern travellers confound with our *Acer pseudo-platanus*, or common sycamore (see *Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* tom. xliii. p. 218, and Cruden's *Concord.* s. v.)—mentioned by the Bourdeaux pilgrim and by Antoninus, no longer exists. The *Opobalsamum* has become extinct both in Egypt—whither Cleopatra is said to have transplanted it—and in its favourite vale, Jericho. The *myrobolanum* (*Zukum* of the Arabs) alone survives, and from its nut oil is still extracted. Honey may be still found here and there, in the nest of the wild bee. Fig-trees, maize, and cucumbers, may be said to comprise all that is now cultivated in the plain; but wild flowers of brightest and most varied hue bespangle the rich herbage on all sides.

Lastly, the bright yellow apples of Sodom are still to be met with round Jericho; though Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 84) and others (Havercamp, *ad Tertull. Apol.* c. 40, and Jacob of Vitry, as above) make their locality rather the shores of the Dead Sea; and some modern travellers assert that



but his mother, who had been a person of loose character (LXX.), lived in her widowhood, trusting apparently to her son for support. Her name is variously given as ZERUAH (Heb.), or Sarira (LXX.), and the place of their abode on the mountains of Ephraim is given either as ZEREDA, or (LXX.) as Sarira: in the latter case, indicating that there was some connexion between the wife of Nebat and her residence.

At the time when Solomon was constructing the fortifications of Millo underneath the citadel of Zion, his sagacious eye discovered the strength and activity of a young Ephraimite who was employed on the works, and he raised him to the rank of superintendent (רָבָד, A. V. "ruler") over the taxes and labours exacted from the tribe of Ephraim (1 K. xi. 28). This was Jeroboam. He made the most of his position. He completed the fortifications, and was long afterwards known as the man who had "enclosed the city of David" (1 K. xi. 24; LXX.). He then aspired to royal state. Like Absalom before him, in like circumstances, though now on a grander scale, in proportion to the enlargement of the royal establishment itself, he kept 300 chariots and horses (LXX.), and at last was perceived by Solomon to be aiming at the monarchy.

These ambitious designs were probably fostered by the sight of the growing disaffection of the great tribe over which he presided, as well as by the alienation of the Prophetic order from the house of Solomon. According to the version of the story in the Hebrew text (Jos. Ant. viii. 7, §7), this alienation was made evident to Jeroboam very early in his career. He was leaving Jerusalem, and he encountered on one of the black-paved roads which ran out of the city, Ahijah, "the prophet" of the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh. Ahijah drew him aside from the road into the field (LXX.), and, as soon as they found themselves alone, the Prophet, who was dressed in a new outer garment, stripped it off, and tore it into 12 shreds; 10 of which he gave to Jeroboam, with the assurance that on condition of his obedience to His laws, God would establish for him a kingdom and dynasty equal to that of David (1 K. xi. 29-40).

The attempts of Solomon to cut short Jeroboam's designs occasioned his flight into Egypt. There he remained during the rest of Solomon's reign—in the court of Shishak (LXX.), who is here first named in the sacred narrative. On Solomon's death, he demanded Shishak's permission to return. The Egyptian king seems, in his reluctance, to have offered any gift which Jeroboam chose, as a reason for his remaining, and the consequence was the marriage with Ano, the elder sister of the Egyptian queen, Tahpenes (LXX. Thekemina), and of another princess (LXX.) who had married the Edomite chief, Hadad. A year elapsed, and a son, Abijah (or Abijam), was born. Then Jeroboam again requested permission to depart, which was granted; and he returned with his wife and child to his native place, Sarira, or Zereda, which he fortified, and which in consequence became a centre for his fellow tribesmen (1 K. xi. 41, xii. 24, LXX.). Still there was no open act of insurrection, and it was in this period of suspense (according to the LXX.) that a pathetic incident darkened his domestic history. His infant son fell sick. The anxious

father sent his wife to inquire of God concerning him. Jerusalem would have been the obvious place to visit for this purpose. But no doubt political reasons forbade. The ancient sanctuary of Shiloh was nearer at hand; and it so happened that a prophet was now residing there, of the highest repute. It was Ahijah—the same who, according to the common version of the story, had already been in communication with Jeroboam, but who, according to the authority we are now following, appears for the first time on this occasion. He was 60 years of age—but was prematurely old, and his eyesight had already failed him. He was living, as it would seem, in poverty, with a boy who waited on him, and with his own little children. For him and for them, the wife of Jeroboam brought such gifts as were thought likely to be acceptable; ten loaves, and two rolls for the children (LXX.), a bunch of raisins (LXX.), and a jar of honey. She had disguised herself, to avoid recognition; and perhaps these humble gifts were part of the plan. But the blind prophet, at her first approach, knew who was coming; and bade his boy go out to meet her, and invite her to his house without delay. There he warned her of the uselessness of her gifts. There was a doom on the house of Jeroboam, not to be averted; those who grew up in it and died in the city would become the prey of the hungry dogs; they who died in the country would be devoured by the vultures. This child alone would die before the calamities of the house arrived; "They shall mourn for the child, Woe, O Lord, for in him there is found a good word regarding the Lord,"—or according to the other version, "all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him; for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward Jehovah the God of Israel in the house of Jeroboam" (1 K. xiv. 13, LXX. xii.). The mother returned. As she re-entered the town of Sarira (Heb. Tirzah, 1 K. xiv. 17), the child died. The loud wail of her attendant damsels greeted her on the threshold (LXX.). The child was buried, as Ahijah had foretold, with all the state of the child of a royal house. "All Israel mourned for him" (1 K. xiv. 18). This incident, if it really occurred at this time, seems to have been the turning point in Jeroboam's career. It drove him from his ancestral home, and it gathered the sympathies of the tribe of Ephraim round him. He left Sarira and came to Shechem. The Hebrew text describes that he was sent for. The LXX. speaks of it as his own act. However that may be, he was thus at the head of the northern tribes, when Rehoboam, after he had been on the throne for somewhat more than a year, came up to be inaugurated in that ancient capital. Then (if we may take the account already given of Ahijah's interview as something separate from this), for the second time, and in a like manner, the Divine intimation of his future greatness is conveyed to him. The prophet Shemaiah, the Enlomite (?) (δ' Ἐνλαμί, LXX.) addressed to him the same acted parable, in the ten shreds of a new unwashed garment (LXX.). Then took place the conference with Rehoboam (Jeroboam appearing in it, in the Hebrew text, but not in the LXX.), and the final revolt; \* which ended (expressly in the Hebrew text, in the LXX. by

\* This omission is however borne out by the Hebrew text, 1 K. xii. 20, "when all Israel heard that J. was come again."

\* The cry of revolt, 1 K. xii. 16, is the same as that in 2 Sam. xx. 1.

implicator) in the elevation of Jeroboam to the throne of the northern kingdom. Shemaiah remained on the spot and deterred Rehoboam from an attack. Jeroboam entered at once on the duties of his new situation, and fertilized Shechem as his capital on the west, and Penuel (close by the old Transjordanic capital of Mahanaim) on the east.

II. Up to this point there had been nothing to disturb the anticipations of the Prophetic Order and of the mass of Israel as to the glory of Jeroboam's future. But from this moment one fatal error crept, not unnaturally, into his policy, which undermined his dynasty and tarnished his name as the first king of Israel. The political disruption of the kingdom was complete; but its religious unity was as yet unimpaired. He feared that the yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem would undo all the work which he effected, and he took the bold step of rending it asunder. Two sanctuaries of venerable antiquity existed already—one at the southern, the other at the northern extremity of his dominions. These he elevated into seats of the national worship, which should rival the newly established Temple at Jerusalem. As Abderrahman, caliph of Spain, arrested the movement of his subjects to Mecca, by the erection of the holy place of the Zecca at Cordova, so Jeroboam trusted to the erection of his shrines at Dan and Bethel. But he was not satisfied without another deviation from the Mosaic idea of the national unity. His long stay in Egypt had familiarised him with the outward forms under which the Divinity was there represented; and now for the first time since the Exodus, was an Egyptian element introduced into the national worship of Palestine. A golden figure of Mnevis, the sacred calf of Heliopolis, was set up at each sanctuary, with the address, "Behold thy God ('Elohim'—comp. Neh. ix. 18) which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The sanctuary at DAN, as the most remote from Jerusalem, was established first (1 K. xii. 30) with priests from the distant tribes, whom he consecrated instead of the Levites (xii. 31; xiii. 33). The more important one, as nearer the capital and in the heart of the kingdom, was BETHEL. The worship and the sanctuary continued till the end of the northern kingdom. The priests were supplied by a peculiar form of consecration—any one from the non-Levitical tribes could procure the office on sacrificing a young bullock and seven rams (1 K. xiii. 33; 2 Chr. xiii. 9). For the dedication of this he copied the precedent of Solomon in choosing the feast of Tabernacles as the occasion; but postponing it for a month, probably in order to meet the vintage of the most northern parts. On the fifteenth day of this month (the 8th), he went up in state to offer incense on the altar which was before the calf. It was at this solemn and critical moment that a prophet from Judah suddenly appeared, whom Josephus with great probability identifies with Iddo the Seer (he calls him *ladôn*, *Ant.* viii. 8, §5; and see Jerome, *Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chr. x. 4), who denounced the altar, and foretold its desecration by Josiah, and violent overthrow. It is not clear from the account, whether it is intended that the overthrow took place then, or in the earthquake described by Amos (ix. 1). Another sign is described as taking place instantly. The king stretching out his hand to arrest the prophet, felt it withered and paralyzed, and only at the prophet's

<sup>d</sup> The Targum on Ruth iv. 20, mentions Jeroboam's having stationed guards on the roads, which guards had been slain by the people of Netophah;

prayer saw it restored, and acknowledged his divine mission. Josephus adds, but probably only in conjecture from the sacred narrative, that the prophet who seduced Iddo on his return, did so in order to prevent his obtaining too much influence over Jeroboam, and endeavored to explain away the miracles to the king, by representing that the altar fell because it was new, and that his hand was paralyzed from the fatigue of sacrificing. A further allusion is made to this incident in the narrative of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, §4), where Zedekiah is represented as contrasting the potency of Iddo in withering the hand of Jeroboam with the powerlessness of Micaiah to wither the hand of Zedekiah. The visit of Anu to Ahijah, which the common Hebrew text places after this event, and with darker intimations in Ahijah's warning only suitable to a later period, has already been described.

Jeroboam was at constant war with the house of Judah, but the only act distinctly recorded is a battle with Abijah, son of Rehoboam; in which in spite of a skilful ambush made by Jeroboam, and of much superior force, he was defeated, and for the time lost three important cities, Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephraim.<sup>d</sup> The calamity was severely felt; he never recovered the blow, and soon after died, in the 22nd year of his reign (2 Chr. xiii. 20), and was buried in his ancestral sepulchre (1 K. xiv. 20). His son Nadab, or (LXX.) Nebat (named after the grandfather), succeeded, and in him the dynasty was closed. The name of Jeroboam long remained under a cloud as the king who "had caused Israel to sin." At the time of the Reformation, it was a common practice of Roman Catholic writers to institute comparisons between his separation from the sanctuary of Judah, and that of Henry VIII. from the see of Rome.

2. JEROBOAM II., the son of Joash, the 4th of the dynasty of Jehu. The most prosperous of the kings of Israel. The contemporary accounts of his reign are, (1.) in the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. xiv. 28), which are lost, but of which the substance is given in 2 K. xiv. 23-29. (2.) In the contemporary prophets Hosea and Amos, and (perhaps) in the fragments found in Is. xv. xvi. It had been foretold in the reign of Jehoahaz that a great deliverer should come, to rescue Israel from the Syrian yoke (comp. 2 K. xiii. 4, xiv. 26, 27), and this had been expanded into a distinct prediction of Jonah, that there should be a restoration of the widest dominion of Solomon (xiv. 25). This "saviour" and "restorer" was Jeroboam. He not only repelled the Syrian invaders, but took their capital city Damascus (2 K. xiv. 28; Am. i. 3-5), and recovered the whole of the ancient dominion from Hamath to the Dead Sea (xiv. 25; Am. vi. 14). Ammon and Moab were reconquered (Am. i. 13, ii. 1-3); the Transjordanic tribes were restored to their territory (2 K. xiii. 5; 1 Chr. x. 17-22).

But it was merely an outward restoration. The sanctuary at Bethel was kept up in royal state (Am. vii. 13), but drunkenness, licentiousness, and oppression, prevailed in the country (Am. ii. 6-8, iv. 1, vi. 6; Hos. iv. 12-14, i. 2), and idolatry was united with the worship of Jehovah (Hos. iv. 13, xiii. 6).

Amos prophesied the destruction of Jeroboam and his house by the sword (Am. vii. 9, 17), and but what is here alluded to, or when it took place, we have at present no clue to.

Amaziah, the high-priest of Bethel, complained to the king (Am. vii. 10-13). The effect does not appear. Hosea (Hos. i. 1) also denounced the crimes of the nation. The prediction of Amos was not fulfilled as regarded the king himself. He was buried with his ancestors in state (2 K. xiv. 29).

Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 561 note) supposes that Jerobeam was the subject of Ps. xlv. [A. P. S.]

**JEROHAM** (יֵרוֹחַם: *Jeroham*). 1. (Ἰεροβόαμ, both MSS. at 1 Chr. vi. 27; but Alex. Ἰεροάμ at ver. 34), father of Elkanah, the father of Samuel, of the house of Kohath. His father is called Eliab at 1 Chr. vi. 27, Eliel at ver. 34, and Elihu at 1 Sam. i. 1. Jeroham must have been about the same age as Eli. [A. C. H.]

2. (Ἰροάμ, Alex. Ἰεροάμ.) A Benjamite, and the founder of a family of Bene-Jeroham (1 Chr. viii. 27). They were among the leaders of that part of the tribe which lived in Jerusalem, and which is here distinguished from the part which inhabited Gibeon. Probably the same person is intended in

3. (Ἰεροβόαμ.) Father (or progenitor) of Ibneiah, one of the leading Benjamites of Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 8; comp. 3 and 9).

4. (Ἰραάμ, Alex. Ἰεραάμ.) A descendant of Aaron, of the house of Immer, the leader of the sixteenth course of priests; son of Pashur and father of Adnah (1 Chr. ix. 12). He appears to be mentioned again in Neh. xi. 12 (a record curiously and puzzlingly parallel to that of 1 Chr. ix., though with some striking differences), though there he is stated to belong to the house of Malchiah, who was leader of the fifth course (and comp. Neh. xi. 14).

5. (Ἰροάμ.) Jeroham of Gedor (יְרוֹחַם הַגִּדּוֹר), some of whose "sons" joined David when he was taking refuge from Saul at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7). The list purports to be of Benjamites (see ver. 2, where the word "even" is interpolated, and the last five words belong to ver. 3). But then how can the presence of Korhites (ver. 7), the descendants of Korah the Levite, be accounted for?

6. (Ἰρωάβ, Alex. Ἰωραάμ.) A Danite, whose son or descendant Azareel was head of his tribe in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 22).

7. (Ἰωραάμ.) Father of Azariah, one of the "captains of hundreds" in the time of Athaliah; one of those to whom Jehoiada the priest confided his scheme for the restoration of Joash (2 Chr. xxiii. 1). [G.]

**JERUBBAAL** (יֵרֻבְעָאֵל: Ἰεροβάαλ; Alex. Ἰεροβόαμ, Judg. vi. 32, Ἰεροβάαλ in vii. 1: *Jerobaal*), the surname of Gideon which he acquired in consequence of destroying the altar of Baal, when his father defended him from the vengeance of the Abi-ezrites. The A. V. of Judg. vi. 32, which has "therefore on that day he called him Jerubbaal," implying that the surname was given by Joash, should rather be, in accordance with a well-known Hebrew idiom, "one called him," i. e. he was called by the men of his city.

\* ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβάσεως, λεγομένης δ' ἐξοχῆς, Jos. Ant. ix. 1, § 2.

Other names borne by Jerusalem are as follows: 1. **ANIEL**, the "lion of God," or according to another interpretation, the "hearth of God" (Is. xxix. 1, 2, 7; comp. Ez. xliii. 16). For the former signification compare Ps. lxxvi. 1, 2 (Stanley, *S. & P.* 171). 2. ἡ ἁγία πόλις, "the holy city," Matt. iv. 5 and xxvii. 53 only. Both these passages would seem to refer to Zion—the sacred portion of the place, in which the Temple was situated. It also occurs—ἡ π. ἡ ἁγ.—

The LXX. in the same passage have ἐκλεουσ αὐτὸν, "he called it," i. e. the altar mentioned in the preceding verse; but as in all other passages they recognise Jerubbaal as the name of Gideon, the reading should probably be αὐτὸν. In Judg. viii. 35 the Vulg. strictly follows the Heb., *Jerobaal Gedeon*. The Alex. version omits the name altogether from Judg. ix. 57. Besides the passages quoted it is found in Judg. vii. 1, viii. 29, ix. 1, 5, 16, 19, 24, 28, and 1 Sam. xii. 11. In a fragment of Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* i. 9, § 21), Gideon appears as Hierombalos (Ἰερομβάλος), the priest of the God Ἴεὺδ, or Jehovah, from whom the Phœnician chronicler, Sanchroniatho of Beyrouth, received his information with regard to the affairs of the Jews. It is not a little remarkable that Josephus omits all mention both of the change of name and of the event it commemorates. [GIDEON.] [W. A. W.]

**JERUB'BESHETH** (יֵרֻבְשֶׁת: LXX., followed by the Vulgate, reads Ἰεροβῆσῆθ, or Cod. Alex. Ἰεροβόαμ), a name of Gideon (2 Sam. xi. 21). A later generation probably abstained from pronouncing the name (Ex. xxiii. 13) of a false god, and therefore changed Gideon's name (Judg. vi. 32) of Jerubbaal—"with whom Baal contends," into Jerub-besheth—"with whom the idol contends." Comp. similar changes (1 Chr. viii. 32, 34) of Eshbaal for Ishbosheth, and Meribbaal for Mephibosheth. [W. T. B.]

**JERU'EL, THE WILDERNESS** (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: ἡ ἐρήμος Ἰερουήλ: *Jeruel*), the place in which Jehoshaphat was informed by Jahaziel the Levite that he should encounter the hordes of Ammon, Moab, and the Mehunims, who were swarming round the south end of the Dead Sea to the attack of Jerusalem: "Ye shall find them at the end of the wady, facing the wilderness of Jeruel" (2 Chr. xx. 16). The "wilderness" contained a watch-tower (ver. 24), from which many a similar incursion had probably been descried. It was a well-known spot, for it has the definite article. Or the word (הַמְצֵפָה) may mean a commanding ridge,\* below which the "wilderness" lay open to view. The name has not been met with, but may yet be found in the neighbourhood of Tekoa and Berachah (perhaps *Bereikut*), east of the road between *Urtás* and Hebron. [G.]

**JERUSALEM** (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, i. e. Yerushalaim; or, in the more extended form, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, in 1 Chr. iii. 5, 2 Chr. xxv. 1, xxxii. 9, Esth. ii. 6, Jer. xxvi. 18, only; in the Chaldee passages of Ezra and Daniel, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, i. e. Yerushlem: LXX. Ἰερουσαλήμ; N. T. apparently indifferently Ἰερουσαλήμ and Ἱερουσόλυμα: Vulg. Cod. Amiat. *Hierusalem* and *Hierosolyma*, but in other old copies *Jerusalem*, *Jerosolyma*. In the A. V. of 1611 it is "Jerusalem," in O. T. and Apoc.; but in N. T. "Hierusalem.")\*

Rev. xi. 2. 3. Aelia Capitolina, the name bestowed by the emperor Hadrian (Aelius Hadrianus) on the city as rebuilt by him, A. D. 135, 136. These two names of the Emperor are inscribed on the well-known stone in the south-wall of the Aksa, one of the few Roman relics about which there can be no dispute. This name is usually employed by Eusebius (*Αἰλία*) and Jerome, in their *Onomasticon*. By Ptolemy it is given as *Καρωτωλιάς* (Reland, *Pal.* 462). 4. The Arabic names are *el-Khuds*, "the holy," or *Beit el-Makdis*, "the holy house," "the sanctuary." The former is that in

On the derivation and signification of the name considerable difference exists among the authorities. The Rabbis state that the name Shalem was bestowed on it by Shem (identical in their traditions with Melchizedek), and the name Jireh by Abraham, after the deliverance of Isaac on Mount Moriah,<sup>b</sup> and that the two were afterwards combined, lest displeasure should be felt by either of the two Saints at the exclusive use of one (Beresh. Rab. in Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v., also Lightfoot). Others, quoted by Reland (833), would make it mean "fear of Salem," or "sight of peace." The suggestion of Reland himself, adopted by Simonis (*Onom.* 467), and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 155 note) is **ירושלם**, "inheritance of peace," but this is questioned by Gesenius (*Thes.* 628 b) and Fürst (*Handb.* 547 b), who prefer **ירושלם**, the "foundation of peace."<sup>c</sup>

Another derivation, proposed by the fertile Hitzig (*Jesaja*, p. 2), is named by the two last great scholars only to condemn it. Others again, looking to the name of the Canaanite tribe who possessed the place at the time of the conquest, would propose Jebus-salem (Reiland, 834), or even Jebus-Solomon, as the name conferred on the city by the monarch when he began his reign of tranquillity.

Another controversy relates to the termination of the name—*Jerushalaim*—the Hebrew dual; and which, by Simonis and Ewald, is unhesitatingly referred to the double formation of the city, while reasons are shown against it by Reland and Gesenius. It is certain that on the two occasions where the latter portion of the name appears to be given for the whole (Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 2) it is Shalem, and not Shalaim; also that the five places, where the vowel points of the Masorets are supported by the letters of the original text, are of a late date, when the idea of the double city, and its reflection in the name, would have become familiar to the Jews. In this conflict of authorities the suggestion will perhaps occur to a bystander that the original formation of the name may have been anterior to the entrance of the Israelites on Canaan, and that *Jerushalaim* may be the attempt to give an intelligible Hebrew form to the original archaic name, just as centuries afterwards, when Hebrews in their turn gave way to Greeks, attempts were made to twist *Jerushalaim* itself into a shape which should be intelligible to Greek ears.<sup>d</sup> **Ἱεροσόλυμα**, "the holy Solyma" (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 10), **Ἱερὸν Σολομώνος**, "the holy place of Solomon" (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* ix. 34), or, on the other hand, the curious fancy quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* i. 34, 35) from Lysimachus—**Ἱερόσυλα**, "spoilers of temples"—

ordinary use at present. The latter is found in Arabic chronicles. The name *ash-Sherif*, "the venerable," or "the noble," is also quoted by Schultens in his *Index Geogr. in Vit. Salad.* 5. The corrupt form of *Aurushlīm* is found in Edrisi (Jaubert, i. 345), possibly quoting a Christian writer.

<sup>b</sup> The question of the identity of MORIAH with Jerusalem will be examined under that head.

<sup>c</sup> Such mystical interpretations as those of, Origen, τὸ πνεῦμα χάριτος αὐτῶν (from **חן** and **שלם**), or **Ἱερὸν εἰρήνης**, where half the name is interpreted as Greek and half as Hebrew, curious as they are, cannot be examined here. (See the catalogues preserved by Jerome.)

<sup>d</sup> Other instances of similar Greek forms given to Hebrew names are **Ἱερχώ** and **Ἱερούδι**.

are perhaps not more violent adaptations, or more wide of the real meaning of "Jerusalem," than that was of the original name of the city.

The subject of Jerusalem naturally divides itself into three heads:—

I. The place itself: its origin, position, and physical characteristics.

II. The annals of the city.

III. The topography of the town; the relative localities of its various parts; the sites of the "Holy Places" ancient and modern, &c.

#### I. THE PLACE ITSELF.

The arguments—if arguments they can be called—for and against the identity of the "Salem" of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) with Jerusalem—the "Salem" of a late Psalmist (Ps. lxxvi. 2)—are almost equally balanced. In favour of it are the unhesitating statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10, 2; vii. 3, 2; *B. J.* vi. 10<sup>f</sup>) and Eusebius (*Onom.* Ἱερουσαλήμ), the recurrence of the name Salem in the Psalm just quoted, where it undoubtedly means Jerusalem,<sup>g</sup> and the general consent in the identification. On the other hand is the no less positive statement of Jerome, grounded on more reason than he often vouchsafes for his statements<sup>h</sup> (*Ep. ad Evangelium*, §7), that "Salem was not Jerusalem, as Josephus and all Christians (*nostrī omnes*) believe it to be, but a town near Scythopolis, which to this day is called Salem, where the magnificent ruins of the palace of Melchizedek are still seen, and of which mention is made in a subsequent passage of Genesis—'Jacob came to Salem, a city of Shechem' (Gen. xxxiii. 18)." Elsewhere (*Onomasticon*, "Salem") Eusebius and he identify it with Shechem itself. This question will be discussed under the head of SALEM. Here it is sufficient to say (1) that Jerusalem suits the circumstances of the narrative rather better than any place further north, or more in the heart of the country. It would be quite as much in Abram's road from the sources of Jordan to his home under the oaks of Hebron, and it would be more suitable for the visit of the king of Sodom. In fact we know that, in later times at least, the usual route from Damascus avoided the central highlands of the country and the neighbourhood of Shechem, where *Salim* is now shown. (See Pompey's route in Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, §4; 4, §1.) (2) It is perhaps some confirmation of the identity, at any rate it is a remarkable coincidence, that the king of Jerusalem in the time of Joshua should bear the title Adoni-zedek—almost precisely the same as that of Melchizedek.

The question of the identity of Jerusalem with "Cadytis, a large city of Syria," "almost as large

<sup>e</sup> Philo carries this a step further, and, bearing in view only the sanctity of the place, he discards the Semitic member of the name, and calls it **Ἱερουσόλια**. It is exactly the complement of **πόλις Σολομῶνα** (Pausanias, viii. 16).

<sup>f</sup> In this passage he even goes so far as to say that Melchizedek, "the first priest of God," built there the first temple, and changed the name of the city from Soloma to Hierosoloma.

<sup>g</sup> A contraction analogous to others with which we are familiar in our own poetry; *c. gr.* Edin, or Edina, for Edinburgh.

<sup>h</sup> Winer is wrong in stating (*Reallex.* B. 79) that Jerome bases this statement on a Rabbinical tradition. The tradition that he quotes, in §5 of the same *Ep.* is as to the identity of Melchizedek with Shem.

of Sardinia," which is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159, iii. 5) as having been taken by Pharaoh-Necho, need not be investigated in this place. It is interesting, and, if decided in the affirmative, so far important as confirming the Scripture narrative; but does not in any way add to our knowledge of the history of the city. The reader will find it fully examined in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 246; Blakesley's *Herod.—Excursus* on Bk. iii. ch. 5 (both against the identification); and in Kenrick's *Egypt*, ii. 406, and *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geogr.* ii. 17 (both for it).

Nor need we do more than refer to the traditions—if traditions they are, and not mere individual speculations—of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2.) and Plutarch (*Is. et Osir.* ch. 31) of the foundation of the city by a certain Hierosolymus, a son of the Typhon (see Winer's note, i. 545). All the certain information to be gathered as to the early history of Jerusalem, must be gathered from the books of the Jewish historians alone.

It is during the conquest of the country that Jerusalem first appears in definite form on the scene in which it was destined to occupy so prominent a position. The earliest notice is probably that in Josh. xv. 8 and xviii. 16, 28, describing the landmarks of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin. Here it is styled Ha-Jebusi, i. e. "the Jebusite" (A. V. Jebusi), after the name of its occupiers, just as is the case with other places in these lists. [JEBUSI.] Next, we find the form JEBUS (*Judg.* xix. 10, 11)—"Jebus, which is Jerusalem . . . the city of the Jebusites;" and lastly, in documents which profess to be of the same age as the foregoing—we have Jerusalem (*Josh.* x. 1, &c., xii. 10; *Judg.* i. 7, &c.). To this we have a parallel in Hebron, the other great city of Southern Palestine, which bears the alternative title of Kirjath-Arba in these very same documents.

It is one of the obvious peculiarities of Jerusalem—but to which Professor Stanley appears to have been the first to call attention—that it did not become the capital till a comparatively late date in the career of the nation. Bethel, Shechem, Hebron, had their beginnings in the earliest periods of national life—but Jerusalem was not only not a chief city, it was not even possessed by the Israelites till they had gone through one complete stage of their life in Palestine, and the second—the monarchy—had been fairly entered on. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* 169.)

The explanation of this is no doubt in some measure to be found in the fact that the seats of the government and the religion of the nation were originally fixed farther north—first at Shechem and Shiloh; then at Gibeah, Nob, and Gibeon; but it is also no doubt partly due to the natural strength of Jerusalem. The heroes of Joshua's army who traced the boundary-line which was to separate the possessions of Judah and Benjamin, when, after passing the spring of En-rogel, they

went along the "ravine of the son of Hinnom," and looked up to the "southern shoulder of the Jebusite" (*Josh.* xv. 7, 8) must have felt that to scale heights so great and so steep would have fully taxed even their tried prowess. We shall see when we glance through the annals of the city that it did effectually resist the tribes of Judah and Simeon not many years later. But when, after the death of Ishbosheth, David became king of a united and powerful people, it was necessary for him to leave the remote Hebron and approach nearer to the bulk of his dominions. At the same time it was impossible to desert the great tribe to which he belonged, and over whom he had been reigning for seven years. Out of this difficulty Jerusalem was the natural escape, and accordingly at Jerusalem David fixed the seat of his throne and the future sanctuary of his nation.

The boundary between Judah and Benjamin, the north boundary of the former and the south of the latter, ran at the foot of the hill on which the city stands, so that the city itself was actually in Benjamin, while by crossing the narrow ravine of Hinnom you set foot on the territory of Judah. That it was not far enough to the north to command the continued allegiance of the tribe of Ephraim, and the others which lay above him, is obvious from the fact of the separation which at last took place. It is enough for the vindication of David in having chosen it to remember that that separation did not take place during the reigns of himself or his son, and was at last precipitated by misgovernment combined with feeble shortsightedness. And if not actually in the centre of Palestine it was yet virtually so. "It was on the ridge, the broadest and most strongly marked ridge of the back-bone of the complicated hills which extend through the whole country from the Plain of Esdraelon to the Desert. Every wanderer, every conqueror, every traveller who has trod the central route of Palestine from N. to S. must have passed through the table-land of Jerusalem. It was the water-shed between the streams, or rather the torrent-beds, which find their way eastward to the Jordan, and those which pass westward to the Mediterranean (Stanley, *S. & P.* 176)."

This central position, as expressed in the words of Ezekiel (v. 5), "I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries round about her," led in later ages to a definite belief that the city was actually in the centre of the earth—in the words of Jerome, "umbilicus terrae," the central boss or navel of the world. (See the quotations in *Reland, Pal.* 52 and 838; *Jos. B. J.* iii. 3, §5; also Stanley, *S. & P.* 116.)

At the same time it should not be overlooked that, while thus central to the people of the country, it had the advantage of being remote from the great high road of the nations which so frequently passed by Palestine, and therefore enjoyed a certain immunity from disturbance. The only

cidences" (*Pt.* ii. 17), and is also favoured by Stanley (*S. & P.* 176), is derived from a Jewish tradition, quoted by Lightfoot (*Prospect of the Temple*, ch. 1), to the effect that the altars and sanctuary were in Benjamin, the courts of the Temple were in Judah.

§ This is prettily expressed in a rabbinical figure quoted by Otho (*Lex.* 266):—"The world is like to an eye; the white of the eye is the ocean surrounding the world; the black is the world itself; the pupil is Jerusalem, and the image in the pupil, the Temple."

1 This appears from an examination of the two corresponding documents, *Josh.* xv. 7, 8, and xviii. 16, 17. The line was drawn from En-shemesh—probably *Ain Haud*, below Bethany—to En-rogel—either *Ain Ayub* or the Fountain of the Virgin; thence it went by the ravine of Hinnom and the southern shoulder of the Jebusite—the steep slope of the modern Zion; climbed the heights on the west of the ravine, and struck off to the spring at Nephtoa, probably *Lifta*. The other view, which is made the most of by Blunt in one of his ingenious "coin-



practicable route for a great army, with baggage, siege-trains, &c., moving between Egypt and Assyria was by the low plain which bordered the sea-coast from Tyre to Pelusium. From that plain the central table-land on which Jerusalem stood was approached by valleys and passes generally too intricate and precipitous for the passage of large bodies. One road there was less rugged than the rest—that from Jaffa and Lydda up the pass of the Beth-horons to Gibeon, and thence, over the hills, to the north side of Jerusalem; and by this route, with few if any exceptions, armies seem to have approached the city. But, on the other hand, we shall find, in tracing the annals of Jerusalem, that great forces frequently passed between Egypt and Assyria, and battles were fought in the plain by large armies, nay, that sieges of the towns on the Mediterranean coast were conducted, lasting for years, without apparently affecting Jerusalem in the least.

Jerusalem stands in latitude  $31^{\circ} 46' 35''$  North, and longitude  $35^{\circ} 18' 30''$  East of Greenwich.\* It is 32 miles distant from the sea, and 18 from the Jordan; 20 from Hebron, and 36 from Samaria. "In several respects," says Professor Stanley, "its situation is singular among the cities of Palestine. Its elevation is remarkable; occasioned not from its being on the summit of one of the numerous hills of Judaea, like most of the towns and villages, but because it is on the edge of one of the highest table-lands of the country. Hebron indeed is higher still by some hundred feet, and from the south, accordingly (even from Bethlehem), the approach to Jerusalem is by a slight descent. But from any other side the ascent is perpetual; and to the traveller approaching the city from the E. or W. it must always have presented the appearance beyond any other capital of the then known world—we may say beyond any important city that has ever existed on the earth—of a mountain city; breathing, as compared with the sultry plains of Jordan, a mountain air; enthroned, as compared with Jericho or Damascus, Gaza or Tyre, on a mountain fastness" (*S. & P.* 170, 1).

The elevation of Jerusalem is a subject of constant reference and exultation by the Jewish writers. Their fervid poetry abounds with allusions to its height,<sup>m</sup> to the ascent thither of the tribes from all parts of the country. It was the habitation of Jehovah, from which "He looked upon all the inhabitants of the world" (Ps. xxxiii. 14): its kings were "higher than the kings of the earth" (Ps. lxxxix. 27). In the later Jewish literature of narrative and description this poetry is reduced to prose, and in the most exaggerated form. Jerusalem was so high that the flames of Jammia were visible from it (2 Macc. xii. 4). From the tower of Psephinus, outside the walls, could be discerned on the one hand the Mediterranean Sea, on the other the country of Arabia (Jos. E. J. v. 4, §3). Hebron could be seen from the roofs of the Temple (Light-foot, *Chor. Cent.* xlix.). The same thing can be traced in Josephus's account of the environs of the city, in which he has exaggerated what is in truth a remarkable ravine, to a depth so enormous that the head swam and the eyes failed in gazing into its recesses (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5).

\* Such is the result of the latest observations possessed by the Lords of the Admiralty, and officially communicated to the Consul of Jerusalem in 1852 (*Rob.* iii. 183). To what part of the town the ob-

In exemplification of these remarks it may be said that the general elevation of the western ridge of the city, which forms its highest point, is about 2600 feet above the level of the sea. The Mount of Olives rises slightly above this, 2724 feet. Beyond the Mount of Olives, however, the descent is remarkable; Jericho—13 miles off—is no less than 3624 feet below, viz., 900 feet under the Mediterranean. On the north, Bethel, at a distance of 11 miles, is 419 feet below Jerusalem. On the west Ramleh—25 miles—is 2274 feet below. Only to the south, as already remarked, are the heights slightly superior,—Bethlehem, 2704; Hebron, 3029. A table of the heights of the various parts of the city and environs is given further on.

The situation of the city in reference to the rest of Palestine, has been described by Dr. Robinson in a well-known passage, which is so complete and graphic a statement of the case, that we take the liberty of giving it entire.

"Jerusalem lies near the summit of a broad mountain ridge. This ridge or mountainous tract extends, without interruption, from the plain of Esdraelon to a line drawn between the south end of the Dead Sea and the S. E. corner of the Mediterranean: or more properly, perhaps, it may be regarded as extending as far south as to *Jebel 'Arâif* in the desert; where it sinks down at once to the level of the great western plateau. This tract, which is every where not less than from twenty to twenty-five geographical miles in breadth, is in fact high uneven table-land. It every where forms the precipitous western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea; while towards the west it sinks down by an offset into a range of lower hills, which lie between it and the great plain along the coast of the Mediterranean. The surface of this upper region is everywhere rocky, uneven, and mountainous; and is moreover cut up by deep valleys which run east or west on either side towards the Jordan or the Mediterranean. The line of division, or water-shed, between the waters of these valleys,—a term which here applies almost exclusively to the waters of the rainy season,—follows for the most part the height of land along the ridge; yet not so but that the heads of the valleys, which run off in different directions, often interlap for a considerable distance. Thus, for example, a valley which descends to the Jordan often has its head a mile or two westward of the commencement of other valleys which run to the western sea.

"From the great plain of Esdraelon onwards towards the south, the mountainous country rises gradually, forming the tract anciently known as the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; until in the vicinity of Hebron it attains an elevation of nearly 3000 Paris feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. Further north, on a line drawn from the north end of the Dead Sea towards the true west, the ridge has an elevation of only about 2500 Paris feet; and here, close upon the water-shed, lies the city of Jerusalem.

"Six or seven miles N. and N.W. of the city is spread out the open plain or basin round about *el-Jib* (Gibeon), extending also towards *el-Mel* (Beerth); the waters of which flow off at its S.E.

servations apply is not stated. Other results, only slightly differing, will be found in Van de Veld's *Memoir.* 64, and in Rob. i. 259.  
<sup>m</sup> See the passages quoted by Stanley (*S. & P.* 171)

part through the deep valley here called by the Arabs *Wady Beit Hanina*; but to which the monks and travellers have usually given the name of the Valley of Turpentine, or of the Terebinth, on the mistaken supposition that it is the ancient Valley of Elah. This great valley passes along in a S.W. direction an hour or more west of Jerusalem; and finally opens out from the mountains into the western plain, at the distance of six or eight hours S.W. from the city, under the name of *Wady es-Sâir*. The traveller, on his way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, descends into and crosses this deep valley at the village of *Különich* on its western side, an hour and a half from the latter city. On again reaching the high ground on its eastern side, he enters upon an open tract sloping gradually downwards towards the south and east; and sees before him, at the distance of a mile and a half, the walls and domes of the Holy City, and beyond them the higher ridge or summit of the Mount of Olives.

The traveller now descends gradually towards the city along a broad swell of ground, having at some distance on his left the shallow northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and close at hand on his right the basin which forms the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom. Upon the broad and elevated promontory within the fork of these two valleys, lies the Holy City. All around are higher hills; on the east, the Mount of Olives; on the south, the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called, rising directly from the Vale of Hinnom; on the west, the ground rises gently, as above described, to the borders of the great Wady; while on the north, a bend of the ridge connected with the Mount of Olives bounds the prospect at the distance of more than a mile. Towards the S.W. the view is somewhat more open; for here lies the plain of Rephaim, already described, commencing just at the southern brink of the Valley of Hinnom, and stretching off S.W., where it runs to the western sea. In the N.W., too, the eye reaches up along the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and from many points, can discern the mosque of *Nebv Samveil*, situated on a lofty ridge beyond the great Wady, at the distance of two hours" (Robinson's *Bibl. Researches*, i. 258-260).

So much for the local and political relation of Jerusalem to the country in general. To convey an idea of its individual position, we may say roughly, and with reference to the accompanying Plan, that the city occupies the southern termination of a table-land, which is cut off from the country round it on its west, south, and east sides, by ravines more than usually deep and precipitous. These ravines leave the level of the table-land, the one on the west and the other on the north-east of the city, and fall rapidly until they form a junction below its south-east corner. The eastern one—the valley of the Kedron, commonly called the Valley of Jehoshaphat, runs nearly straight from north to south. But the western one—the Valley of Hinnom—runs south for a time and then takes a sudden bend to the east until it meets the Valley of Jehoshaphat, after which the two rush off as one to the Dead Sea. How sudden is their descent may be gathered from the fact, that the level at the point of junction—about a mile and a quarter from the

starting point of each—is more than 600 feet below that of the upper plateau from which they commenced their descent. Thus, while on the north there is no material difference between the general level of the country outside the walls, and that of the highest parts of the city; on the other three sides, so steep is the fall of the ravines, so trench-like their character, and so close do they keep to the promontory, at whose feet they run, as to leave on the beholder almost the impression of the ditch at the foot of a fortress, rather than of valleys formed by nature.

The promontory thus encircled is itself divided by a longitudinal ravine running up it from south to north, rising gradually from the south like the external ones, till at last it arrives at the level of the upper plateau, and dividing the central mass into two unequal portions. Of these two, that on the west—the "Upper City" of the Jews,—the Mount Zion of modern tradition—is the higher and more massive; that on the east—Mount Moriah, the "Akra" or "lower city" of Josephus, now occupied by the great Mohammedan sanctuary with its mosques and domes—is at once considerably lower and smaller, so that, to a spectator from the south, the city appears to slope sharply towards the east.<sup>a</sup> This central valley, at about halfway up its length, threw out a subordinate on its left or west side, which apparently quitted it at about right angles, and made its way up to the general level of the ground at the present Jaffa or Bethlehem gate. We say apparently, because covered as the ground now is, it is difficult to ascertain the point exactly. Opinions differ as to whether the straight valley north and south, or its southern half, with the branch just spoken of, was the "Tyropean valley" of Josephus. The question will be examined in Section III. under the head of the Topography of the Ancient City.

One more valley must be noted. It was on the north of Moriah, and separated it from a hill on which, in the time of Josephus, stood a suburb or part of the city called *Bezetha*, or the *New-town*. Part of this depression is still preserved in the large reservoir with two arches, usually called the Pool of Bethesda, near the St. Stephen's gate. It also will be more explicitly spoken of in the examination of the ancient topography.

This rough sketch of the *terrain* of Jerusalem, will enable the reader to appreciate the two great advantages of its position. On the one hand the ravines which entrench it on the west, south, and east—out of which, as has been said, the rocky slopes of the city rise almost like the walls of a fortress out of its ditches, must have rendered it impregnable on those quarters to the warfare of the old world. On the other hand, its junction with the more level ground on its north and north-west sides, afforded an opportunity of expansion, of which we know advantage was taken, and which gave it remarkable superiority over other cities of Palestine, and especially of Judah, which, though secure on their hill-tops, were unable to expand beyond them (Stanley, *S. & P.*, 174, 5).

The heights of the principal points in and round the city, above the Mediterranean Sea, as given, by Lt. Van de Velde, in the *Memoir*<sup>o</sup> accompanying his Map, 1858, are as follow:—

<sup>o</sup> A table of levels, differing somewhat from those of Lt. Van de Velde, will be found in Barclay's *City*, 103, 4.

<sup>a</sup> The character of the ravines and the eastward slope of the site are very well and very truthfully shown in a view in Bartlett's *Walks*, entitled "Mount Zion, Jerusalem, from the Hill of Evil Counsel."

	Feet.
N.W. corner of the city ( <i>Kasr Jalud</i> ) . . . . .	2610
Mount Zion ( <i>Coenaculum</i> ) . . . . .	2537
Mount Moriah ( <i>Haram esh Sherif</i> ) . . . . .	2429
Bridge over the Kedron, near Gethsemane . . . . .	2281
Pool of Siloam . . . . .	2114
<i>Bir-ayub</i> , at the confluence of Hinnom and Kedron . . . . .	1996
Mount of Olives, Church of Ascension on summit . . . . .	2724

From these figures it will be seen that the ridge on which the western half of the city is built, is tolerably level from north to south; that the eastern hill is more than a hundred feet lower; and that from the latter the descent to the floor of the valley at its feet—the *Bir-ayub*—is a drop of nearly 450 feet.

The Mount of Olives overtops even the highest part of the city by rather more than 100 feet, and the Temple-hill by no less than 300. Its northern and southern outliers—the *Viri Galilaei*, *Scopus*, and *Mount of Offence*—bend round slightly towards the city, and give the effect of “standing round about Jerusalem.” Especially would this be the case to a worshipper in the Temple. “It is true,” says Professor Stanley, “that this image is not realised, as most persons familiar with European scenery would wish, and expect it to be realised.

. . . Any one facing Jerusalem westward, northward, or southward will always see the city itself on an elevation higher than the hills in its immediate neighbourhood, its towers and walls standing out against the sky, and not against any high background, such as that which incloses the mountain towns and villages of our own Cumbrian or Westmoreland valleys. Nor again is the plain on which it stands inclosed by a continuous, though distant, circle of mountains like Athens or Innsbruck. The mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem are of unequal height, and only in two or three instances—*Neby-Samuel*, *Er-Ram*, and *Tuleil el-Ful*—rising to any considerable elevation. Still they act as a shelter; they must be surmounted before the traveller can see, or the invader attack, the Holy City; and the distant line of Moab would always seem to rise as a wall against invaders from the remote east. It is these mountains, expressly including those beyond the Jordan, which are mentioned as “standing round about Jerusalem” in another and more terrible sense, when, on the night of the assault of Jerusalem by the Roman armies, they “echoed back” the screams of the inhabitants of the captured city, and the victorious shouts of the soldiers of Titus. The situation of Jerusalem was thus not unlike, on a small scale, to that of Rome, saving the great difference that Rome was in a well-watered plain, leading direct to the sea, whereas Jerusalem was on a bare table-land, in the heart of the country. But each was situated on its own cluster of steep hills; each had room for future expansion in the surrounding level; each, too, had its nearer and its more remote barriers of protecting hills—Rome its *Janiculum* hard by, and its *Apennine* and *Alban* mountains in the distance; Jerusalem its *Olivet* hard by, and on the outposts of its plain, *Mizpeh*, *Gibeon*, and *Ramah*, and the ridge which divides it from *Bethlehem* (*S. & P.* 174, 5).

*Roads.*—There appear to have been but two main approaches to the city. 1. From the Jordan valley by *Jericho* and the *Mount of Olives*. This was the route commonly taken from the north and east of the country—as from *Galilee* by our Lord (*Luke* xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xix. 1, 29, 45, &c.), from *Damascus* by *Pompey* (*Joseph. Ant.* xiv. 3, §4;

4, §1), to *Mahanaim* by *David* (2 *Sam.* xv. xvi.). It was also the route from *Paid* (2 *Chr.* xxviii. 15). The latter part of the approach, over the *Mount of Olives*, as generally followed at the present day, is identical with what it was, at least in one memorable instance, in the time of *Christ*. A path more route still runs more to the south, round the shoulder of the principal summit (see *S. & P.* 193). In the later times of Jerusalem this road crossed the valley of the *Kedron* by a bridge or viaduct on a double series of arches, and entered the Temple by the gate *Susan*. (See the quotations from the *Talmud* in *Otho, Lex. Rab.* 265; and *Barclay*, 102, 282.) The insecure state of the *Jordan* valley has thrown this route very much into disuse, and has diverted the traffic from the north to a road along the central ridge of the country. 2. From the great maritime plain of *Philistia* and *Sharon*. This road led by the two *Bethhorons* up to the high ground at *Gibeon*, whence it turned south, and came to Jerusalem by *Kannah* and *Gibeah*, and over the ridge north of the city. This is still the route by which the heavy traffic is carried, though a shorter but more precipitous road is usually taken by travellers between Jerusalem and *Jaffa*. In tracing the annals we shall find that it was the route by which large bodies, such as armies, always approached the city, whether from *Gaza* on the south, or from *Caesarea* and *Ptolemais* on the north. 3. The communication with the mountainous districts of the south is less distinct. Even *Hebron*, after the establishment of the monarchy at Jerusalem, was hardly of importance enough to maintain any considerable amount of communication, and only in the wars of the *Macabees* do we hear of any military operations in that region.

The roads out of Jerusalem were a special subject of *Solomon's* care. He paved them with black stone—probably the basalt of the *Transjordanic* districts (*Joseph. Ant.* viii. 7, §4).

*Gates.*—The situation of the various gates of the city is examined in Section III. It may, however, be desirable to supply here a complete list of those which are named in the Bible and *Josephus*, with the references to their occurrences:—

1. Gate of *Ephraim*. 2 *Chr.* xxv. 23; *Neh.* viii. 16, xii. 39. This is probably the same as the
2. Gate of *Benjamin*. *Jer.* xx. 2, xxxvii. 13; *Zech.* xiv. 10. If so, it was 400 cubits distant from the
3. Corner gate. 2 *Chr.* xxv. 23, xxvi. 9; *Jer.* xxxi. 38; *Zech.* xiv. 10.
4. Gate of *Joshua*, governor of the city. 2 *K.* xxiii. 8.
5. Gate between the two walls. 2 *K.* xv. 4; *Jer.* xxxix. 4.
6. Horse gate. *Neh.* iii. 38; 2 *Chr.* xxiii. 16; *Jer.* xxxi. 40.
7. Ravine gate (*i. e.* opening on ravine of *Hinnom*). 2 *Chr.* xxvi. 9; *Neh.* ii. 13, 15, iii. 15.
8. Fish gate. 1 *Chr.* xxxiii. 14; *Neh.* El. 1, *Zeph.* i. 16.
9. Dung gate. *Neh.* ii. 13, iii. 13.
10. Sheep gate. *Neh.* iii. 1, 32, xii. 39.
11. East gate. *Neh.* iii. 29.
12. *Miphkad*. *Neh.* iii. 31.
13. Fountain gate (*Siloam*?). *Neh.* xii. 37.
14. Water gate. *Neh.* xii. 37.
15. Old gate. *Neh.* xii. 39.
16. Prison gate. *Neh.* xii. 39.

17. Gate Harsith (perhaps the Sun: A. V. F-st. gate). Jer. xix. 2.  
 18. First gate. Zech. xiv. 10.  
 19. Gate Gennath (gardens). Joseph. B. J. v.

4, §4.

20. Essenes' gate. Jos. B. J. 4, §2.

To these should be added the following gates of the Temple:—

- Gate Sur. 2 K. xi. 6. Called also Gate of foundation. 2 Chr. xxiii. 5.  
 Gate of the guard, or behind the guard. 2 K. ii. 6, 19. Called the High gate. 2 Chr. xxiii. 20, xxvii. 3; 2 K. xv. 35.  
 Gate Shallecheth. 1 Chr. xxvi. 16.

**Burial-grounds.**—The main cemetery of the city seems from an early date to have been where it is still—on the steep slopes of the valley of the Kidron. Here it was that the fragments of the idol abominations, destroyed by Josiah, were cast on the "graves of the children of the people" (2 K. xxiii. 6), and the valley was always the receptacle for impurities of all kinds. There Maachah's idol was burnt by Asa (1 K. xv. 13); there, according to Josephus, Athaliah was executed; and there the "filthiness" accumulated in the sanctuary, by the false-worship of Ahaz, was discharged (2 Chr. xxix. 5, 16). But in addition to this, and, although there is only a slight allusion in the Bible to the fact (Jer. vii. 32), many of the tombs now existing in the face of the ravine of Hinnom, on the south of the city, must be as old as Biblical times—and if so, show that this was also used as a cemetery. The monument of Ananus the high-priest (Joseph. B. J. v. 12, §2) would seem to have been in this direction.

The tombs of the kings were in the city of David, that is, Mount Zion, which, as will be shown in the concluding section of this article, was an eminence on the northern part of Mount Moriah. The royal sepulchres were probably chambers containing separate recesses for the successive kings. [TOMBS.] Of some of the kings it is recorded that, not being thought worthy of a resting-place there, they were buried in separate or private tombs in Mount Zion (2 Chr. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25; 2 K. xv. 7). Ahaz was not admitted to Zion at all, but was buried in Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxviii. 27). Other spots also were used for burial. Somewhere to the north of the Temple, and not far from the wall, was the monument of king Alexander (Jos. B. J. v. 7, §3). Near the north-west corner of the city was the monument of John the high-priest (Jos. v. 6, §2, &c.), and to the north-east the "monument of the Fuller" (Jos. B. J. v. 4, §2). On the north, too, were the monuments of Herod (v. 3, §2) and of queen Helena (v. 2, §2, 3, §3), the former close to the "Serpent's Pool."

**Wood; Gardens.**—We have very little evidence as to the amount of wood and of cultivation that existed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The king's gardens of David and Solomon seem to have been in the bottom formed by the confluence of the Kedron and Hinnom (Neh. iii. 15; Joseph. Ant. vii. 14, §4, ix. 10, §4). The Mount of Olives, as its name and those of various places upon it seem to imply, was a fruitful spot. At its foot was situated the Garden of Gethsemane. At the time of the final siege the space north of the wall of Agrippa was covered with gardens, groves, and plantations of fruit-trees, inclosed by hedges and walls; and to level these was one of Titus's first operations (B. J. v. 3, §2). We know that the gate Gennath (i. e. "of gardens") opened on this

side of the city (B. J. v. 4, §2). The valley of Hinnom was in Jerome's time "a pleasant and woody spot, full of delightful gardens watered from the fountain of Siloah" (Comm. in Jer. vii. 30). In the Talmud mention is made of a certain rose-garden outside the city, which was of great fame, but no clue is given to its situation (Otho, Lex. Rab. 266). [GARDEN.] The sieges of Jerusalem were too frequent during its later history to admit of any considerable growth of wood near it, even if the thin soil, which covers the rocky substratum, would allow of it. And the scarcity of earth again necessitated the cutting down of all the trees that could be found for the banks and mounds, with which the ancient sieges were conducted. This is expressly said in the accounts of the sieges of Pompey and Titus. In the latter case the country was swept of its timber for a distance of eight or nine miles from the city (B. J. vi. 8, §1, &c.).

**Water.**—How the gardens just mentioned on the north of the city were watered it is difficult to understand, since at present no water exists in that direction. At the time of the siege (Jos. B. J. v. 3, §2) there was a reservoir in that neighbourhood called the Serpent's Pool; but it has not been discovered in modern times. The subject of the waters is more particularly discussed in the third section, and reasons are shown for believing that at one time a very copious source existed somewhere north of the town, the outflow of which was stopped—possibly by Hezekiah, and the water led underground to reservoirs in the city and below the Temple. From these reservoirs the overflow escaped to the so-called Fount of the Virgin, and thence to Siloam, and possibly to the *Bir-ayûb* or "Well of Nehemiah." This source would seem to have been, and to be still the only spring in the city—but it was always provided with private and public cisterns. Some of the latter still remain. Outside the walls to the west side (*Birket Mamilla*, and *Birket es-Sultân*), generally known as the upper and lower reservoirs of Gihon, the small "pool of Siloam," with the larger *B. el-Hamra* close adjoining, and the *B. Hammam Sitti Maryam*, close to the St. Stephen's Gate. Inside are the so-called Pool of Hezekiah (*B. el-Batrak*), near the Jaffa gate, which receives the surplus water of the *Birket Mamilla*; and the *B. Israil* on the opposite side of the city, close to the St. Stephen's Gate, commonly known as the Pool of Bethesda. These two reservoirs are probably the Pools of Amygdalon and Struthius of Josephus, respectively. Dr. Barclay has discovered another reservoir below the *Mekemeh* in the low part of the city—the Tyropeon valley—west of the *Haram*, supplied by the aqueduct from Bethlehem and "Solomon's Pools." It is impossible within the limits of the present article to enter more at length into the subject of the waters. The reader is referred to the chapters on the subject in Barclay's *City of the Great King*, (x. and xviii.) and Williams's *Holy City*; also to the articles KIDRON; SILOAM; POOL.

**Streets, Houses, &c.**—Of the nature of these in the ancient city we have only the most scattered notices. The "East street" (2 Chr. xxix. 4); the "street of the city"—i. e. the city of David (xxxii. 6); the "street facing the water gate" (Neh. viii. 1, 3)—or, according to the parallel account in 1 Esdr. ix. 38, the "broad place" (*εὐρύχωρον*) of the Temple towards the East; the street of the house of God (Ezr. x. 9); the street of the gate of Ephraim" (Neh. viii. 16)

and the "open place of the first gate towards the East" must have been not "streets" in our sense of the word, so much as the open spaces found in eastern towns round the inside of the gates. This is evident, not only from the word used, *Rechob*, which has the force of breadth or room, but also from the nature of the occurrences related in each case. The same places are intended in Zech. viii. 5. Streets, properly so called (*Chutzoth*), there were (Jer. v. 1; xi. 13, &c.), but the name of only one, "the bakers' street" (Jer. xxxvii. 21), is preserved to us. This is conjectured, from the names, to have been near the tower of ovens (Neh. xii. 38; "furnaces" is incorrect). A notice of streets of this kind in the 3rd century B.C. is preserved by Aristæus (see p. 999a). At the time of the destruction by Titus the low part of the city was filled with narrow lanes, containing the bazaars of the town, and when the breach was made in the second wall it was at the spot where the cloth, brass, and wool bazaars abutted on the wall.

To the houses we have even less clue, but there is no reason to suppose that in either houses or streets the ancient Jerusalem differed very materially from the modern. No doubt the ancient city did not exhibit that air of mouldering dilapidation which is now so prominent there—that sooty look which gives its houses the appearance of "having been burnt down many centuries ago" (Richardson, in *S. & P.* 183), and which, as it is characteristic of so many Eastern towns, must be ascribed to Turkish neglect. In another respect too the modern city must present a different aspect from the ancient—the dull monotony of colour which, at least during a part of the year,<sup>p</sup> pervades the slopes of the hills and ravines outside the walls. Not only is this the case on the west, where the city does not relieve the view, but also on the south. A dull leaden ashy hue overspreads all. No doubt this is due, wholly or in part, to the enormous quantities of *débris* of stone and mortar which have been shot over the precipices after the numerous demolitions of the city. The whole of the slopes south of the Haram area (the ancient Ophel), and the modern Zion, and the west side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, especially near the St. Stephen's gate, are covered with these *débris*, lying as soft and loose as the day they were poured over, and presenting the appearance of gigantic mounds of rubbish.

In this point at least the ancient city stood in favourable contrast with the modern, but in many others the resemblance must have been strong. The nature of the site compels the walls in many places to retain their old positions. The southern part of the summit of the Upper city and the slopes of Ophel are now bare, where previous to the final siege they were covered with houses, and the North wall has retired very much south of where it then stood; but, on the other hand, the West and East, and the western corner of the North, wall, are what they always were. And the look of the walls and gates, especially the Jaffa-gate, with the "Citadel" adjoining, and the Damascus-gate, is probably hardly changed from what it was. True, the minarets, domes, and spires, which give such a variety to the modern town, must have been absent; but their place was supplied by the four great towers at the north-west part of the wall; by the upper stories

and turrets of Herod's palace, the palace of the Asmoneans, and the other public buildings; while the lofty fortress of Antonia, towering far above every building within the city,<sup>a</sup> and itself surmounted by the keep on its south-east corner, must have formed a feature in the view not altogether unlike (though more prominent than) the "citadel" of the modern town. The flat roofs and the absence of windows, which give an Eastern city so startling an appearance to a Western traveller, must have existed then as now.

But the greatest resemblance must have been on the south-east side, towards the Mount of Olives. Though there can be no doubt (see below, Section III. p. 1019, 20) that the enclosure is now much larger than it was, yet the precinct of the *Haram es Sherif*, with its domes and sacred buildings, some of them clinging to the very spot formerly occupied by the Temple, must preserve what we may call the personal identity of this quarter of the city, but little changed in its general features from what it was when the Temple stood there. Nay, more; in the substructions of the enclosure, those massive and venerable walls, which once to see is never to forget, is the very masonry itself, its lower courses undisturbed, which was laid there by Herod the Great, and by Agrippa, possibly even by still older builders.

*Environs of the City.*—The various spots in the neighbourhood of the city will be described at length under their own names, and to them the reader is accordingly referred. See EX-ROGEL; HISSOR; KEDRON; OLIVES, MOUNT OF, &c. &c.

## II. THE ANNALS OF THE CITY.

In considering the annals of the city of Jerusalem, nothing strikes one so forcibly as the number and severity of the sieges which it underwent. We catch our earliest glimpse of it in the brief notice of the 1st chapter of Judges, which describes how the "children of Judah smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire;" and almost the latest mention of it in the New Testament is contained in the solemn warnings in which Christ foretold how Jerusalem should be "compassed with armies" (Luke xxi. 20), and the abomination of desolations in the Holy Place (Matt. xxiv. 15). In the fifteen centuries which elapsed between those two points the city was besieged no fewer than seventeen times; twice it was razed to the ground; and on two other occasions its walls were levelled. In this respect it stands without a parallel in any city ancient or modern. The fact is one of great significance. The number of the sieges testifies to the importance of the city as a key to the whole country, and as the depository of the accumulated treasures of the Temple, no less forcibly than do the difficulties of the position, the protracted length to the difficulties of the position, and the obstinate enthusiasm of the Jewish people. At the same time the details of these operations, scanty as they are, throw considerable light on the difficult topography of the place; and on the whole they are in every way so characteristic, that it has seemed not unfit to use them as far as possible as a frame-work for the following rapid sketch of the history of the city.

The first siege appears to have taken place almost immediately after the death of Joshua (*ibid.* <sup>a</sup> "Conspicuo fastigio turris Antoria" (*ibid.* v. 11).

<sup>p</sup> The writer was there in September, and the aspect above described left an ineffaceable impression on him.

1400 B.C.). Judah and Simeon had been ordered by the divine oracle at Shiloh or Shechem to commence the task of actual possession of the portions distributed by Joshua. As they traversed the region south of these they encountered a large force of Canaanites at Bezek. These they dispersed, took prisoner Adoni-bezek, a ferocious petty chieftain, who was the terror of the country, and swept on their southward road. Jerusalem was soon reached. It was evidently too important, and also too near the actual limits of Judah, to be passed by. "They fought against it and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire" (Judg. i. 8). To this brief notice Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, §2) makes a material addition. He tells us that the siege lasted some time (*σὺν χρόνῳ*); that the part which was taken at last, and in which the slaughter was made, was the lower city; but that the upper city was so strong, "by reason of its walls and also of the nature of the place," that they relinquished the attempt and moved off to Hebron (*Ant.* v. 2, §23). These few valuable words of the old Jewish historian reveal one of those topographical peculiarities of the place—the possession of an upper as well as a lower city—which differentiated it so remarkably from the other towns of Palestine—which enabled it to survive so many sieges and partial destructions, and which in the former section we have endeavoured to explain. It is not to be wondered at that these characteristics, which must have been impressed with peculiar force on the mind of Josephus during the destruction of Jerusalem, of which he had only lately been a witness, should have recurred to him when writing the account of the earlier sieges.\*

As long as the upper city remained in the hands of the Jebusites they practically had possession of the whole—and a Jebusite city in fact it remained for a long period after this. The Benjamites followed the men of Judah to Jerusalem, but with no better result—"They could not drive out the Jebusites, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day" (Judg. i. 21). At the time of the sad story of the Levite (Judg. xix.)—which the mention of Phinehas (xx. 28) fixes as early in the period of the Judges—

Benjamin can hardly have had even so much footing as the passage just quoted would indicate; for the Levite refuses to enter it, not because it was hostile, but because it was "the city of a stranger, and not of Israel." And this lasted during the whole period of the Judges, the reign of Saul, and the reign of David at Hebron.† Owing to several circumstances—the residence of the Ark at Shiloh—Saul's connexion with Gibeah, and David's with Ziklag and Hebron—the disunion of Benjamin and Judah, symbolised by Saul's persecution of David—the tide of affairs was drawn northwards and southwards, and Jerusalem, with the places adjacent, was left in possession of the Jebusites. But as soon as a man was found to assume the rule over all Israel both north and south, so soon was it necessary that the seat of government should be moved from the remote Hebron nearer to the centre of the country, and the choice of David at once fell on the city of the Jebusites.

David advanced to the siege at the head of the men-of-war of all the tribes who had come to Hebron "to turn the kingdom of Saul to him." They are stated as 280,000 men, choice warriors of the flower of Israel (1 Chr. xii. 23-39). No doubt they approached the city from the south. The ravine of the Kedron, the valley of Hinnom, the hills south and south-east of the town, the uplands on the west must have swarmed with these hardy warriors. As before, the lower city was immediately taken—and as before, the citadel held out (Josh. *Ant.* vii. 3, §1). The undaunted Jebusites, believing in the impregnability of their fortress, manned the battlements "with lame and blind."‡ But they little understood the temper of the king or of those he commanded. David's anger was thoroughly roused by the insult (*ὀργισθεῖς*, Joseph.), and he at once proclaimed to his host that the first man who would scale the rocky side of the fortress and kill a Jebusite should be made chief captain of the host. A crowd of warriors (*πάντες*, Joseph.) rushed forward to the attempt, but Job's superior agility gained him the day, and the citadel, the fastness of ZION, was taken (cir. 1046 B.C.). It is the first time that that memorable name appears in the history.

Hums, and still showing traces of extensive artificial works. Nor does the agreement between the representation in the records and the site of Jerusalem fare better. For the stream, which was supposed to represent the ravines of Jerusalem—the nearest point of the resemblance—contained at Ketchesh water enough to drown several persons (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschrift*, ii. 21, &c.).

§ The passage which forms the latter clause of 2 Sam. v. 8 is generally taken to mean that the blind and the lame were excluded from the Temple. But where is the proof that this was the fact? On one occasion at least we know that "the blind and the lame" came to Christ in the Temple, and He healed them (Matt. xxi. 14). And indeed what had the Temple, which was not founded till long after this, to do with the matter? The explanation—which is in accordance with the accentuation of the Masorets, and for which the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne—would seem to be that it was a proverb used in future with regard to any impregnable fortress—"The blind and the lame are there; let him enter the place if he can."

\* A romantic legend is preserved in the *Midrash Tehillim*, on Ps. xciii. 29, of the stratagem by which Joab succeeded in reaching the top of the wall. (See it quoted in Eisenmenger, i. 476, 7.)

\* According to Josephus, they did not attack Jerusalem till after they had taken many other towns—*πλείστα τε λαβόντες, ἐπολιόκουν* 'I.

† See this noticed and contrasted with the situation of the villages in other parts by Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* 161, 177, &c.).

‡ About half way through the period of the Judges—i. e. cir. B.C. 1320—occurred an invasion of the territory of the Hittites (Khatti) by Sethe I. king of Egypt, and the capture of the capital city, Ketchesh, in the land of Amar. This would not have been noticed here, had not Ketchesh been by some writers identified with Jerusalem (Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony*, &c.; also Williams in *Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 23, 4). The grounds of the identification are (1) the apparent affinity of the name (which they read Chadash) with the Greek *Kādous*, the modern Arabic *el-Kuds*, and the Syriac *Kādatha*; (2) the affinity of Amar with Amorites; (3) a likeness between the form and situation of the city, as shown in a rude sketch in the Egyptian records, and that of Jerusalem. But on closer examination these correspondences vanish. Egyptian scholars are now agreed that Jerusalem is much too far south to suit the requirements of the rest of the campaign, and that Ketchesh survives in *Kides*, a name discovered by Robinson attached to a lake and island on the Orontes between *Ribleh* and

David at once proceeded to secure himself in his new acquisition. He inclosed the whole of the city with a wall, and connected it with the citadel. In the latter he took up his own quarters, and the Zion of the Jebusites became "the city of David."<sup>x</sup> [ZION; MILLO.] The rest of the town was left to the more immediate care of the new captain of the host.

The sensation caused by the fall of this impregnable fortress must have been enormous. It reached even to the distant Tyre, and before long an embassy arrived from Hiram, the king of Phoenicia, with the characteristic offerings of artificers and materials to erect a palace for David in his new abode. The palace was built, and occupied by the fresh establishment of wives and concubines which David acquired. Two attempts were made—the one by the Philistines alone (2 Sam. v. 17-21; 1 Chr. xiv. 8-12), the other by the Philistines, with all Syria and Phoenicia (Joseph. Ant. vii. 4, §1; 2 Sam. v. 22-25) to attack David in his new situation, but they did not affect the city, and the actions were fought in the "Valley of Giants," apparently north of Jerusalem, near Gibeah or Gibeon. The arrival of the Ark, however, was an event of great importance. The old Tabernacle of Bezaleel and Aholiab being now pitched on the height of Gibeon, a new tent had been spread by David in the fortress for the reception of the Ark; and here, "in its place," it was deposited with the most impressive ceremonies, and Zion became at once the great sanctuary of the nation. It now perhaps acquired the name of Beth ha-har, the "house of the mount," of which we catch a glimpse in the LXX. addition to 2 Sam. xv. 24. In this tent the Ark remained, except for its short flight to the foot of the Mount of Olives with David (xv. 24-29), until it was removed to its permanent resting-place in the temple of Solomon.

In the fortress of Zion, too, was the sepulchre of David, which became also that of most of his successors.

The only works of ornament which we can ascribe to David are the "royal gardens," as they are called by Josephus, which appear to have been formed by him in the level space south-east of the city, formed by the confluence of the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom, screened from the sun during part of the day by the shoulders of the inclosing mountains, and irrigated by the well *Ain Ayub*, which still appears to retain the name of Joab (Jos. Ant. vii. 14, §4; ix. 10, §4).

Until the time of Solomon we hear of no additions to the city. His three great works were the Temple, with its east wall and cloister (Jos. B. J. v. 5, §1), his own Palace, and the Wall of Jerusalem. The two former will be best described elsewhere. [PALACE; SOLOMON; TEMPLE.] Of the last there is an interesting notice in Josephus (Ant. viii. 2, §1; 6, §1), from which it appears that David's wall was a mere rampart without towers, and only of moderate strength and height. One of the first acts of the new king was to make the walls larger—probably extend them round some outlying parts of the city—and strengthen them (1 K. iii. 1, with the explanation of Josephus, viii. 2, §1). But on the completion

of the Temple he again turned his attention to the walls, and both increased their height and constructed very large towers along their work of his in Jerusalem was the repair or fortification of Millo, whatever that strange term may signify (1 K. ix. 15, 24). It was in the works at Millo and the city of David—it is uncertain whether the latter consisted of stopping breaches (as in A. V.) or filling a ditch round the fortress (the Vulg. and others)—that Jeroboam first came under the notice of Solomon (1 K. xi. 27). Another was a palace for his Egyptian queen—of the situation of which all we know is that it was not in the city of David (1 K. vii. 8, ix. 24, with the addition in 2 Chr. viii. 11). But there must have been much besides these to fill up the measure of "all that Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem" (2 Chr. viii. 6)—the vast Harem for his 700 wives and 300 concubines, and their establishment—the colleges for the priests of the various religions of these women—the stables for the 1400 chariots and 12,000 riding horses. Outside the city, probably on the Mount of Olives, there remained, down to the latest times of the monarchy (2 K. xxiii. 13), the fane which had been erected for the worship of foreign gods (1 K. xi. 7), and which have still left their name clinging to the "Mount of Offence."

His care of the roads leading to the city is the subject of a special panegyric from Josephus (Ant. viii. 7, §4). They were, as before observed, paved with black stone, probably the hard basalt from the region of Argob, on the east of Jordan, where he had a special resident officer.

As long as Solomon lived, the visits of foreign powers to Jerusalem were those of courtesy and amity; but with his death this was changed. A city, in the palaces of which all the vessels were of pure gold, where spices, precious stones, rare woods, curious animals were accumulated in the greatest profusion; where silver was no more valued than the stones of the street, and considered too mean a material for the commonest of the royal purposes—such a city, governed by such a *fainéant* prince as Rehoboam, was too tempting a prey for the surrounding kings. He had only been on the throne four years (cir. 970 B.C.) before Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Judah with an enormous host, took the fortified places and advanced to the capital. Jerusalem was crowded with the chief men of the realm who had taken refuge there (2 Chr. xii. 5), but Rehoboam did not attempt resistance. He opened his gates apparently on a promise from Shishak that he would not pillage (Joseph. Ant. viii. 10, §3). However the promise was not kept, the treasures of the Temple and palace were carried off, and special mention is made of the golden bucklers (122), which were being

by Solomon in the house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K. xiv. 25; 2 Chr. xii. 9; comp. 1 K. x. 17).

Jerusalem was again threatened in the reign of Asa (grandson of Rehoboam), when Zerah the Cushite, or king of Ethiopia (Joseph. Ant. viii. 12, §1), probably incited by the success of Shishak, invaded the country with an enormous host of his

<sup>x</sup> In the N. T. "the city of David" means Bethlehem.

<sup>y</sup> According to Josephus he also carried off the arms which David had taken from the king of Zobah.

but these were afterwards in the Temple and did service at the proclamation of king Josiah. [ALSO SHELET, p. 112 a.]

lowers (2 Chr. xiv. 9). He came by the road through the low country of Philistia, where his chariots could find level ground. But Asa was more faithful and more valiant than Rehoboam had been. He did not remain to be blockaded in Jerusalem, but went forth and met the enemy at Maresah, and repulsed him with great slaughter (cir. 940). The consequence of this victory was a great reformation extending throughout the kingdom, but most demonstrative at Jerusalem. A vast assembly of the men of Judah and Benjamin, of Simeon, even of Ephraim and Manasseh—now "strangers" (זָרִים)—was

gathered at Jerusalem. Enormous sacrifices were offered; a prodigious enthusiasm seized the crowded city, and amidst the clamour of trumpets and shouting, oaths of loyalty to Jehovah were exchanged, and threats of instant death denounced on all who should forsake His service. The altar of Jehovah in front of the porch of the Temple, which had fallen into decay, was rebuilt; the horrid idol of the queen-mother—the mysterious Asherah, doubtless an abomination of the Syrian worship of her grandmother—was torn down, ground to powder, and burnt in the ravine of the Kedron. At the same time the vessels of the Temple, which had been plundered by Shishak, were replaced from the spoil taken by Abijah from Ephraim, and by Asa himself from the Cushites (2 Chr. xv. 8-19; 1 K. xv. 12-15). This prosperity lasted for more than ten years, but at the end of that interval the Temple was once more despoiled, and the treasures so lately dedicated to Jehovah were sent by Asa, who had himself dedicated them, as bribes to Benhadad at Damascus, where they probably enriched the temple of Rimmon (2 Chr. xvi. 2, 3, 1 K. xv. 18). Asa was buried in a tomb excavated by himself in the royal sepulchres in the citadel.

The reign of his son Jehoshaphat, though of great prosperity and splendour, is not remarkable as regards the city of Jerusalem. We hear of a "new court" to the Temple, but have no clue to its situation or its builder (2 Chr. xx. 5). An important addition to the government of the city was made by Jehoshaphat in the establishment of courts for the decision of causes both ecclesiastical and civil (2 Chr. xix. 8-11).

Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram was a prince of a different temper. He began his reign (cir. 887) by a massacre of his brethren and of the chief men of the kingdom. Instigated no doubt by his wife Athaliah, he reintroduced the profligate licentious worship of Ashteroth and the high places (2 Chr. xxi. 11), and built a temple for Baal (2 Chr. xxiii. 17; comp. Jos. Ant. ix. 7, §4). Though a man of great vigour and courage he was overcome by an invasion of one of those huge hordes which were now almost periodical. The Philistines and Arabians attacked Jerusalem, broke into the palace, spoiled it of all its treasures, sacked the royal harem, killed or carried off the king's wives, and all his sons but one. This was the fourth siege. Two years

after it the king died, universally detested, and so strong was the feeling against him that he was denied a resting-place in the sepulchres of the kings, but was buried without ceremony in a private tomb on Zion (2 Chr. xxi. 20).

The next events in Jerusalem were the massacre of the royal children by Joram's widow Athaliah, and the six years' reign of that queen. During her sway the worship of Baal was prevalent and that of Jehovah proportionately depressed. The Temple was not only suffered to go without repair, but was even mutilated by the sons of Athaliah, and its treasures removed to the temple of Baal (2 Chr. xxiv. 7). But with the increasing years of Joash, the spirit of the adherents of Jehovah returned, and the confederacy of Jehoiada the priest with the chief men of Judah resulted in the restoration of the true line. The king was crowned and proclaimed in the Temple. Athaliah herself was hurried out to execution from the sacred precincts into the valley of the Kedron (Jos. Ant. ix. 7, §3) between the Temple and Olivet, through the horse gate.<sup>2</sup> The temple of Baal was demolished; his altars and images destroyed, his priests put to death, and the religion of Jehovah was once more the national religion. But the restoration of the Temple advanced but slowly, and it was not till three and twenty years had elapsed, that through the personal interference of the king the ravages of the Baal worshippers were repaired (2 K. xii. 6-16), and the necessary vessels and utensils furnished for the service of the Temple (2 Chr. xxiv. 14. But see 2 K. xii. 13; Jos. Ant. iv. 8, §2). But this zeal for Jehovah soon expired. The solemn ceremonial of the burial of the good priest in the royal tombs, among the kings, can hardly have been forgotten before a general relapse into idolatry took place, and his son Zechariah was stoned with his family<sup>3</sup> in the very court of the Temple for protesting.

The retribution invoked by the dying martyr quickly followed. Before the end of the year (cir. 838), Hazael king of Syria, after possessing himself of Gath, marched against the much richer prize of Jerusalem. The visit was averted by a timely offering of treasure from the Temple and the royal palace (2 K. xii. 18; 2 Chr. xxiv. 23; Joseph. Ant. ix. 8, §4), but not before an action had been fought, in which a large army of the Israelites was routed by a very inferior force of Syrians, with the loss of a great number of the principal people and of a vast booty. Nor was this all. These reverses so distressed the king as to bring on a dangerous illness, in the midst of which he was assassinated by two of his own servants, sons of two of the foreign women who were common in the royal harems. He was buried on Mount Zion, though, like Jehoram, denied a resting place in the royal tombs (2 Chr. xxiv. 25). The predicted danger to the city was however only postponed. Amaziah began his reign (B.C. 837) with a promise of good; his first act showed that while he knew how to avenge the murder of his father, he could also restrain his wrath within the bounds prescribed by

<sup>2</sup> The horse-gate is mentioned again in connexion with Kidron by Jeremiah (xxxi. 40). Possibly the name was perpetuated in the gate Susan (*Sus* = horse) of the second Temple, the only gate on the east side of the outer wall (Lightfoot, *Prosp. of Temple*, iii.).

<sup>3</sup> From the expression in xxiv. 25, "sons of Jehoiada," we are perhaps warranted in believing that Zechariah's brethren or his sons were put to death with him. The LXX. and Vulg. have the word in

the singular number, "son;" but, on the other hand, the Syr. and Arabic and the Targum all agree with the Hebrew text, and it is specially mentioned in Jerome's *Qu. Hebr.* It is perhaps supported by the special notice taken of the exception made by Amaziah in the case of the murderers of his father (2 K. xiv. 6; 2 Chr. xxv. 4). The case of Naboth is a parallel. [See ELIJAH, p. 529 a.]



the law of Jehovah. But with success came deterioration. He returned from his victories over the Edomites, and the massacre at Petra, with fresh idols to add to those which already defiled Jerusalem—the images of the children of Seir, or of the Amalekites (Josephus), which were erected and worshipped by the king. His next act was a challenge to Joash the king of Israel, and now the danger so narrowly escaped from Hazael was actually encountered. The battle took place at Bethshemesh of Judah, at the opening of the hills, about 12 miles west of Jerusalem. It ended in a total rout. Amaziah, forsaken by his people, was taken prisoner by Joash, who at once proceeded to Jerusalem and threatened to put his captive to death before the walls, if he and his army were not admitted. The gates were thrown open, the treasures of the Temple—still in the charge of the same family to whom they had been committed by David—and the king's private treasures, were pillaged, and for the first time the walls of the city were injured. A clear breach was made in them of 400 cubits in length "from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate," and through this Joash drove in triumph, with his captive in the chariot, into the city.<sup>b</sup> This must have been on the north side, and probably at the present north-west corner of the walls. If so, it is the first recorded attempt at that spot, afterwards the favourite point for the attack of the upper city.

The long reign of Uzziah (2 K. xv. 1-7; 2 Chr. xxvi.) brought about a material improvement in the fortunes of Jerusalem. He was a wise and good prince (Joseph. ix. 10, §3), very warlike, and a great builder. After some campaigns against foreign enemies, he devoted himself to the care of Jerusalem for the whole of his life (Joseph.). The walls were thoroughly repaired, the portion broken down by Joash was rebuilt and fortified with towers at the corner gate; and other parts which had been allowed to go to ruin—as the gate opening on the Valley of Hinnom,<sup>d</sup> a spot called the "turning" (see Neh. iii. 19, 20, 24), and others, were renewed and fortified, and furnished for the first time with machines, then expressly invented for shooting stones and arrows against besiegers. Later in this reign happened the great earthquake, which, although unmentioned in the historical books of the Bible, is described by Josephus (ix. 10, §4), and alluded to by the Prophets as a kind of era (see Stanley, *S. & P.* 184, 125). A serious breach was made in the Temple itself, and below the city a large fragment was detached from the hill<sup>e</sup> at En-rogel, and rolling down the slope, overwhelmed the king's gardens at the junction of the Valleys of Hinnom and Kedron, and rested against the bottom of the slope of Olivet. After the leprosy of Uzziah, he left the sacred precincts, in which the palace would therefore seem to have been situated, and resided in the hospital or lazaret-house till his death.<sup>f</sup> He was buried on Zion, with the kings (2 K. xv. 7); not

<sup>b</sup> This is an addition by Josephus (ix. 9, §9). If it really happened, the chariot must have been sent round by a flatter road than that which at present would be the direct road from *Ain-Shems*. Since the time of Solomon, chariots would seem to have become unknown in Jerusalem. At any rate we should infer from the notice in 2 K. xiv. 20, that the royal establishment could not at that time boast of one.

<sup>c</sup> The story of his leprosy at any rate shows his zeal for Jehovah.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Chr. xxvi. 9. The word rendered "the valley"

in the sepulchre itself, but in a garden or field attached to the spot.

Jotham (cir. 756) inherited his father's sagacity as well as his tastes for architecture and warfare. His works in Jerusalem were building the upper gateway to the Temple—apparently a gate communicating with the palace (2 Chr. xxiii. 20)—and also porticoes leading to the same (*Ant.* ix. 11, §2). He also built much on Ophel—probably on the south of Moriah (2 K. xv. 35; 2 Chr. xxvii. 3), repaired the walls wherever they were dilapidated, and strengthened them by very large and strong towers (Jos.). Before the death of Jotham (B.C. 740) the clouds of the Syrian invasion began to gather. They broke on the head of Ahaz his successor; Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Israel joined their armies and invested Jerusalem (2 K. xvi. 5). The fortifications of the two previous kings enabled the city to hold out during a siege of great length (*ἐπι πολὺν χρόνον*, Jos.). During its progress Rezin made an expedition against the distant town of Elath on the Red Sea, from which he expelled the Jews, and handed it over to the Edomites (2 K. xvi. 6; *Ant.* ix. 12, §1). [*AHAZ.*] Finding on his return that the place still held out, Rezin ravaged Judaea and returned to Damascus with a multitude of captives, leaving Pekah to continue the blockade.

Ahaz, thinking himself a match for the Israelite army, opened his gates and came forth. A tremendous conflict ensued, in which the three chiefs of the government next to the king, and a hundred and twenty thousand of the able warriors of the army of Judah, are stated to have been killed, and Pekah returned to Samaria with a crowd of captives, and a great quantity of spoil collected from the Benjaminite towns north of Jerusalem (Joseph.). Ahaz himself escaped, and there is no mention in any of the records, of the city having been plundered. The captives and the spoil were however sent back by the people of Samaria—a fact which, as it has no bearing on the history of the city, need here only be referred to, because from the narrative we learn that the nearest or most convenient route from Samaria to Jerusalem at that time was, not, as now, along the plateau of the country, but by the depths of the Jordan valley, and through Jericho (2 K. xvi. 5; 2 Chr. xxviii. 5-15; Jos. *Ant.* ix. 12, §2).

To oppose the confederacy which had so injured him, Ahaz had recourse to Assyria. He appears first to have sent an embassy to Tiglath Pileser with presents of silver and gold taken from the treasures of the Temple and the palace (2 K. xvi. 8), which had been recruited during the last two reigns, and with a promise of more if the king would overrun Syria and Israel (*Ant.* ix. 12, §3). This Tiglath Pileser did. He marched to Damascus, took the city, and killed Rezin. While there, Ahaz visited him, probably to make his formal submission, and gave him the further promise of vassalage,<sup>g</sup> and gave him the further presents. To collect these he went so far as to lay hands on part of the permanent works of the

is *הַגִּבּוֹרִים*, always employed for the valley on the West and South of the town, as *נַחַל* is for that on the East.

<sup>e</sup> This will be the so-called Mount of Evil Counsel, or the hill below Moriah, according as En-rogel is taken to be the "Well of Joab" or the "Fount of the Virgin."

<sup>f</sup> *בֵּית הַחֶפְשׁוֹת*. The interpretation given above is that of Kimchi, adopted by Gesenius, Fürst, and Bertheau. Keil (on 2 K. xv. 5) and Hengstenberg, however, contend for a different meaning.

<sup>g</sup> This follows from the words of 2 K. xviii. 7.

Temple—the original constructions of Solomon, which none of his predecessors had been bold enough or needy enough to touch. He cut off the richly chased panels which ornamented the brass bases of the cisterns, dismantled the large tank or “sea” from the brazen bulls, and removed it on a pedestal of stone, and removed the “cover for the sabbath,” and the ornamental stand on which the kings were accustomed to sit in the Temple (2 K. xvi. 17, 18).

Whether the application to Assyria relieved Ahaz from one or both of his enemies, is not clear. From one passage it would seem that Tiglath Pileser actually came to Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxviii. 20). At any rate the intercourse resulted in fresh idolatries, and fresh insults to the Temple. A new brazen altar was made after the profane fashion of one he had seen at Damascus, and was set up in the centre of the court of the Temple, to occupy the place and perform the functions of the original altar of Solomon, now removed to a less prominent position (see 2 K. xvi. 12-15, with the expl. of Keil); the very sanctuary itself (הֵיכָל, and הַמִּזְבֵּחַ) was polluted by idol-worship of some kind or other (2 Chr. xxix. 5, 16). Horses dedicated to the sun, were stabled at the entrance to the court, with their chariots (2 K. xxiii. 11). Altars for sacrifice to the moon and stars were erected on the flat roofs of the Temple (ibid. 12). Such consecrated vessels as remained in the house of Jehovah were taken thence, and either transferred to the service of the idols (2 Chr. xxix. 19) or cut up and re-manufactured; the lamps of the sanctuary were extinguished<sup>b</sup> (xxix. 7), and for the first time the doors of the Temple were closed to the worshippers (xxviii. 24), and their offerings seized for the idols (Jos. Ant. ix. 12, §3). The famous sun-dial was erected at this time, probably in the Temple.<sup>1</sup> When Ahaz at last died, it is not wonderful that a meaner fate was awarded him than that of even the leprous Uzziah. He was excluded not only from the royal sepulchres, but from the precincts of Zion, and was buried “in the city—in Jerusalem.”<sup>2</sup> The very first act of Hezekiah (B.C. 724) was to restore what his father had desecrated (2 Chr. xxix. 3; and see 36, “suddenly”). The Levites were collected and inspired; the Temple freed from its impurities both actual and ceremonial; the accumulated abominations being discharged into the valley of the Kedron. The full musical service of the Temple was re-organised, with the instruments and the hymns ordained by David and Asaph; and after a solemn sin-offering for the late transgressions had been offered in the presence of the king and princes, the public were allowed to testify their acquiescence in the change by bringing their own thank-offerings (2 Chr. xxix. 1-36). This was done on the 17th of the first month of his reign. The re-

gular time for celebrating the Passover was therefore gone by. But there was a law (Num. ix. 10, 11) which allowed the feast to be postponed for a month on special occasions, and of this law Hezekiah took advantage, in his anxiety to obtain from the whole of his people a national testimony to their allegiance to Jehovah and His laws (2 Chr. xxx. 2, 3). Accordingly at the special invitation of the king a vast multitude, not only from his own dominions, but from the northern kingdom, even from the remote Asher and Zebulun, assembled at the capital. Their first act was to uproot and efface all traces of the idolatry of the preceding and former reigns. High-places, altars, the mysterious and obscene symbols of Baal and Asherah, the venerable brazen serpent of Moses itself, were torn down, broken to pieces, and the fragments cast into the valley of the Kedron<sup>k</sup> (2 Chr. xxx. 14; 2 K. xviii. 4). This done, the feast was kept for two weeks, and the vast concourse dispersed. The permanent service of the Temple was next thoroughly organised, the subsistence of the officiating ministers arranged, and provision made for storing the supplies (2 Chr. xxxi. 2-21). It was probably at this time that the decorations of the Temple were renewed, and the gold or other precious plating<sup>m</sup> which had been removed by former kings, re-applied to the doors and pillars (2 K. xviii. 16).

And now approached the greatest crisis which had yet occurred in the history of the city: the dreaded Assyrian army was to appear under its walls. Hezekiah had in some way intimated that he did not intend to continue as a dependent—and the great king was now (in the 14th year of Hezekiah, cir. 711 B.C.) on his way to chastise him. The Assyrian army had been for some time in Phoenicia and on the sea-coast of Philistia (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 476), and Hezekiah had therefore had warning of his approach. The delay was taken advantage of to prepare for the siege. As before, Hezekiah made the movement a national one. A great concourse came together. The springs round Jerusalem were stopped—that is, their outflow was prevented, and the water diverted underground to the interior of the city (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxii. 4). This was particularly the case with the spring which formed the source of the stream of the Kedron,<sup>n</sup> elsewhere called the “upper springhead of Gihon” (2 Chr. xxxii. 30; A. V. most incorrectly “water-course”). It was led down by a subterranean channel “through the hard rock” (2 Chr. xxxii. 30; Eccus. xlvi. 17), to the west side of the city of David (2 K. xx. 20), that is, into the valley which separated the Mount Moriah and Zion from the Upper City, and where traces of its presence appear to this day (Barclay, 310, 538). This done, he carefully repaired the walls of the city, furnished them with additional towers, and built a

<sup>a</sup> In the old Jewish Calendar the 18th of Ab was kept as a fast, to commemorate the putting out the western light of the great candlestick by Ahaz.

<sup>1</sup> There is an *a priori* probability that the dial would be placed in a sacred precinct; but may we not infer, from comparing 2 K. xx. 4 with 9, that it was in the “middle court,” and that the sight of it there as he passed through had suggested to Josiah the “sign” which was to accompany the king’s recovery!

<sup>2</sup> Such is the express statement of 2 Chr. xxviii. 27. The book of Kings repeats its regular formula. Josephus omits all notice of the burial.

<sup>k</sup> And yet it would seem, from the account of Josiah’s reforms (2 K. xxiii. 11, 12), that many of Ahaz’s intrusions survived even the zeal of Hezekiah.

<sup>m</sup> The word “gold” is supplied by our translators: but the word “overlaid” (הִבְלִיט) shows that some metallic coating is intended.

<sup>n</sup> The authority for this is the use here of the word *Nachal*, which is uniformly applied to the valley east of the city, as *Ge* is to that west and south. There are other grounds which are stated in the concluding section of this article. Similar measures were taken by the Moslems on the approach of the Crusaders (Will of Tyre, viii. 7, quoted by Robinson, i. 346 note).

second wall (2 Chr. xxxii. 5; Is. xxii. 10). The water of the reservoir, called the "lower pool," or the "old pool," was diverted to a new tank in the city between the two walls (Is. xxii. 11). Nor was this all: as the struggle would certainly be one for life and death he strengthened the fortifications of the citadel (2 Chr. xxxii. 5, "Millo;" Is. xxii. 9), and prepared abundance of ammunition. He also organised the people, and officered them, gathered them together in the open place at the gate, and inspired them with confidence in Jehovah (xxxii. 6).

The details of the Assyrian invasion or invasions will be found under the separate heads of SENNACHERIB and HEZEKIAH. It is possible that Jerusalem was once regularly invested by the Assyrian army. It is certain that the army encamped there on another occasion; that the generals—the Tartan, the chief Cup-bearer, and the chief Eunuch—held a conversation with Hezekiah's chief officers outside the walls, most probably at or about the present *Kasr Jalud* at the N. W. corner of the city, while the wall above was crowded with the anxious inhabitants. At the time of Titus's siege the name of "the Assyrian Camp" was still attached to a spot north of the city in remembrance either of this or the subsequent visit of Nebuchadnezzar (Jos. B. J. v. 12, §2). But though untaken—though the citadel was still the "virgin-daughter of Zion"—yet Jerusalem did not escape unharmed. Hezekiah's treasures had to be emptied, and the costly ornaments he had added to the Temple were stripped off to make up the tribute. This, however, he had recovered by the time of the subsequent visit of the ambassadors from Babylon, as we see from the account in 2 K. xx. 12; and 2 Chr. xxxii. 27-29. The death of this good and great king was indeed a national calamity, and so it was considered. He was buried in one of the chief of the royal sepulchres, and a vast concourse from the country, as well as of the citizens of Jerusalem, assembled to join in the wailings at the funeral (2 Chr. xxxii. 33).

The reign of Manasseh (B.C. 696) must have been an eventful one in the annals of Jerusalem, though only meagre indications of its events are to be found in the documents. He began by plunging into all the idolatries of his grandfather—restoring all that Hezekiah had destroyed, and desecrating the Temple and the city with even more offensive idolatries than those of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxxiii. 2-9; 2 K. xxi. 2-9). In this career of wickedness he was stopped by an invasion of the Assyrian army, by whom he was taken prisoner and carried to Babylon, where he remained for some time. The rest of his long reign was occupied in attempting to remedy his former misdoings, and in the repair and conservation of the city (Josh. Ant. x. 3, §2). He built a fresh wall to the citadel, "from the west side of Gihon-in-the-valley to the fish-gate," i. e. apparently along the east side of the central valley, which parts the upper and lower cities from S. to N. He also continued the works which had been begun by Jotham at Ophel, and raised that fortress or struc-

° The reservoir between the Jaffa gate and the Church of the Sepulchre, now usually called the Pool of Hezekiah, cannot be either of the works alluded to above. If an ancient construction it is probably the Almond Pool of Josephus. (For the reasons, see Williams, *Holy City*, 35-8, 488.)

† The narrative in Kings appears to place the destruction of the images after the king's solemn covenant in the Temple, i. e. after the completion of the repairs. But, on the other hand, there are the dates

ture to a great height. On his death he was buried in a private tomb in the garden attached to his palace, called also the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 20). Here also was interred his son Amon after his violent death, following an uneventful but idolatrous reign of two years (2 Chr. xxxiii. 21-25; 2 K. xxi. 19-26).

The reign of Josiah (B.C. 639) was marked by a more strenuous zeal for Jehovah than even that of Hezekiah had been. He began his reign at eight years of age, and by his 20th year (12th of his reign—2 Chr. xxxiv. 3) commenced a thorough removal of the idolatrous abuses of Manasseh and Amon, and even some of Ahaz, which must have escaped the purgations of Hezekiah (2 K. xxiii. 12). As on former occasions these abominations were broken up small and carried down to the bed of the Kidron—which seems to have served almost the purpose of a common sewer, and there calcined and dispersed. The cemetery, which still paves the sides of that valley, had already begun to exist, and the fragments of the broken altars and statues were scattered on the graves that they might be effectually defiled, and thus prevented from further use. On the opposite side of the valley, somewhere on the Mount of Olives, were the erections which Solomon had put up for the deities of his foreign wives. Not one of these was spared; they were all annihilated, and dead bones scattered over the places where they had stood. These things occupied six years, at the expiration of which, in the first month of the 18th year of his reign (2 Chr. xxxv. 1; 2 K. xxiii. 23), a solemn passover was held, emphatically revealed to have been the greatest since the time of Samuel (2 Chr. xxxv. 18). This seems to have been the crowning ceremony of the purification of the Temple; and it was at once followed by a thorough renovation of the fabric (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8; 2 K. xxiii. 3). The cost was met by offerings collected at the doors (2 K. xxii. 4), and also throughout the country (Jos. Ant. x. 4, §1), not only of Judah and Benjamin, but also of Ephraim and the other northern tribes (2 Chr. xxxiv. 9). It was during these repairs that the book of the Law was found; and shortly after all the people were convened to Jerusalem to hear it read, and to renew the national covenant with Jehovah. The mention of Huldah the prophetess (2 Chr. xxxiv. 22; 2 K. xxii. 14) introduces us to the lower city under the name of

"the Mishneh" (הַמִּשְׁנֶה), A. V. "college," "school," or "second part". The name also survives in the book of Zephaniah, a prophet of this reign (i. 10), who seems to recognize "the fish-gate," and "the lower city," and "the hills," as the three main divisions of the city.

Josiah's death took place at a distance from Jerusalem; but he was brought there for his burial, and was placed in "his own sepulchre" (2 K. xxiii. 30), or "in the sepulchre of his fathers" (2 Chr. xxxv. 24), probably that already tenanted by Manasseh and Amon. (See 1 Esd. i. 31.)

given in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 8, xxxv. 1, 19, which fix the Passover to the 14th of the 1st month of his 18th year, too early in the year for the repair which was begun in the same year to have preceded it.

¶ This narrative has some interesting correspondences with that of Josiah's coronation (2 K. xxi. Amongst these is the singular expression the king understood "on the pillar." In the present case Josephus understands this as an official spot—*ἐν τῷ ἑστύριον*.

¶ See Keil on 2 K. xxii. 14.

Joshiah rash opposition to Pharaoh-Necho cost him his life, his son his throne, and Jerusalem much suffering. Before Jehoahaz (B.C. 608) had been reigning three months, the Egyptian king found opportunity to send to Jerusalem, from Riblah where he was then encamped, a force sufficient to depose and take him prisoner, to put his brother Eliakim on the throne, and to exact a heavy fine from the city and country, which was paid in advance by the new king, and afterwards extorted by taxation (2 K. xxiii. 33, 35).

The fall of the city was now rapidly approaching. During the reign of Jehoiaqim—such was the new name which at Necho's order Eliakim had assumed—Jerusalem was visited by Nebuchadnezzar, with the Babylonian army lately victorious over the Egyptians at Carchemish. The visit was possibly repeated once, or even twice.<sup>1</sup> A siege there must have been; but of this we have no account. We may infer how severe was the pressure on the surrounding country, from the fact that the very Bedouins were driven within the walls by "the fear of the Chaldeans and of the Syrians" (Jer. xxv. 11). We may also infer that the Temple was entered, since Nebuchadnezzar carried off some of the vessels therefrom for his temple at Babylon (2 Chr. xxxvi. 7), and that Jehoiaqim was treated with great indignity (ib. 6). In the latter part of this reign we discern the country harassed and pillaged by marauding bands from the east of Jordan (2 K. xxiv. 2).

Jehoiaqim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin (B.C. 597). Hardly had his short reign begun before the terrible army of Babylon re-appeared before the city, again commanded by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). Jehoiachin's disposition appears to have made him shrink from inflicting on the city the horrors of a long siege (*B. J.* vi. 2, §1), and he therefore surrendered in the third month of his reign. The treasures of the palace and Temple were pillaged, certain golden articles of Solomon's original establishment, which had escaped the plunder and desecrations of the previous reigns, were cut up (2 K. xxiv. 13), and the more desirable objects out of the Temple carried off (Jer. xxvii. 19). The first deportation that we hear of from the city now took place. The king, his wives, and the queen mother, with their eunuchs and whole establishment, the princes, 7000 warriors, and 1000 artificers—in all 10,000 souls, were carried off to Babylon (ibid. 14-16). The uncle of Jehoiachin was made king in his stead, by the name of Zedekiah, under a solemn oath ("by God") of allegiance (2 Chr. xxxvi. 13; Ezek. xvii. 13, 14, 18). Had he been content to remain quiet under the rule of Babylon, the city might have stood many years longer; but he was not. He appears to have been tempted with the chance of relief afforded by the accession of Pharaoh Hophra, and to have applied to him for assistance (Ezek. xvii. 15). Upon this Nebuchadnezzar

marched in person to Jerusalem, arriving in the ninth year of Zedekiah, on the 10th day of the 10th month<sup>a</sup> (B.C. 588), and at once began a regular siege, at the same time wasting the country far and near (Jer. xxiv. 7). The siege was conducted by erecting forts on lofty mounds round the city, from which on the usual Assyrian plan,<sup>2</sup> missiles were discharged into the town, and the walls and houses in them battered by rams (Jer. xxxii. 24, xxxiii. 4, lii. 4; Ezek. xxi. 22); Jos. *Ant.* x. 8, §1). The city was also surrounded with troops (Jer. lii. 7). The siege was once abandoned, owing to the approach of the Egyptian army (Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11), and during the interval the gates of the city were re-opened (ibid. 13). But the relief was only temporary, and in the 11th of Zedekiah (B.C. 586), on the 9th day of the 4th month (Jer. lii. 6), being just a year and a half from the first investment, the city was taken. Nebuchadnezzar had in the meantime retired from Jerusalem to Riblah to watch the more important siege of Tyre, then in the last year of its progress. The besieged seem to have suffered severely both from hunger and disease (Jer. xxxii. 24), but chiefly from the former (2 K. xxv. 3; Jer. lii. 6; Lam. v. 10). But they would perhaps have held out longer had not a breach in the wall been effected on the day named. It was at midnight (Joseph.). The whole city was wrapt in the pitchy darkness<sup>3</sup> characteristic of an eastern town, and nothing was known by the Jews of what had happened till the generals of the army entered the Temple (Joseph.) and took their seats in the middle court<sup>4</sup> (Jer. xxxix. 3; Jos. *Ant.* x. 8, §2). Then the alarm was given to Zedekiah, and collecting his remaining warriors, they stole out of the city by a gate at the south side, somewhere near the present *Bab el-Mugharibeh*, crossed the Kedron above the royal gardens and made their way over the Mount of Olives to the Jordan valley. At break of day information of the flight was brought to the Chaldeans by some deserters. A rapid pursuit was made: Zedekiah was overtaken near Jericho, his people were dispersed, and he himself captured and reserved for a miserable fate at Riblah. Meantime the wretched inhabitants suffered all the horrors of assault and sack: the men were slaughtered, old and young, prince and peasant; the women violated in Mount Zion itself (Lam. ii. 4; v. 11, 12).

On the seventh day of the following month (2 K. xxv. 8), Nebuzaradan, the commander of the king's body-guard, who seems to have been charged with Nebuchadnezzar's instructions as to what should be done with the city, arrived. Two days were passed, probably in collecting the captives and booty; and on the tenth (Jer. lii. 12) the Temple, the royal palace, and all the more important buildings of the city, were set on fire, and the walls thrown down and left as heaps of disordered rubbish on the ground (Neh. iv. 2). The spoil of the city consisted apparently

<sup>1</sup> It seems impossible to reconcile the accounts of this period in Kings, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, with Josephus and the other sources. For one view see JEHOIAKIM. For an opposite one see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 509-514.

<sup>2</sup> According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, §4), this date was the commencement of the final portion of the siege. But there is nothing in the Bible records to support this.

<sup>3</sup> For the sieges see Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 366, &c.

<sup>4</sup> The moon being but nine days old, there can have been little or no moonlight at this hour.

<sup>5</sup> This was the regular Assyrian custom at the conclusion of a siege (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 375).

<sup>6</sup> This event would surely be more emphatically related in the Bible, if Jerusalem were the Cadytis which Necho is recorded by Herodotus to have destroyed after the battle at Megiddo. The Bible records pass over in total silence, or notice only in a casual way, events which occurred close to the Israelite territory, when those events do not affect the Israelites themselves; instance the 29-years' siege of Ashdod by Psammethichus, Necho's predecessor; the destruction of Gezer by a former Pharaoh (1 K. ix. 16), &c. But when events do affect them, they are mentioned with more or less detail. The question of Cadytis is discussed by Sir G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 246, note; also by Kenrick, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 406.

rently of little more than the furniture of the Temple. A few small vessels in gold<sup>a</sup> and silver, and some other things in brass were carried away whole—the former under the especial eye of Nebuzaradan himself (2 K. xxv. 15; comp. Jer. xxvii. 19). But the larger objects, Solomon's huge brazen basin or sea with its twelve bulls, the ten bases, the two magnificent pillars, Jachin and Boaz, too heavy and too cumbersome for transport, were broken up. The pillars were almost the only parts of Solomon's original construction which had not been mutilated by the sacrilegious hands of some Baal-worshipping monarch or other, and there is quite a touch of pathos in the way in which the chronicler lingers over his recollections of their height, their size, and their ornaments—capitals, wreathen work, and pomegranates, "all of brass."

The previous deportations, and the sufferings endured in the siege, must to a great extent have drained the place of its able-bodied people, and thus the captives, on this occasion, were but few and unimportant. The high-priest, and four other officers of the Temple, the commanders of the fighting men, five<sup>b</sup> people of the court, the mustering officer of the army, and sixty selected private persons, were reserved to be submitted to the king at Riblah. The daughters of Zedekiah, with their children and establishment (Jer. xli. 10, 16; comp. *Ant.* x. 9, §4), and Jeremiah the prophet (*ibid.* xl. 5), were placed by Nebuzaradan at Mizpah under the charge of Gedaliah ben-Ahikam, who had been appointed as superintendent of the few poor labouring people left to carry on the necessary husbandry and vine-dressing. In addition to these were some small bodies of men in arms, who had perhaps escaped from the city before the blockade, or in the interval of the siege, and who were hovering on the outskirts of the country watching what might turn up (Jer. xl. 7, 8). [ISHMAEL, 6.] The remainder of the population—numbering, with the 72 abovenamed, 832 souls (Jer. lii. 29), were marched off to Babylon. About two months after this Gedaliah was murdered by Ishmael, and then the few people of consideration left with Jeremiah, went into Egypt. Thus the land was practically deserted of all but the very poorest class. Even these were not allowed to remain in quiet. Five years afterwards—the 23rd of Nebuchadnezzar's reign—the insatiable Nebuzaradan, on his way to Egypt (*Jos. Ant.* x. 9, §7), again visited the ruins, and swept off 745 more of the wretched peasants (Jer. lii. 30).

Thus Jerusalem at last had fallen, and the Temple, set up under such fair auspices, was a heap of blackened ruins.<sup>c</sup> The spot, however, was none the less sacred because the edifice was destroyed, and it was still the resort of devotees, sometimes from great distances, who brought their offerings—in strange heathenish guise indeed, but still with a true feeling—to weep and wail over the holy place (Jer. xli. 5). It was still the centre of hope to the

<sup>a</sup> Josephus (x. 8, §5) says the candlestick and the golden table of shewbread were taken now; but these were doubtless carried off on the previous occasion.

<sup>b</sup> Jeremiah (lii. 25) says "seven."

<sup>c</sup> The events of this period are kept in memory by the Jews of the present day by various commemorative fasts, which were instituted immediately after the occurrences themselves. These are:—the 10th Tebeth (Jan. 5), the day of the investment of the city by Nebuchadnezzar; the 10th Ab (July 29), destruction of the Temple by Nebuzaradan, and subsequently by Titus; the 3rd Tisri (Sept. 19), murder of Gedaliah; 24th Tebeth, when Ezekiel and the other captives at

people in captivity, and the time soon arrived for their return to it. The decree of Cyrus authorizing the rebuilding of the "house of Jehovah, God of Israel, which is in Jerusalem," was issued B.C. 538. In consequence thereof a very large caravan of Jews arrived in the country. The expedition comprised all classes—the royal family, priests, Levites, inferior ministers, lay people belonging to various towns and families—and numbered 42,360<sup>d</sup> in all. They were well provided with treasure for the necessary outlay; and—a more precious burden still—they bore the vessels of the old Temple which had been preserved at Babylon, and were now destined again to find a home at Jerusalem (Ezr. v. 14, vi. 5).

A short time was occupied in settling in their former cities, but on the first day of the 7th month (Ezr. iii. 6) a general assembly was called together at Jerusalem in "the open place of the first gate towards the east" (1 Esd. v. 47); the altar was set up, and the daily morning and evening sacrifices commenced.<sup>e</sup> Other festivals were re-instituted, and we have a record of the celebration of at least one anniversary of the day of the first assembly at Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 1, &c.). Arrangements were made for stone and timber for the fabric, and in the 2nd year after their return (B.C. 534), on the 1st day of the 2nd month (1 Esd. v. 57), the foundation of the Temple was laid amidst the songs and music of the priests and Levites (according to the old rites of David), the tears of the old men and the shouts of the young. But the work was destined to suffer material interruptions. The chiefs of the people by whom Samaria had been colonised, finding that the Jews refused their offers of assistance (Ezr. iv. 2), annoyed and hindered them in every possible way; and by this and some natural drawbacks—such as violent storms of wind by which some of the work had been blown down (Hag. i. 9), drought, and consequent failure of crops, and mortality amongst both animals and men—the work was protracted through the rest of the reign of Cyrus, and that of Ahasuerus, till the accession of Artaxerxes (Darius I.) to the throne of Persia (B.C. 522). The Samaritans then sent to the court at Babylon a formal memorial (a measure already tried without success in the preceding reign), representing that the inevitable consequence of the restoration of the city would be its revolt from the empire. This produced its effect, and the building entirely ceased for a time. In the meantime houses of some pretension began to spring up—"ceiled houses" (Hag. i. 4)—and the enthusiasm of the builders of the Temple cooled (*ibid.* 9). But after two years the delay became intolerable to the leaders, and the work was recommenced at all hazards, amidst the encouragements and rebukes of the two prophets, Zechariah and Haggai, on the 24th day of the 6th month of Darius' 2nd year. Another attempt at interruption was made by the Persian governor of the

Babylon received the news of the destruction of the Temple. The entrance of the Chaldees into the city is commemorated on the 17th Tamuz (July 8), the day of the breach of the Antonia by Titus. The modern dates here given are the days on which the facts are kept in the present year, 1860.

<sup>d</sup> Josephus says 42,462.

<sup>e</sup> The feast of tabernacles is also said to have been celebrated at this time (iii. 4; *Jos. Ant.* xi. 4, §1); but this is in direct opposition to Neh. viii. 17, which states that it was first celebrated when Ezra was present (comp. 13), which he was not on the former occasion.

strict west of the Euphrates (Ezr. v. 3), but the result was only a confirmation by Darius of the privileges granted by his predecessor (vi. 6-13), and an order to render all possible assistance. The work now went on apace, and the Temple was finished and dedicated in the 6th year of Darius (B.C. 516), on the 3rd (or 23rd, 1 Esdr. vii. 5) of Adar—the last month, and on the 14th day of the new year the first Passover was celebrated. The new Temple was 60 cubits less in altitude than that of Solomon (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, §1); but its dimensions and form—of which there are only scanty notices—will be best considered elsewhere. [TEMPLE.] All this time the walls of the city remained as the Assyrians had left them (Neh. ii. 12, &c.). A period of 58 years now passed of which no accounts are preserved to us; but at the end of that time, in the year 457, Ezra arrived from Babylon with a caravan of Priests, Levites, Nethinims, and lay people, among the latter some members of the royal family, in all 1777 persons (Ezr. vii. viii.), and with valuable offerings from the Persian king and his court, as well as from the Jews who still remained in Babylonia (ib. vii. 14, viii. 25). He left Babylon on the 1st day of the year and reached Jerusalem on the 1st of the 5th month (Ezr. vii. 9, viii. 32).

Ezra at once set himself to correct some irregularities into which the community had fallen. The chief of them was the practice of marrying the native women of the old Canaanite nations. The people were assembled at three days' notice, and harangued by Ezra—so urgent was the case—in the midst of a pouring rain, and in very cold weather, in the open space in front of the main entrance to the Temple (Ezr. x. 9; 1 Esdr. ix. 6). His exhortations were at once acceded to, a form of trespass-offering was arranged, and no less than 17 priests, 10 Levites, and 86 laymen, renounced their foreign wives, and gave up an intercourse which had been to their fathers the cause and the accompaniment of almost all their misfortunes. The matter took three months to carry out, and was completed on the 1st day of the new year: but the practice was not wholly eradicated (Neh. xiii. 23), though it never was pursued as before the Captivity.

We now pass another period of eleven years until the arrival of Nehemiah, about B.C. 445. He had been moved to come to Jerusalem by the accounts given him of the wretchedness of the community, and of the state of ruin in which the walls of the city continued (Neh. i. 3). Arrived there he kept his intentions quiet for three days, but on the night of the third he went out by himself, and, as far as the ruins would allow, made the circuit of the place (ii. 11-16). On the following day he collected the chief people and proposed the immediate rebuilding of the walls. One spirit seized them. Priests, rulers, Levites, private persons, citizens of distant towns,<sup>a</sup> as well as those dwelling on the spot, all put their hand vigorously to the work. And not-

withstanding the taunts and threats of Sanballat, the ruler of the Samaritans, and Tobiah the Ammonite, in consequence of which one-half of the people had to remain armed while the other half built, the work was completed in 52 days, on the 25th of Elul. The wall thus rebuilt was that of the city of Jerusalem as well as the city of David or Zion, as will be shown in the next section, where the account of the rebuilding is examined in detail (Section III. p. 1027). At this time the city must have presented a forlorn appearance; but few houses were built, and large spaces remained unoccupied, or occupied but with the ruins of the Assyrian destructions (Neh. vii. 4). In this respect it was not unlike much of the modern city. The solemn dedication of the wall, recorded in Neh. xii. 27-43, probably took place at a later period, when the works had been completely finished.

Whether Ezra was here at this time is uncertain.<sup>1</sup> [EZRA, p. 605 b]. But we meet him during the government of Nehemiah, especially on one interesting occasion—the anniversary, it would appear, of the first return of Zerubbabel's caravan—on the 1st of the 7th month (Neh. viii. 1). He there appears as the venerable and venerated instructor of the people in the forgotten law of Moses, amongst other reforms reinstating the feast of Tabernacles, which we incidentally learn had not been celebrated since the time that the Israelites originally entered on the land (viii. 17).

Nehemiah remained in the city for twelve years (v. 14, xiii. 6), during which time he held the office and maintained the state of governor of the province (v. 14) from his own private resources (v. 15). He was indefatigable in his regulation and maintenance of the order and dignity both of the city (vii. 3, xi. 1, xiii. 15, &c.) and Temple (x. 32, 39, xii. 44); abolished the excessive rates of usury by which the richer citizens had grievously oppressed the poor (v. 6-12); kept up the genealogical registers, at once so characteristic of, and important to, the Jewish nation (vii. 5, xi. xii.); and in various other ways showed himself an able and active governor, and possessing a complete ascendancy over his fellow-citizens. At the end of this time he returned to Babylon; but it does not appear that his absence was more than a short one,<sup>2</sup> and he was soon again at his post, as vigilant and energetic as ever (xiii. 7). Of his death we have no record.

The foreign tendencies of the high-priest Eliashib and his family had already given Nehemiah some concern (xiii. 4, 28), and when the checks exercised by his vigilance and good sense were removed, they quickly led to serious disorders, unfortunately the only occurrences which have come down to us during the next epoch. Eliashib's son Joiada, who succeeded him in the high-priesthood (apparently a few years before the death of Nehemiah), had two sons, the one Jonathan (Neh. xii. 11) or Jehanan (Neh. xii. 22; Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7, §1), the other Joshua (Jos. *ibid.*). Joshua had made interest with

side of Jordan (see iv. 12, referring to those who lived near Sanballat and Tobiah).

<sup>1</sup> The name occurs among those who assisted in the dedication of the wall (xii. 33); but so as to make us believe that it was some inferior person of the same name.

<sup>2</sup> Prideaux says five years; but his reasons are not satisfactory, and would apply to ten as well as to five.

<sup>a</sup> עבר נהרה = beyond the river, but by our translators rendered "on this side," as if speaking from Jerusalem. (See Ewald, iv. 110 note.)

<sup>b</sup> Psalm xxx. by its title purports to have been used on this occasion (Ewald, *Dichter*, i. 210, 223). Ewald also suggests that Ps. lxxviii. was finally used for this festival (*Gesch.* iv. 127 note).

<sup>c</sup> Among these we find Jericho and the Jordan valley (A. V. "plain"), Bethzur, near Hebron, Gibeon, Bethsaron, perhaps Samaria, and the other

the general of the Persian army that he should displace his brother in the priesthood: the two quarrelled, and Joshua was killed by Johanan in the Temple (B.C. cir. 366): a horrible occurrence, and even aggravated by its consequences; for the Persian general made it the excuse not only to pollute the sanctuary (*ναός*) by entering it, on the ground that he was certainly less unclean than the body of the murdered man—but also to extort a tribute of 50 darics on every lamb offered in the daily sacrifice for the next seven years (Jos. *Ant.* *ibid.*).

Johanan in his turn had two sons, Jaddua (Neh. xi. 11, 22) and Manasseh (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7, §2). Manasseh married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite,<sup>m</sup> and eventually became the first priest of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, §2, 4). But at first he seems to have been associated in the priesthood of Jerusalem with his brother (Jos. *μετεχειν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης*), and to have relinquished it only on being forced to do so on account of his connexion with Sanballat. The foreign marriages against which Ezra and Nehemiah had acted so energetically had again become common among both the priests and laymen. A movement was made by a reforming party against the practice; but either it had obtained a firmer hold than before, or there was nothing to replace the personal influence of Nehemiah, for the movement only resulted in a large number going over with Manasseh to the Samaritans (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, §2, 4). During the high-priesthood of Jaddua occurred the famous visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem. Alexander had invaded the north of Syria, beaten Darius's army at the Granicus, and again at Issus, and then, having besieged Tyre, sent a letter to Jaddua inviting his allegiance, and desiring assistance in men and provisions. The answer of the high-priest was, that to Darius his allegiance had been given, and that to Darius he should remain faithful while he lived. Tyre was taken in July B.C. 331 (Kenrick's *Phoenicia*, 431), and then the Macedonians moved along the flat strip of the coast of Palestine to Gaza, which in its turn was taken in October. The road to Egypt being thus secured Alexander had leisure to visit Jerusalem, and deal in person with the people who had ventured to oppose him. This he did apparently by the same route which Isaiah (x. 28-32) describes Sennacherib as taking. The "Sapha" at which he was met by the high-priest must be Mizpeh—Scopus—the high ridge to the north of the city, the Nob of Isaiah, which is crossed by the northern road, and from which the first view—and

<sup>m</sup> According to Neh. xiii. 28, the man who married Sanballat's daughter was "son of Joiada;" but this is in direct contradiction to the circumstantial statements of Josephus, followed in the text; and the word "son" is often used in Hebrew for "grandson," or even a more remote descendant (see, *e. g.* CAEMI, 281 a).

<sup>n</sup> The details of this story, and the arguments for and against its authenticity, are given under ALEXANDER (p. 47 b); see also HIGH-PRIEST (811 b). It should be observed that the part of the Temple which Alexander entered, and where he sacrificed to God, was not the *ναός*, into which Bagoas had forced himself after the murder of Joshua, but the *ιερόν*—the court only (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, §5). The Jewish tradition is that he was induced to put off his shoes before treading the sacred ground of the court, by being told that they would slip on the polished marble (*Meg. taanith*, in Ireland, *Antiq.* i. 8, 5).

got a full one—of the city and Temple is preserved. The result to the Jews of the visit was an exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year: a privilege which they retained for long.<sup>n</sup>

We hear nothing more of Jerusalem until it was taken by Ptolemy Soter, about B.C. 320, during his incursion into Syria. The account given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1; *Apion*, i. §22), partly from Agatharchides, and partly from some other source, is extremely meagre, nor is it quite consistent with itself. But we can discern one point to which more than one parallel is found in the later history—that the city fell into the hands of Ptolemy because the Jews would not fight on the Sabbath. Great hardships seem to have been experienced by the Jews after this conquest, and a large number were transported to Egypt and to Northern Africa.

A stormy period succeeded—that of the struggle between Antigonos and Ptolemy for the possession of Syria, which lasted until the defeat of the former at Ipsus (B.C. 301), after which the country came into the possession of Ptolemy. The contention however was confined to the maritime region of Palestine,<sup>o</sup> and Jerusalem appears to have escaped. Scanty as is the information we possess concerning the city, it yet indicates a state of prosperity; the only outward mark of dependence being an annual tax of twenty talents of silver payable by the high-priests. Simon the Just, who followed his father Onias in the high-priesthood (cir. B.C. 300), is one of the favourite heroes of the Jews. Under his care the sanctuary (*ναός*) was repaired, and some foundations of great depth added round the Temple, possibly to gain a larger surface on the top of the hill (Ecclus. i. 1, 2). The large cistern or "sea" of the principal court of the Temple, which hitherto would seem to have been but temporarily or roughly constructed, was sheathed in brass<sup>p</sup> (*ibid.* 3); the walls of the city were more strongly fortified to guard against such attacks as those of Ptolemy (*ib.* 4); and the Temple service was maintained with great pomp and ceremonial (*ib.* 11-21). His death was marked by evil omens of various kinds presaging disasters<sup>q</sup> (*Otho, Let. Rab.* "Messias"). Simon's brother Eleazar succeeded him as high-priest (B.C. 291), and Antigonos of Socho as president of the Sanhedrim<sup>r</sup> (*Prideaux*). The disasters presaged did not immediately arrive. The intercourse with Greeks was fast eradicating the national character, but it was at any rate a peaceful intercourse during the reigns of the Ptolemies who succeeded Soter, viz., Philadelphus (B.C. 285),

<sup>o</sup> Diod. Sic. xix; Hecataeus in Jos. *Apion*, i. 21.

<sup>p</sup> So the A. V., apparently following a different text from either LXX. or Vulgate, which state that the reservoir was made smaller. But the passage is probably corrupt.

<sup>q</sup> One of the chief of these was that the sepphorite was not, as formerly, dashed in pieces by his fall from the rock, but got off alive into the desert, where he was eaten by the Saracens.

<sup>r</sup> Simon the Just was the last of the illustrious men who formed "the Great Synagogue." Antigonos was the first of the *Tanaim*, or expounders of the written law, whose *dieta* are embodied in the Mishnah. From Sadoq, one of Antigonos's scholars, it said to have sprung the sect of the Sadducees (*Prideaux*, ii. 2; Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 313). It is remarkable that Antigonos is the first Jew we meet with bearing a Greek name.

and Euergetes (b.c. 247). It was Philadelphus, who, according to the story preserved by Josephus, and the translation of the Septuagint\* made, in connexion with which he sent Aristæus to Jerusalem during the priesthood of Eleazar. He also bestowed on the Temple very rich gifts, consisting of a table for the shewbread, of wonderful workmanship, basins, bowls, phials, &c., and other articles both for the private and public use of the priests (Jos. Ant. xii. 2, §5—10, 15). A description of Jerusalem at this period under the name of Aristæus still survives,<sup>1</sup> which supplies a lively picture of both Temple and city. The Temple was "enclosed with three walls 70 cubits high, and of proportionate thickness. . . . The spacious courts were paved with marble, and beneath them lay immense reservoirs of water, which by mechanical contrivance was made to rush forth, and thus wash away the blood of the sacrifices." The city occupied the summit and the eastern slopes of the opposite hill—the modern Zion. The main streets appear to have run north and south; some "along the brow . . . others lower down but parallel, following the course of the valley, with cross streets connecting them." They were "furnished with raised pavements," either due to the slope of the ground, or possibly adopted for the reason given by Aristæus, viz. to enable the passengers to avoid contact with persons or things ceremonially unclean. The bazaars were then, as now, a prominent feature of the city. There were to be found gold, precious stones, and spices brought by caravans from the East, and other articles imported from the West by way of Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais, which served as its commodious harbour. It is not impossible that among these Phœnician importations from the West may have figured the dyes and the tin of the remote Britain.

Eleazar was succeeded (cir. b.c. 276) by his uncle Manasseh, brother to Onias I.; and he again (cir. 250) by Onias II. Onias was a son of the great Simon the Just; but he inherited none of his father's virtues, and his ill-timed avarice at length endangered the prosperity of Jerusalem. For the payment of the annual tax to the court of Egypt having been for several years evaded, Ptolemy Euergetes, about 226, sent a commissioner to Jerusalem to enforce the arrears (Jos. Ant. xii. 4, §1: Prideaux). Onias, now in his second childhood (Ant. xii. 4, §3), was easily prevailed on by his nephew Joseph to allow him to return with the commissioner to Alexandria, to endeavour to arrange the matter with the king. Joseph, a man evidently of great ability,<sup>2</sup> not only procured the remission of the tax in question,<sup>3</sup> but also persuaded Ptolemy to grant him the lucrative privilege of farming the whole revenue of Judæa, Samaria, Coele-Syria, and Phœnicia—a privilege which he retained till the province was taken from the Ptolemies by Antiochus the Great. Hitherto the family of the high-priest had been the most powerful

in the country; but Joseph had now four lei on able to compete with it, and the contention and rivalry between the two—manifesting itself at one time in enormous bribes to the court, at another in fierce quarrels at home—at last led to the interference of the chief power with the affairs of a city, which, if wisely and quietly governed, might never have been molested.

Onias II. died about 217, and was succeeded by Simon II. In 221 Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Euergetes on the throne of Egypt. He had only been king three years when Antiochus the Great attempted to take Syria from him. Antiochus partly succeeded, but in a battle at Raphia, south of Gaza, fought in the year 217 (the same as that of Hannibal at Thrasymene), he was completely routed and forced to fly to Antioch. Ptolemy shortly after visited Jerusalem. He offered sacrifice in the court of the Temple, and would have entered the sanctuary, had he not been prevented by the firmness of the high-priest Simon, and also by a supernatural terror which struck him and stretched him paralyzed on the pavement of the court (3 Macc. ii. 22).<sup>4</sup> This repulse Ptolemy never forgave, and the Jews of Alexandria suffered severely in consequence.

Like the rest of Palestine, Jerusalem now became alternately a prey to each of the contending parties (Jos. Ant. xii. 3, §3). In 203 it was taken by Antiochus. In 199 it was retaken by Scopas the Alexandrian general, who left a garrison in the citadel. In the following year Antiochus again beat the Egyptians, and then the Jews, who had suffered most from the latter, gladly opened their gates to his army, and assisted them in reducing the Egyptian garrison. This service Antiochus requited by large presents of money and articles for sacrifice, by an order to Ptolemy to furnish cedar and other materials for cloisters and other additions to the Temple, and by material relief from taxation. He also published a decree affirming the sacredness of the Temple from the intrusion of strangers, and forbidding any infractions of the Jewish law (Jos. Ant. xii. 3, §3, 4).

Simon was followed in 195 by Onias III. In 187 Antiochus the Great died, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus Soter (Jos. Ant. xii. 4, §10). Jerusalem was now in much apparent prosperity. Jerusalem was greatly respected, and governed with a firm hand; and the decree of the late king was so far observed, that the whole expenditure of the sacrifices was borne by Seleucus (2 Macc. iii. 1-3). But the city soon began to be much disturbed by the disputes between Hyrcanus, the illegitimate son of Joseph the collector, and his elder and legitimate brothers, on the subject of the division of the property left by their father. The high-priest, Onias, after some hesitation, seems to have taken the part of Hyrcanus, whose wealth—after the suicide of Antiochus (about b.c. 180)—he secured in the treasury of the Temple. The office of governor

<sup>1</sup> Geogr. ii. 25, 26.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the stratagem by which he made his fortune is told in Prideaux (anno 226), and in Milman's *Hist. of the Jews* (ii. 34).

<sup>3</sup> At least we hear nothing of it afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> The third book of the Maccabees, though so called, has no reference to the Maccabean heroes, but is taken up with the relation of this visit of Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and its consequences to the Jews.

\* The legend of the translation by 72 interpreters is no longer believed; but it probably rests on some foundation of fact. The sculpture of the table and bowls (lilies and vines, without any figures) seems to have been founded on the descriptions in the Law. In 3 Macc. ii. 14, &c., it is said to have had also a map of Egypt upon it.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be found in the Appendix to Havercamp's *Josephus*, and in Galland's *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* ii. 805. An extract is given in article "Jerusalem" (*Dict. of*



(προσάρτης) of the Temple was now held by one Simon, who is supposed to have been one of the legitimate brothers of Hyrcanus. By this man Seleucus was induced to send Heliodorus to Jerusalem to get possession of the treasure of Hyrcanus. How the attempt failed, and the money was for the time preserved from pillage, may be seen in 2 Macc. iii. 24-30, and in the well-known picture of Raffiello Sanzio.

In 175 Seleucus Soter died, and the kingdom of Syria came to his brother, the infamous Antiochus Epiphanes. His first act towards Jerusalem was to sell the office of high-priest—still filled by the good Onias III.—to Onias' brother Joshua (2 Macc. iv. 7; *Ant.* xii. 5, §1). Greek manners had made many a step at Jerusalem, and the new high-priest was not likely to discourage their further progress. His first act was to Grecise his own name, and to become "Jason;" his next to set up a gymnasium—that is a place where the young men of the town were trained naked—to introduce the Greek dress, Greek sports, and Greek appellations. Now (1 Macc. i. 13, &c.; 2 Macc. iv. 9, 12) for the first time we hear of an attempt to efface the distinguishing mark of a Jew—again to "become uncircumcised." The priests quickly followed the example of their chief (2 Macc. iv. 14), and the Temple service was neglected. A special deputation of the youth of Jerusalem—"Antiochians" they were now called—was sent with offerings from the Temple of Jehovah to the festival of Hercules at Tyre. In 172 Jerusalem was visited by Antiochus. He entered the city at night by torch-light and amid the acclamations of Jason and his party, and after a short stay returned (2 Macc. iv. 22). And now the treachery of Jason was to be requited to him. His brother Onias, who had assumed the Greek name of Menelaus, in his turn bought the high-priesthood from Antiochus, and drove Jason out to the other side of the Jordan (2 Macc. iv. 26). To pay the price of the office, Menelaus had laid hands on the consecrated plate of the Temple. This became known, and a riot was the consequence (2 Macc. iv. 32, 39, 40).

During the absence of Antiochus in Egypt, Jason suddenly appeared before Jerusalem with a thousand men, and whether by the fury of his attack, or from his having friends in the city, he entered the walls, drove Menelaus into the citadel, and slaughtered the citizens without mercy. Jason seems to have failed to obtain any of the valuables of the Temple, and shortly after retreated beyond Jordan, where he miserably perished (2 Macc. v. 7-10). But the news of these tumults reaching Antiochus on his way from Egypt brought him again to Jerusalem (B.C. 170). He appears to have entered the city without much difficulty.<sup>2</sup> An indiscriminate massacre of the adherents of Ptolemy followed, and then a general pillage of the contents of the Temple. Under the guidance of Menelaus, Antiochus went into the Sanctuary, and took from thence the golden altar, the candlestick, the magnificent table of shewbread, and all the vessels and utensils, with 1800 talents out of the treasury. These things occupied three days. He

<sup>2</sup> This visit is omitted in 1 Macc. Josephus mentions it, but says that it was marked by a great slaughter of the Jewish party and by plunder (*Ant.* xii. 5, §3). This however does not agree with the festal character given to it in the 2 Macc., and followed above.

<sup>2</sup> There is a great discrepancy between the accounts

then quitted for Antioch, carrying off, besides his booty, a large train of captives; and leaving as governor of the city, a Phrygian named Philip, a man of a more savage disposition than himself (1 Macc. i. 20-24; 2 Macc. v. 11-21; *Jos. Ant.* xii. 5, §3; *B. J.* i. 1, §1). But something worse was reserved for Jerusalem than pillage, death, and slavery, worse than even the pollution of the presence of this monster in the holy place of the presence of this less than the total extermination of the Jews was resolved on, and in two years (B.C. 168) an army was sent under Apollonius to carry the resolve into effect. He waited till the sabbath, and then for the second time the entry was made while the people were engaged in their devotions. Another great slaughter took place, the city was now in its turn pillaged and burnt, and the walls destroyed.

The foreign garrison took up its quarters in what had from the earliest times been the strongest part of the place—the ancient city of David (1 Macc. i. 33, vii. 32), the famous hill of Zion, described as being on an eminence adjoining the North wall of the Temple, and so high as to overlook it (*Ant.* xii. 5, §4). This hill was now fortified with a very strong wall with towers, and within it the garrison secured their booty, cattle, and other provisions, the women of their prisoners, and a certain number of the inhabitants of the city friendly to them.

Antiochus next issued an edict to compel heathen worship in all his dominions, and one Athenias was sent to Jerusalem to enforce compliance. As a first step, the Temple was reconsecrated to Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 2). The worship of idols (1 Macc. i. 47), with its loose and obscene accompaniments (2 Macc. vi. 4), was introduced there—an altar to Zeus was set up on the brazen altar of Jehovah, pig's-flesh offered thereon, and the broth or liquor sprinkled about the Temple (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 8, §2). And while the Jews were compelled not only to tolerate but to take an active part in these foreign abominations, the observance of their own rites and ceremonies—sacrifice, the sabbath, circumcision—was absolutely forbidden. Many no doubt complied (*Ant.* xii. 5, §4); but many also resisted, and the torments inflicted, and the horrors displayed in the streets of Jerusalem at this time, almost surpass belief. But though a severe, it was a wholesome discipline, and under its rough teaching the old spirit of the people began to revive.

The battles of the Maccabees were fought on the outskirts of the country, and it was not till the defeat of Lysias at Bethzur that they thought it safe to venture into the recesses of the central hills. Then they immediately turned their steps to Jerusalem. On ascending the Mount Moriah, and entering the quadrangle of the Temple, a sight met their eyes, which proved at once how complete had been the desecration, and how short-lived the triumph of the idolaters; for while the altar still stood there with its abominable burden, the gates in ashes, the priests' chambers in ruins, and, as they reached the inner court, the very sanctuary itself open and empty—yet the place had been so long disused that the whole precincts were full of vegetation, as the

of 1 Macc., 2 Macc., and Josephus.  
\* This may be inferred from many of the expressions concerning this citadel; but Josephus expressly uses the word *ἐνέκειρο* (*Ant.* xii. 9, §3), and says it was on an eminence in the lower city, i. e. the Eastern hill, as contradistinguished from the Western hill or upper city.

shrubs grew in the quadrangle like a forest." The precincts were at once cleansed, the polluted altar put aside, a new one constructed, and the holy vessels of the sanctuary replaced, and on the third anniversary of the desecration—the 25th of the month Chisleu, in the year B.C. 165, the Temple was dedicated with a feast which lasted for eight days.<sup>b</sup> After this the outer wall of the Temple<sup>c</sup> was very much strengthened (1 Macc. iv. 60), and it was in fact converted into a fortress (comp. vi. 26, 61, 62), and occupied by a garrison (iv. 61). The Acra was still held by the soldiers of Antiochus. One of the first acts of Judas on entering the Temple had been to detach a party to watch them, and two years later (B.C. 163) so frequent had their sallies and annoyances become—particularly an attempt on one occasion to confine the worshippers within the Temple inclosure<sup>d</sup> (1 Macc. vi. 18)—that Judas collected his people to take it, and began a siege with banks and engines. In the meantime Antiochus had died (B.C. 164), and was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, a youth. The garrison in the Acra, finding themselves pressed by Judas, managed to communicate with the king, who brought an army from Antioch and attacked Bethzur, one of the key-positions of the Maccabees. This obliged Judas to give up the siege of the Acra, and to march southwards against the intruder (1 Macc. vi. 32; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9, §4). Antiochus's army proved too much for his little force, his brother Eleazar was killed, and he was compelled to fall back on Jerusalem and shut himself up in the Temple. Thither Lysias, Antiochus's general—and later, Antiochus himself—followed him (vi. 48, 51, 57, 62) and commenced an active siege. How long it lasted we are not informed, but the provisions of the beleaguered were rapidly becoming exhausted, and famine had driven many to make their escape (54), when news of an insurrection elsewhere induced Lysias to advise Antiochus to offer terms to Judas (vi. 55-58). The terms, which were accepted by him, were liberty to live after their own laws, and immunity to their persons and their fortress. On inspection, however, Antiochus found the place so strong that he refused to keep this part of the agreement, and before he left, the walls were pulled down (vi. 62; *Ant.* xii. 9, §7). Judas apparently remained in Jerusalem for the next twelve months. During this time Antiochus and Lysias had been killed and the throne seized by Demetrius (B.C. 162), and the new king had dispatched Bacchides and Alcimus, the then high-priest—a man of Grecian principles—with a large force, to Jerusalem. Judas was again within the walls of the Temple, which in the interval he must have rebuilt. He could not be tempted forth, but sixty of the Assideans were treacherously murdered by the Syrians, who then moved off, first to a short distance from the city, and finally back to Antioch (1 Macc. vii. 1-25; *Ant.* xii. 10, §1-3). Demetrius then sent another army under Nicanor, but with no better success. An action was fought at Caphar-salama, an unknown place not far from the city. Judas was victorious, and Nicanor

escaped and took refuge in the Acra at Jerusalem. Shortly after Nicanor came down from the fortress and paid a visit to the Temple, where he insulted the priests (1 Macc. vii. 33, 4; 2 Macc. xiv. 31-33). He also caused the death of Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, a man greatly esteemed, who killed himself in the most horrible manner, rather than fall into his hands (2 Macc. xiv. 37-46). He then procured some reinforcements, met Judas at Adasa, probably not far from *Ramleh*, was killed, and his army thoroughly beaten. Nicanor's head and right arm were brought to Jerusalem. The head was nailed on the wall of the Acra, and the hand and arm on a conspicuous spot facing the Temple (2 Macc. xv. 30-35), where their memory was perhaps perpetuated in the name of the gate Nicanor, the eastern entrance to the Great Court (Reland, *Antiq.* i. 9, 4).

The death of Judas took place in 161. After it Bacchides and Alcimus again established themselves at Jerusalem in the Acra (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1, §3), and in the intervals of their contests with Jonathan and Simon, added much to its fortifications, furnished it with provisions, and confined there the children of the chief people of Judaea as hostages for their good behaviour (1 Macc. ix. 50-53). In the second month (May) of 160 the high-priest Alcimus began to make some alterations in the Temple, apparently doing away with the inclosure between one court and another, and in particular demolishing some wall or building, to which peculiar sanctity was attached as "the work of the prophets" (1 Macc. ix. 54). The object of these alterations was doubtless to lessen the distinction between Jew and Gentile. But they had hardly been commenced before he was taken suddenly ill and died.

Bacchides now returned to Antioch, and Jerusalem remained without molestation for a period of seven years. It does not appear that the Maccabees resided there; part of the time they were at Michmash, in the entangled country seven or eight miles north of Jerusalem, and part of the time fighting with Bacchides at Beth-basi in the Jordan-valley near Jericho. All this time the Acra was held by the Macedonian garrison (*Ant.* xiii. 4, §92) and the malcontent Jews, who still held the hostages taken from the other part of the community (1 Macc. x. 6). In the year 153 Alexander Balas, the real or pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, having landed at Ptolemais, Demetrius sent a communication to Jonathan with the view of keeping him attached to his cause (1 Macc. x. 1, &c.; *Ant.* xiii. 2, §1). Upon this Jonathan moved up to Jerusalem, rescued the hostages from the Acra, and began to repair the city. The destructions of the last few years were remedied, the walls round Mount Zion particularly being rebuilt in the most substantial manner, as a regular fortification (x. 11). From this time forward Jonathan received privileges and professions of confidence from both sides. First, Alexander authorized him to assume the office of high-priest, which had not been filled up since the death of Alcimus (comp. *Ant.* xx. 10, §1). This he took at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn of the year 153,

places," *ἀγίασμα*. The meaning probably is the entire enclosure. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 7, 7) says "the city."

<sup>d</sup> *συγκλείοντες τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐνὸς τῶν ἁγίων*. The A. V. "shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary," does not here give the sense, which seems to be as above.

<sup>b</sup> This feast is alluded to in John x. 22. Chisleu was the mid-winter month. The feast of the Dedication falls this year—1860—on the 9th Dec.

<sup>c</sup> In 1 Macc. iv. 60 it is said that they builded up "Ἰερουσαλήμ;" but in the parallel passages, vi. 7, 26, the word used is "sanctuary," or rather "holy VOL. 1.

and at the same time collected soldiers and ammunition (1 Macc. x. 21). Next, Demetrius, amongst other immunities granted to the country, recognized Jerusalem and its environs as again "holy and free," relinquished all right to the Acra—which was henceforward to be subject to the high-priest (x. 21, 32), endowed the Temple with the revenues of Ptolemais, and also with 15,000 shekels of silver charged in other places, and ordered not only the payment of the same sum, in regard to former years, but the release of an annual tax of 5000 shekels hitherto exacted from the priests. Lastly, he authorized the repairs of the holy place, and the building and fortifying of the walls of Jerusalem to be charged to the royal accounts, and gave the privilege of sanctuary to all persons, even mere debtors, taking refuge in the Temple or in its precincts (1 Macc. x. 31, 32, 39-45).

The contentions between Alexander and Demetrius, in which he was actively engaged, prevented Jonathan from taking advantage of these grants till the year 145. He then began to invest the Acra (xi. 20; *Ant.* xiii. 4, §9), but, owing partly to the strength of the place, and partly to the constant dissensions abroad, the siege made little progress during fully two years. It was obvious that no progress could be made as long as the inmates of the Acra could get into the city or the country, and there buy provisions (xiii. 49), as hitherto was the case; and, therefore, at the first opportunity, Jonathan built a wall or bank round the base of the citadel-hill, cutting off all communication both with the city on the west and the country on the east (xii. 36; comp. xii. 49), and thus completing the circle of investment, of which the Temple wall formed the south and remaining side. At the same time the wall of the Temple was repaired and strengthened, especially on the east side, towards the valley of Kedron. In the meantime Jonathan was killed at Ptolemais, and Simon succeeded him both as chief and as high priest (xiii. 8, 42). The investment of the Acra proved successful, but three years still elapsed before this enormously strong place could be reduced, and at last the garrison capitulated only from famine (xiii. 49; comp. 21). Simon entered it on the 23rd of the 2nd month B.C. 142. The fortress was then entirely demolished, and the eminence on which it had stood lowered, until it was reduced below the height of the Temple hill beside it. The last operation occupied three years (*Ant.* xiii. 6, §7). The valley north of Moriah was probably filled up at this time (*B. J.* v. 5, §1). A fort was then built on the north side of the temple hill, apparently against the wall, so as directly to command the site of the Acra, and here Simon and his immediate followers resided (xiii. 52). This was the Baris—so called after the Hebrew word *Birah*—which, under the name of Antonia, became subsequently so prominent a feature of the city. Simon's other achievements, and his alliance with the Romans, must be reserved for another place. We hear of no further occurrences at Jerusalem during his life except the placing of two brass tablets, commemorating his exploits on Mount Zion, in the precinct of the sanctuary (xiv. 27, 48). In 135 Simon was murdered at Dök near Jericho, and then all was again confusion in Jerusalem.

One of the first steps of his son John Hyrcanus was to secure both the city and the Temple (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 7, §4). The people were favourable to him, and repulsed Ptolemy, Simon's murderer, when he

attempted to enter (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 7, §4; *B. J.* i. 2, §3). Hyrcanus was made high-priest. Shortly after this, Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, brought an army into southern Palestine, ravaged and burnt the country, and attacked Jerusalem. To invest the city, and cut off all chance of escape, it was encircled by a girdle of seven camps. The active operations of the siege were carried on as usual at the north, where the level ground comes up to the walls. Here a hundred towers of attack were erected, each of three stories, from which projectiles were cast into the city, and a double ditch, broad and deep, was excavated before them to protect them from the sudden sallies which the besieged were constantly making. On one occasion the wall of the city was undermined, its timber foundations burnt, and thus a temporary breach effected (5 Macc. xxi. 5). For the first and last time we hear of a want of water inside the city, but from this a seasonable rain relieved them. In other respects the besieged seem to have been well off. Hyrcanus however, with more prudence than humanity, anticipating a long siege, turned out of the city all the infirm and non-fighting people. The Feast of Tabernacles had now arrived, and, at the request of Hyrcanus, Antiochus, with a moderation which gained him the title of "the Pious," agreed to a truce. This led to further negotiations, which ended in the siege being relinquished. Antiochus wished to place a garrison in the city, but this the late experience of the Jews forbade, and hostages and a payment were substituted. The money for this subsidy was obtained by Hyrcanus from the sepulchre of David, the outer chamber of which he is said to have opened, and to have taken 3000 talents of the treasure which had been buried with David, and had hitherto escaped undiscovered (*Ant.* vii. 15, §3; xiii. 8, §4; *B. J.* i. 2, §5). After Antiochus's departure Hyrcanus carefully repaired the damage done to the walls (5 Macc. xii. 18); and it may have been at this time that he enlarged the Baris or fortress adjoining the north-west wall of the Temple inclosure, which had been founded by his father, and which he used for his own residence and for the custody of his sacred vestments worn as high-priest (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, §3).

During the rest of his long and successful reign John Hyrcanus resided at Jerusalem, ably administering the government from thence, and regularly fulfilling the duties of the high-priest (see 5 Macc. xxiii. 3; *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 10, §3). The great sects of Pharisees and Sadducees first appear in prominence at this period. Hyrcanus, as a Maccabee, had belonged to the Pharisees, but an occurrence which happened near the end of his reign caused him to desert them and join the Sadducees, and even to persecute his former friends (see the story in *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 10, §5; 5 Macc. xxv. 7-11; *Mishnan*, ii. 73). He died in peace and honour (*Ant.* xiii. 10, §7). There is no mention of his burial, but it is nearly certain that the "monument of John the high-priest," which stood near the north-west corner of the city and is so frequently referred to in the account of the final siege, was his tomb; at least no other high-priest of the name of John is mentioned. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 813.]

Hyrcanus was succeeded (B.C. 107) by his son Aristobolus.\* Like his predecessors he was high-

\* The adoption of Greek names by the family of the Maccabees, originally the great opponents of everything Greek, shows how much and how